

ARA Education Package



INTRODUCTION

This information package was compiled by Anti-Racist Action's info-crew in an effort to create a forum for further debate and education on the issues of fighting white supremacy and the extreme right within the framework of class struggle against racism and sexism. The package contains a wide variety of texts, articles, essays and clippings chosen by info-crew members to be crucial in formulating a solid understanding on these issues and their interconnections.

As a collection, these articles complement each other in such a way that the reader is able to draw their own links and formulate a broad analysis on the material. This structure is broken down into three main sections within the package:

The first chapter takes a look at the relationship racism has with sexism, homophobia, anti-semitism, and class. This contributes to the necessary framework of understanding to combat racism in its broader manifestations as well as within the anti-racist organization and the individual.

The second chapter deals specifically with the extreme right in all of its forms. This section is broken down regionally into Canada, the United States, and Europe to shed some light on the international connections of these fascist movements.

The third and final chapter consists of various historic and present-day anti-racist experiences by which we can draw from to further the struggle against racism and fascism.

One might be taken aback by the amount of material contained within these three sections but we found them all important to include. We would suggest reading one entry from each section to break things up to some degree. It is also important to mention that this collection contains by no means a fully-rounded analysis. Instead, it should serve as a springboard or a contribution towards an on-going process of internal education and outreach. This information can be useful to anti-racists, anti-fascist activists or students and should be widely distributed to other anti-racist organisations and community activists. Whether you arm yourself with this information or use this hefty package to swat a fascist over the head with, we hope that it comes in handy. Happy reading!

-the INFO CREW '94

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SECTION 1: Racism, Sexism and Class



Manifesto of the New Abolitionism

by Noel Ignatiev

What is the white race? It is not a biological but a social fact. Without social distinctions, the only race is the human race. The white race cuts across ethnic and class lines. It is not co-extensive with that portion of the population of European descent, since many of those classified as "colored" can trace some of their ancestry to Europe, while African, Asian, or American Indian blood flows through the veins of many considered white. Nor does membership in the white race imply wealth, since there are plenty of poor whites, as well as some people of wealth and comfort who are not white. The white race consists of those who partake of the privileges of the white skin in this society. Its most wretched members share a status higher, in certain respects, than that of the most exalted persons excluded from it, in return for which they give their support to the system that degrades them.

ABOLISH THE WHITE RACE

The key to solving the social problems of our age is to abolish the white race. Until that task is accomplished, even partial reform will prove elusive, because white influence permeates every issue in U.S. society, whether domestic or foreign. Advocating the abolition of the white race is distinct from what is called "anti-racism." The term "racism" has come to be applied to a variety of attitudes, some of which are mutually incompatible, and has been devalued to mean little more than a tendency to dislike some people for the color of their skin. Moreover, anti-racism admits the natural existence of "races" even while opposing social distinctions among them. The abolitionists maintain, on the contrary, that people were not favored socially because they were white; rather they were defined as "white" because they were favored. So long as the "white race" exists, all movements against "racism" are doomed to fail.

HOW TO ABOLISH THE WHITE RACE

The white race is a club, which enrolls certain people at birth, without their consent, and brings them up according to its rules. For the most part the members go through life accepting the benefits of membership, without thinking about the costs. When individuals question the rules, the officers are quick to remind them of all they owe to the club, and warn them of the dangers they will face if they leave it. The existence of the club depends on the willingness of those assigned to it to

place their racial interests above class, gender, or any other interests they hold. Its weak point is its need for unanimity. The white race must have the support of all those it has designated as its constituency, or it ceases to exist. The defection of enough of its members to make it unreliable as a predictor of behavior will lead to its collapse.

A LOOK AT THE PAST

To understand how the collapse of the white race can happen, it may be useful to take a look back into history: before the Civil War, the leading spokesmen for the slaveholders acknowledged that the majority of white northerners, swayed above all by the presence of the fugitive slave, considered slavery unjust. The slaveholders also understood that the opposition was ineffective, however much the white people of the north disapproved of the slave system, the majority went along with it rather than risk the ordinary comforts of their lives, meager as they were in many cases. When John Brown attacked Harpers Ferry, Southern leaders reacted with fury: they imposed a boycott on northern manufactures, demanded new concessions from the government in Washington, and began to prepare for war. In seeking to portray John Brown as a representative of northern opinion, Southern leaders were wrong: he represented only a small and isolated minority. But they were also right, for he expressed the hopes that still persisted in the northern population despite decades of cringing before the slaveholders. Virginia did not fear John Brown and his small band of followers, but his goal that would "go marching on," though "his body lay a-mould'ring in the grave." Retaliating for Harpers Ferry, the South sought to further bully northern opinion. It did so not out of paranoia but out of the realistic assessment that only a renewal of the national pro-slavery vows could save the slave system. By the arrogance of their demands, the Southern leaders compelled the people of the north to react. Each step led inexorably to the next: Southern land greed, Lincoln's victory, secession, war, blacks as laborers, soldiers, citizens, voters. And so the war that began with not one person in a hundred foreseeing the end of slavery was transformed within two years into an anti-slavery war.

A LOOK AT THE PRESENT

The majority of so-called whites in this country are not consciously committed to white supremacy, like most human beings in most times and places, they would do the right thing if it were convenient. Like their counterparts before the Civil War, most go along with a system that disturbs them, because the consequences of challenging it are terrifying. They close their eyes to what is happening around them, because it is easier not to know. At rare moments their nervous peace is shattered, their certainty is shaken, and they are compelled to question the common sense by which they normally live. One such moment was in the days immediately following the Rodney King verdict, when a majority of white Americans were willing to admit to poll-takers that black people had good reasons to rebel, and some joined them. Ordinarily the moments are brief, as the guns and reform programs are moved up to restore order and, more important, the confidence that matters are in good hands and they can go back to sleep.

Both the guns and the reform programs are aimed at white as well as blacks — the guns is a warning and the reform programs as a salve to their consciences.

Recently the writer, unfamiliar with New York City traffic laws, made an illegal right turn there on a red light. He was stopped by two cops in a patrol car. After examining his license, they released him with a courteous admonition. Had he been black, they probably would have ticked him, and might have worked him over. A lot of history was embodied in that small exchange: the cops treated the miscreant leniently at least in part because they assumed, looking at him, that he was white and therefore loyal. Their courtesy was a habit meant both to reward good conduct and induce future cooperation.

Had the driver cursed them, or displayed a bumper sticker that said, "Avenge Rodney King," the cops might have reacted differently. In all likelihood neither gesture on the part of a single individual would be of much consequence. But if enough of those who looked white broke the rules of the club so as to make the cops doubt their ability to recognize a white person merely by looking, how would it affect the cops' behavior? And if the police, the courts, and the authorities in general were to start spreading around indiscriminately the treatment they normally reserve for people of color, how would the rest of the so-called whites react? RESIGN FROM THE WHITE RACE The task is not to win over more whites to anti-racism; there are already quite enough. For those so-called whites who oppose the racialized structure of America, the task is to draw an impassable line between themselves and white society, so that those who uphold the rules of whiteness can no longer claim to speak in their name. It requires not merely that they oppose "racism," but that they act in such a way that they no longer receive the wages of whiteness. Rejecting whiteness has political, cultural, and social aspects. It includes some efforts today being carried out under the banners of "anti-racism" and "multi-culturalism," some being carried out under no banner at all, as well as new forms of struggle not yet conceived. What unites all these efforts is the commitment of those carrying them out to, by ceasing to act white, become no longer white. When the cop, the judge, the school principal, and the other representatives of official society can no longer spot a white person merely by looking, the white race will come crumbling down, and former whites will be able to take part together with others, in building a new human community. The writer is one of the editors of "Race Traitor," whose motto is "Treason to whiteness is loyalty to humanity." Single copies are \$6 postpaid, subscriptions are \$20 for four issues. Write to P. O. Box 603, Cambridge, MA 02140.

RACE TRAITOR



TREASON TO WHITENESS
IS LOYALTY TO HUMANITY

BELL HOOKS. (Gloria Watkins), a bi-monthly Z columnist, teaches Afro-American studies at Yale University. She is the author of *Ain't I A Woman: Black Women and Feminism* and *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center* (both SEP).

OVERCOMING WHITE SUPREMACY

B Y B E L L H O O K S

BLACK PEOPLE in the United States share with black people in South Africa and with people of color globally both the pain of white supremacist oppression and exploitation and the pain that comes from resistance and struggle. The first pain wounds us, the second pain helps heal our wounds. It often troubles me that black people in the United States have not risen en masse to declare solidarity with our black sisters and brothers in South Africa. Perhaps one day soon—say Martin Luther King's birthday—we will enter the streets at a certain hour, wherever we are, to stand for a moment, naming and affirming the primacy of black liberation.

"White Supremacy"

AS I WRITE I am trying to remember when the word "racism" ceased to be the most useful term to denote exploitation of people of color in this society and when I began to prefer to use "white supremacy." The latter was certainly a necessary term when confronted with the liberal attitudes of white women active in feminist movement who were unlike white women in the early women's rights movement who did not wish to be caught dead in fellowship with black women. New feminists often sought out the presence of black women. Yet like their racist ancestors, they often wished to exercise control over our bodies and thoughts. This need to exercise power over us expressed the extent they had internalized the values and attitudes of white supremacy.

It may well have been this contact with a white-dominated women's movement, or contact with white English professors who want very much to have a black person in their department as long as that person thinks and acts like them, shares their values and beliefs, and is in no way different, that compels me to use the term "white supremacy" to identify the ideology that most determines how white people in this society (irrespective of their political leanings—be they Right or Left) perceive and relate to black people and other people of color. It is the very small but highly visible liberal movement away from the perpetuation of overt discrimination, exploitation, and oppression of black people which often masks the extent to which white supremacy is all-pervasive in this society, both as ideology and as action. When liberal whites fail to understand the extent to which they embody white supremacist values and beliefs even though they may not embrace racism as prejudice or domination (especially domination that involves coercive control), they cannot recognize the ways their ac-

tions support and affirm the very structure of domination that they profess to wish to see eradicated.

Likewise, "white supremacy" is a much more useful term for understanding the complicity of people of color in upholding and maintaining racial hierarchies that do not involve force (i.e. slavery, apartheid) than the term "internalized racism"—a term most often used to suggest that black people have absorbed negative feelings and attitudes about blackness held by white people. The term white supremacy enables us to recognize not only that black people are socialized to embody the values and attitudes of white supremacy, but that we can exercise "white supremacist control" over other black people. This is important, for unlike the term "uncle tom" which carried with it the recognition of complicity and internalized racism, a new terminology must accurately name the way we as black people directly exercise power over one another when we perpetuate white supremacist beliefs. Speaking about changing perspectives



Women protest against apartheid at South African Consulate, 1985

on black identity, writer Toni Morrison said in a recent interview: "Now people choose their identities. Now people choose to be Black." At this historical moment, when a few black people no longer experience the racial apartheid and brutal racism that still determines the lot of many black people, it is easier for that few to ally themselves politically with the dominant racist white group.

Assimilation has provided social legitimization for this shift in allegiance. It is a strategy deeply rooted in the ideology of white supremacy, as its advocates urge black people to negate blackness and imitate whites. Ironically, many changes in social policy and social attitudes that were once seen as ways to end racial domination have served to reinforce and perpetuate white supremacy. Given the continued force of racism, translated into assimilation racial integration ultimately reinforces and maintains white supremacy. Without an ongoing active movement to end white supremacy, without an ongoing black liberation struggle, no social environment can exist in the United States that truly supports integration. When black people enter white supremacist social contexts, we are rewarded for assimilation. Black people working or socializing in predominantly white settings whose very structures are informed by the principles of white supremacy, who dare to affirm blackness, love of black culture and identity, do so at great risk. We must continually challenge, protest, and resist while working to close gaps in our defense that will allow us to be crushed. This is especially true in work settings where we risk being fired or turned down for deserved promotions. Resisting the pressure to assimilate is a part of our struggle to end white supremacy.



DORNA BINDER

The Continuing Struggle For Self Awareness and Solidarity

WHEN I talk with audiences around the United States about feminist issues of race and gender, my use of the term "white supremacy" always sparks a reaction, usually of a critical or hostile nature. Individual white people and even some non-whites insist that this is not a white supremacist society; that racism is not nearly the problem it used to be (it is downright frightening to hear people argue vehemently that the problem of racism has been solved); that there has been change. While it is true that the nature of racist oppression and exploitation has changed as slavery has ended and the apartheid structure of Jim Crow has legally changed, white supremacy continues to shape perspectives on reality and to inform the social status of black people and all people of color. No where is this more evident than in university settings. And often it is the liberal folks in those settings who are unwilling to acknowledge this truth.

Recently a white male lawyer informed me that someone had told him that children are learning very little history these days in school, that the attempt to be all inclusive, to talk about Indians, blacks, women, etc., has led to a fragmented focus on particular representative individuals with no larger historical framework. I responded to this comment by suggesting that it has been easier for white people to practice this inclusion rather than change the larger framework; that it is easier to focus on Christopher Columbus, as the important white man who "discovered" America, than to focus on Sitting Bull or Harriet Tubman, than to cease making history a narrative of the action of "great, heroic, white men"—than to cease telling a distorted, biased version of United States history. Teaching history in a new way would require abandoning the old myths like the notion that Columbus discovered America. It would mean talking about imperialism, colonization, about Africans who came here before Columbus (see Ivan Seruma's *They Came Before Columbus*). It would mean talking about genocide, about white colonial exploitation and betrayal of Native American Indians; about legal and governmental support, from the Constitution on, for slavery and apartheid (see Derrick Bell's *And We Are Not Yet Saved*). This history can be taught only when the perspectives of teachers are no longer shaped by white supremacy. My conversation with this lawyer is one of many examples of how black people and white people can socialize pleasantly and be racially integrated while deeply ingrained notions of white supremacy remain intact. Even non-coercive incidents like this reveal the need for concerned white people to begin to fully explore how white supremacy constrains their world view, even as their actions are not informed by racial prejudice that emphasizes discrimination and separation.

Significantly, "assimilation" is a term that began to be more commonly used after the revolts against white supremacy in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Substantively, the passionate rebellion against racism and white supremacy of this period was crucial because it created a context for critical consciousness in which black people could begin to confront the extent of our complicity and internalization of white supremacy and begin the process of self-recovery and collective renewal. Describing this effort in his work *The Search for a Common Ground* black theologian Howard Thurman commented: "Black is Beautiful" became not

merely a phrase. It was a stance, a total attitude, a metaphysics. In very positive and exciting terms it began undermining the idea that had developed over so many years—a central aspect of white mythology—that black is ugly, black is evil, black is demonic. In so doing it fundamentally attacked the front line of the defense of the myth of white supremacy and superiority.”

Clearly, assimilation as a social policy upholding white supremacy was strategically an important counter-defense, one that would serve to deflect the call for radical transformation of black consciousness. Suddenly the terms for success (getting a job, acquiring the means to provide materially for self and family) were re-defined. It was not enough for black people to enter institutions of higher education and acquire the necessary skills to effectively compete for jobs previously occupied solely by whites; the demand was that blacks become “honorary whites,” that black people assimilate to succeed.

The force that gave the social policy of assimilation power to influence and change the direction of black liberation struggle was economic. Economic distress created a climate wherein militancy—overt resistance to white supremacy and racism (which included the presentation of self in a manner that suggests black pride)—was no longer deemed a viable survival strategy. Natural hair styles, African dress, etc., were discarded as signs of militancy that might keep one from getting ahead. A similarly regressive move was taking place among young white radicals, many of whom had been fiercely engaged in left politics, who suddenly began to seek re-incorporation into the liberal and conservative mainstream. Again the force behind their re-entry into the system was economic. On a very basic level, changes in the cost of housing (the apartment one had in 1965 for \$100 a month, cost \$400 a month by 1975) had a frightening impact on college educated young people of all ethnicities who thought they were committed to transforming society, but who were unable to face living without choice, without the means to escape, who feared living in poverty. Coupled with economic forces exerting pressure, many radicals despaired of the possibility that this white supremacist capitalist patriarchy could really be changed.

Tragically, many radical whites who had been allies in the black liberation struggle as they moved into their new liberal positions, either began to question whether the struggle to end racism was really that significant, or to suggest that the struggle was over. Radical white youth who had worked in civil rights struggles, protested the war in Vietnam, and even denounced U.S. imperialism, could not reconstruct their ties to prevailing systems of domination without creating a new layer of false consciousness—the assertion that racism was no longer pervasive, that race was no longer an important issue. Similarly, critiques of capitalism, especially those that urged individuals to try and live differently within the framework of capitalism, were also relegated to the back burner, as people “discovered” that it was important to have class privilege, so that one could better help the exploited.

It is no wonder that black radicals met these betrayals with an onslaught of despair and hopelessness. What had all the contemporary struggle to resist racism really achieved? What did it mean to go through this period of radical questioning of white supremacy, of black is beautiful, only to witness a few years later the successful mass production of



Delegates launch Union of Metalworkers, Johannesburg, 1967

white corporations of hair care products to straighten black hair that would have unprecedented appeal? What did it mean to witness the assault on black culture by capitalist forces which stress the production on all fronts of an image, a cultural product that can “cross over”—that is, that can speak more directly to the concerns, to the popular imagination of white consumers, while still attracting the dollars of black consumers. And what does it mean in 1987 when television viewers watch a morning talk show on black beauty, where black women suggest that these trends are only related to personal preferences and have no relation to racism; when viewers witness a privileged white male, Phil Donahue, shaking his head and trying to persuade the audience to acknowledge the reality of racism and its impact on black people? Or what does it mean when many black people say that what they like most about the Bill Cosby show is that there is little emphasis on blackness, that they are “just people”? And again to hear reported on national news that little black children prefer playing with white dolls rather than black dolls? All these popular narratives remind us that “we are not yet saved,” that white supremacy prevails, that the racist oppression and exploitation which daily assaults the bodies and spirits of black people in South Africa, assaults black people here.

Resistance and Renewal

YEARS AGO when I was a high-school student experiencing racial desegregation, there was a fierce current of resistance and militancy. It swept over and through our bodies as we, black students, stood, pressed against the red brick walls, watching the national guard with their guns, waiting for a moment when we would enter, when we would break through racism, waiting for the moment of change, of victory. And now even within myself, I find that spirit of militancy growing faint; all too often it is assuaged by feelings of despair and powerlessness. I find I must work to nourish it, to keep it strong. Feelings of despair and powerlessness are intensified by all the narratives of black self-hate that indicate that those militant 1960s did not have sustained radical impact—that the transformation of black self-consciousness did not become an ongoing revolutionary practice in black life. This causes such frustration and despair for it means that we must return to this basic agenda: that we must renew efforts at transformation, that we

must go over old ground. Perhaps what is worst about turning over old ground is the fear that the seeds, though planted again, will never survive, will never grow strong. Right now it is anger and rage (see Audre Lorde's "The Uses of Anger" in *Sister Outsider*) at the continued racial genocide that rekindles within me that spirit of militancy.

Like so many radical black folks who work in university settings, I often feel very isolated. Often we work in environments of predominantly white folks (some of whom are well-meaning and concerned) who are not committed to working to end white supremacy, or who are unsure about what that commitment means. Certainly, feminist movement has been one of the places where there has been renewed interest in challenging and resisting racism. It has been easier for white women to confront racism as overt exploitation and domination, or as personal prejudice, than to confront the reality of white supremacy.

In talking about race and gender recently, I find that the question most often asked has to do with white women's response to black women or women of color insisting that they are not willing to teach them about their racism—to show the way. They want to know what should a white person do who is attempting to resist racism. It is problematic to assert that black people and other people of color who are sincerely committed to struggling against white supremacy are unwilling to help or teach white people. Challenging black folks in the nineteenth century, Frederick Douglass made the crucial point that "power accedes nothing without demand..." For the racially oppressed to demand of white people, of black people, of all people, that we eradicate white supremacy; that those who benefit materially by exercising white supremacist power either in an active or a passive way, willingly give up that privilege in response to that demand, then to refuse to show the way is to undermine our own cause. We must show the way. There must exist a paradigm, a practical model for social change that includes an understanding of ways to transform consciousness that are linked to efforts to transform structures.

Fundamentally it is our collective responsibility as radical black people and people of color, as white people, to construct models for social change. To abdicate that responsibility, to suggest that change is something an individual can do on her own or in isolation with other racist white people, is utterly misleading. If as a black person I say to a white person who shows a willingness to commit herself to the struggle to end white supremacy that I refuse to affirm or help in that endeavor, it is a gesture that undermines my commitment to that struggle. Essentially, many black people have made this response because we do not want to do the work for white people, and most importantly we cannot do the work, yet this often seems to be what is asked of us. Rejecting this does not mean that we cannot and

do not show the way by our actions, by the information we share. Those white people who want to continue the dominant/subordinate relationship endemic to racist exploitation by insisting that we "serve" them—that we do the work of challenging and changing their consciousness—are acting in bad faith. In his work *Pedagogy in Progress: The Letters to Guinea-Bissau*, Paulo Freire reminds us: "Authentic help means that all who are involved help each other mutually, growing together in the common effort to understand the reality which they seek to transform." It is our collective responsibility as people of color and as white people who are committed to ending white supremacy to help one another.

It is our collective responsibility to educate for critical consciousness. If I commit myself politically to black liberation struggle, to the struggle to end white supremacy, I am not making a commitment to working only for and with black people. I must engage in struggle with all willing comrades to strengthen our awareness and resistance. (See again *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* and *The Last Year of Malcolm X—The Evolution of a Revolutionary* by George Breitman.) Malcolm X is an important role model for those of us who wish to transform our consciousness. He engaged in ongoing critical self-reflection, in changing both his words and his deeds. In thinking about black response to white people, about what they can do to end racism, I am reminded of that memorable example when Malcolm X expressed regret about an incident with a white female college student who asked him what she could do and he told her there was nothing. He later saw that there was much that she could have done. Each of us must work to educate ourselves to understand with a critical consciousness the nature of white supremacy. Black people are not born into this world with innate understanding of racism and white supremacy. (See John Hodge, ed., *Cultural Bases of Racism and Group Oppression*.)

Domination Not Prejudice

IN RECENT years particularly among women active in the feminist movement, much effort to confront racism has focused on individual prejudice. While it is important that individuals work to transform their consciousness, striving to be anti-racist, it is important for us to remember that the

struggle to end white supremacy is a struggle to change a system. Hodge emphasizes in his book "the problem of racism is not prejudice but domination." For our efforts to end white supremacy to be effective individual struggle to change consciousness must be fundamentally linked to collective effort to transform those structures that reinforce and perpetuate white supremacy. **END**

Bell Hooks' column will appear every other month. Next installment, March.



Howard Beach, Queens New York, 1987



Three Into One:

The Triple Oppression Of Racism, Sexism And Class

by Klaus Viehmann

I.

"If you argue, then you decide to take the risk of discovering that an argument shows a structure with far-reaching implications for your own existence."

(Thought Relationships, 553)

In this sense, this paper is very risky. As a discussion paper, even a preliminary one, it runs the risk of errors - but this is better than the dubious safety of silence.

The background of this paper is a long discussion between leftist women (mainly) and men, conducted mostly through prisoners' letters. In the end, it was put together in jail with the "view from a distance" which overlooks many day-to-day details, but which can (therefore?) see further than just the neighbour's fence. The purpose of the discussion was to critique a handed-down class analysis which is prejudiced and dominated by patriarchal thoughts and which is pervaded with racism. The analysis of global or local oppression- and exploitation- mechanisms was always blurred by economics, making the existence of patriarchy and racism "invisible". It divided struggles into primary and secondary contradictions and covered the world in a white, Eurocentric mould.

Events like May 1, 1987 - with its active mixture of poor neighbourhood residents, Turkish youths of both sexes, as well as Autonomen - and the strike at Rheinhessen in 1987/88 - to which the Autonomen did not respond - provided some starting points to this discussion. But these events did not have any major effects on autonomist theory or practice. Even the anti-IMF campaign in West-Berlin didn't make any real progress, apart from token mentions of patriarchy and sexism in texts and pamphlets. Sexism within the left's own inner-structures - which could no longer be denied after the regular attacks on women became known - the weak reaction of the left to the state's hate-campaigns against the "flood of refugees" (although there were some positive exceptions to this, like the RZ's "free flow" campaign), and, more recently, the traditional defensive theme-building around the rise of racism and Fatherland-hype (which has not been limited to mere verbal abuse); these all mirror this to some extent. In searching for a radical critique of these global and local violence- and exploitation-relationships, very little is to be found within the theory of the left. Here, the meanings of capitalism/imperialism, patriarchy, and racism, and the connections between them all, are given but a passing, formalized treatment.

Much further developed are feminist comrades and blacks, especially black women, which should come as no surprise. Also, a much greater stress is put upon the significance of "triple oppression" of capital, patriarchy, and racism by the militant left in England, America, and the so-called Third World. (Occasionally, a fourth oppression is mentioned, namely the exploitation of the Third World by the metropolises, but even then the triple oppression is retained as a political notion). The longer you come to grips with triple oppression, the more visible its elements and interactions become visible in the theory, history, and day-to-day life and (non-)praxis of the left. This process of recognition is what this paper seeks to stimulate.

"When we talk about liberation struggle, we mean the fight against all these three kinds of oppression. We don't talk about three different stages or three different struggles; no, we speak of one and only one struggle! I

already said that freedom is indivisible. You cannot call yourself free if one or more of these oppressions still exists."

- Neville Alexander

The German left is privileged: it's very white, very male, and less dependent on wage slavery. Privileges make you blind, blind to realities outside your own experiences and commonplace awareness. In this way, men have to learn a great deal from feminist comrades, and we all have to learn from texts by black people. Sure, leftists are anti-sexist and anti-racist, of course - "of course", but rarely with any practical consequences. (But usually, "of course" simply means that a left-wing person doesn't make any special effort to come to grips with the problem, because he (!) thinks he couldn't be guilty in these areas, especially not in the private realm). Relationships in which you are the privileged party cannot become revolutionized without you losing your own power. This is a basic starting point. The autonomous-left (and its theory) is in such a state of indecision, with such a lack of a utopian vision, that its practice is often full of latent or overt examples of sexism, racism, and "white spots", so this discussion of triple oppression can only be healthy. The lack of utopias means the lack of conceptions of something worth fighting for, of something that has to be achieved. To restrict utopias to the possibilities of one's immediate surroundings is to reduce the questions of power and developing a counter-power to mere daily tasks. Long-term mobilizing, however, is only possible if one has long-term goals in mind, goals which go beyond one's current (personal) situation in life.

"One of the hardest lessons we had to learn was that revolutionary struggle is more scientific than emotional. I don't say we shouldn't feel anything, but decisions cannot be based upon love or hate. They have to be based upon objective circumstances and aim at what is rationally and unemotionally necessary."

- Assata Shakur

After this introduction, the subject now becomes the limits of the old concept of class; that's how this discussion began. Then there follows a definition of racism and its connection to class war and patriarchy. This is followed by patriarchy and its feminist critique and also its connection to class war. A special section then follows containing longer quotations from black women; as a direct link to German relationships there are excerpts from a critique by a Filipino woman regarding the German women's movement. These are given a lot of space, because they are both important and authentic. The paper then continues with a rather dry theoretical piece on triple oppression. Then there is a short section on National-Socialism and the resistance of the German Communist Party (KPD). The next, longer chapter critiques autonomist theory and practice, followed by some proposals. In discussing this complex theme, it is impossible to avoid some cross-over between the different chapters. On the other hand, they also complement one another. So please, don't take anything out of context from this paper.

Before we start, here are some definitions of terms:

class struggles: struggles against capitalist oppression, sustained by workers and those in solidarity with them.

anti-patriarchal struggles: sustained by women and those in solidarity with them.

anti-racist struggles: sustained by black people and those

in solidarity with them; "black" is taken to be a political term for all those exposed to white racism.

anti-imperialist struggles: sustained by the "Third World" liberation movements and those in solidarity with them.

That these struggles cannot, in reality, be separated, is another theme to be addressed. But these definitions are correct and necessary, otherwise the discussion of triple oppression would go round and round in circles if unclear notions were used to discuss other unclear notions.

II.

"What is the working class today? What gender is it? And what colour?"

- Paul Gilroy

These questions are based on a notion of class that implies that all struggles can be explained by and reduced to a prime confrontation between labour and capital, thereby proclaiming the working class to be the revolutionary subject. This traditional left concept leaves no room for the historic-authentic oppression of women and black people, nor for the qualitative material differences between the metropolises and the "Third World". It also leaves no room for collective resistance in these dimensions; it is patriarchal and white/Eurocentric.

Marxist theory is indispensable for recognizing capitalist exploitation and for understanding the struggles taking place at the line of confrontation between capital and labour. The class analysis which is derived from this (economic) confrontation, which cites the working class as the only driving force of the revolutionary process, is insufficient, because it only sees patriarchy and racism as secondary contradictions and thus it overlooks their political and social importance. In downplaying the importance of racist and sexist oppression, or at most analyzing them as divisive mechanisms of capital, thereby linking them exclusively to the existence of capital, it fails to give that which is needed in the political/practical process of social change and the mobilization towards a necessary counter-power to achieve the following: a perspective of liberation from all forms of oppression and exploitation.

Revolutionary goals and behaviour cannot be derived economically from one's position in the production process. (Which does not mean that economic or social positions in the class relationships are no criteria). Revolutionary movements have always formed themselves in fought-for and endured experiences, conscious assimila-

tion, and organizational support. This is also the task of the left.

This is not a "farewell to the proletariat", but only the realization that class struggles are not only waged by white working-class males in the metropolises and that on the front-line against imperialism, patriarchy, and racism, there are controversies and struggles which are just as important. All these struggles have roots in historical and structural power-relationships which exist in simultaneous and reciprocal expansion and stabilization.

A theory which comprises all of these struggles (or at least makes it possible to recognize each of them), and which also describes the objective conditions which give these struggles their origins and limits, is not available within the (autonomous) left. Neither has it an understanding of the social actors who (could) have the objective power to turn over the ruling order. By ignoring this question, it becomes impossible to see how this ruling order - with its ideological trenches, productive sources of wealth, and military might - can ever be destroyed. When separated from objectively-present power, revolutionary will is doomed to fail.

No progress is achieved by replacing the notion of the working class with that of (under-)class(es). Either this notion is defined in economic terms and does not specifically state why, from this material position, a revolutionary fighting spirit should arise, or (under-)class(es) is simply applied to all those who fight, thereby veiling all differences of class, gender, nationality, and "race", as well as peoples' different reasons for fighting. (The old "misery-theory", which viewed revolution as the result of hunger, has been proven wrong historically, but bits and pieces of it survive and still clutter autonomist ideas: someone who is poor will fight and is, therefore, automatically revolutionary. This neglects the fact that marginalization brings other, existential problems to the fore, problems which, in reality, leave very little room for dreams of a better life.)

When "Third World" persons involved in an uprising are equated with the German under-class, when simultaneous riots in Sao Paulo, Gaza, Seoul, Brixton, and Kreuzberg are attributed to similar causes, this certainly gives a nice rounded view of the world, but this is the worst possible kind of abstraction. In spite of the growing relative misery of metropolitan poverty, there is a qualitative difference with the mass starvation in the "Third World" and falling bombs "made in the USA". The differing conditions in the metropolises and in the "Third World", and the acceptance of the latter by the majority of workers in the metropolises, not only signifies a (secondary) division of the global proletariat, but in fact proves its non-existence.

On with the question of the gender and colour of the working class: Within the notion of the working class, the female gender has been made invisible. Female workers, by the neglect of their additional role as (house-)wives, are reduced within the labour relationship. Their additional exploitation by the (working-)man disappears within the "proletarian family" much propagated by Marxist-Leninists. The concept of work upon which the notion of the working class is based is that of paid labour. In the realm of social production, in which mainly women (especially in the "Third World") work, is swept under the carpet. The whole division of work by gender and its enormous value for capital and for men is lost as a sort of natural resource in the reproductive sphere, which is not thought of as having any revolutionary explosiveness.

The oppression of women cannot be considered a secondary problem, one which will immediately disappear once the "primary contradictions" are resolved by the "victory of the proletariat", and this is proven by the fact that violence against women is perpetrated by working class men just as it is by men of all other classes. The historical persistence of this violence and the blindness towards it on the part of the labour movement and its theoreticians are a strong counter to the notion that women can be liberated through the struggle of the working class.

The question about the colour of the working class shows a further unjustified assumption about the working class being the alleged representative of the oppressed.

Racism will be more thoroughly discussed in the next part and in the section on National-Socialism, where a particularly brutal and racist division of work will be discussed.

Here are some points about the meaning of "colour" in relation to workers: Differences in "race" and nationality are, at the same time, differences in the intensity of exploitation. Provided that immigrants don't import struggles - which happens quite often - the racist division of classes plays into the hands of capital, because the individuals can be more heavily exploited while the group represents a variable reserve force whose country of origin does not have to be reimbursed for their labour power and (if any) education.

The following is a quotation concerning the current composition of class, or more accurately, the fractionalization of class:

"With this 'voluntary' multi-national composition of the labour force (consisting of immigrants from Eastern Europe, the European Community, and the southern hemisphere) in post-war Germany has replaced the bloody, militarist, and violent model of the Nazis with a less-sharp, 'cleaner' method:

- On the top are the upper-level white-collar jobs (research, construction, management) with mostly male German workers.

- Next are the 'masters' (semi-independent skilled labourers). They are predominantly male and German.

- Then come the skilled workers and foremen in the factories. They are mostly German men, but there also some foreign males, like Italians, Spaniards, and Yugoslavians.

- Below these are the Turkish and Moroccan men and the foreign women in general (in the industrial mass-production sector and the service sector, with jobs like cleaning, etc.).

- At the very bottom are refugees of both sexes." (from a flyer issued by the Günter Sare Action Group, summer 1989)

This gives a rough sketch of the racist (and sexist) division of labour installed by capital. That is one side of the story. What this doesn't show, however, is the very real existence of racism within the working class. The functioning (!) racist split within the working class - under National-Socialism, the destruction of class comrades was silently tolerated as well as actively propagated - gives another important argument against the assumption of the supreme, all-liberating working class. After all the internal contradictions and after the working women, now also the privileges of the white working class and those workers killed because of their "race" and nationality are becoming invisible.

III.

"It is the racist who creates the inferior."

- Fanon

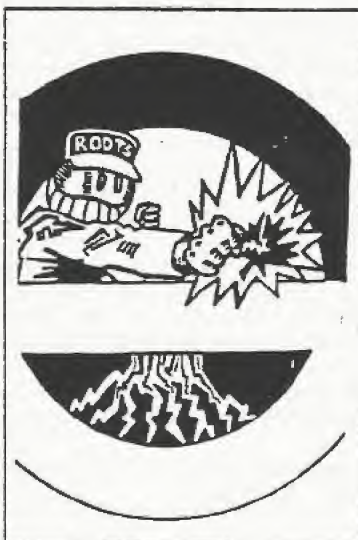
"Racism, the incestuous off-spring of patriarchy and capital"

- Pratibha Parmar

Forms of racism have become independent. They have been given a lot of attention and careful scrutiny.

There is only one "race": the human race.

"Races" are a construction by which social and cultural differences are translated into so-called biologically determined characteristics. "Race" is an open category, whose definition has varied widely throughout the course of history. That's why it's better to talk about racisms (in the plural) than about racism. (By the way, the



biological/genetic differences among whites are as varied as those among blacks and between blacks and whites.)

All racisms have in common the notion that victims are placed on a lower level on the social scale than one's own, and that they have to stay there because they are "naturally inferior". "Naturally" means: without an historical background; fixed for eternity. Racisms try, by means of "descentence" and "purity of blood", to create identities which run straight across class and gender lines. What is reality is not the existence of "races", but rather of racisms.

"There is absolutely no logical reason to assume from the fact that racial prejudices exist that something like a "race" or an "ethnic group" must exist. Must ghosts exist, simply because a large number of people believe in ghosts and behave like they do exist by not going to graveyards at night?"

- Neville Alexander

There are two processes upon which the preservation and development of racisms are founded:

- Physical characteristics are placed in a causal relationship with social and cultural differences. These differences are thereby naturalized and thus interpreted as universally valid.

- Racisms are an authentic form of living out one's inferior position in the power/exploitation structure. They are constantly fed anew - both ideologically and materially - and are more than just "false consciousness".

"We have to learn how groups which are excluded from the riches of the welfare society, but who are nevertheless part of the nation and seek to identify with it, find, in racism, an authentic form of identity and self-consciousness."

- Stuart Hall

To see racisms as 'false', as mere artifacts crafted by the ruling powers, is to ignore their popularity and materially existing, age-old traditions. Racisms have become structures that cannot be reduced to other social relations. They also cannot be traced completely from knowledge of other social relations, for they are relatively independent of patriarchy and class domination. A separate analysis of "race" and class struggle cannot, for example, explain the racist foundations of capitalism/imperialism.

As power-relations, racisms reach right into peoples' heads. They surface in ideas, attitudes, and emotions. It's very typical for anti-racist views to be linked with spontaneous racist feelings. This internalization of power-relations means that white people, so to speak, stand upon the shoulders of their slave-keeping ancestors, just as Germans stand upon the shoulders of the Nazis' "HERRENmenschen". (In principle, this also applies to those who consciously and militantly fight this!) Black women and men, on the other hand, stand in front of their enslaved and exterminated ancestors, just as Jews and Poles stand in front of those destroyed in the Holocaust.

"The tradition of all the dead generations sits like a mountain upon the minds of the living." (18. Brumaire, 1) To be more precise, Marx could have said: upon the minds of the survivors and their offspring.

To legitimize and secure hierarchies and exploitation by means of ascribing certain so-called biological/natural properties is a corresponding mechanism in the beginning phases of sexism and racism. The racisms that arose during the Middle Ages resulted from the persecution of all those that did not live by or seek to adopt the values of the Church. Crusades against these heathens, pogroms against Jewish communities and heretics, and a long series of witch-hunts were the result.

With the conquest of America and Africa, the colonizers were confronted with the problem of establishing

a local ruling power structure. Notions of "purity of blood" and "pure nobility" were used in order to keep those being colonized out of power, no matter how wealthy they may become. This kept power in the hands of white Europeans. With the rise of secular society and its emphasis on natural science, "explanations" grounded racisms on solid "foundations". For example, one explorer claimed that Negroes were the result of women mating with apes (!). And Voltaire, who always seems much nicer in school books, thought the following: "There is, in every human race, like there is in plants, a principle which differentiates among them. Thus, Negroes are the slaves of other men."

In the nation states of the 19th and 20th centuries, these coarse racisms were changed into "popular characteristics". "Gallic" French as opposed to "Germanic" Germans, etc. This idiocy played a major role in the hype surrounding World War I. At this same time, colonial racism became more "humane" and offered the "Negroes" the blessings of German, French, and English civilization. In the words of Bernstein, a social democratic theorist: "We will condemn and fight certain methods of subduing the savages, but not the subduing of savages in itself or of making them feeling the benefits of higher culture." For the rest, the whip and the battle-ship were what those blacks who didn't want to trade their land and freedom for "higher culture" had to face.

Anti-semitism is a special form of racism, in which, in one important respect, the pattern of all other racisms has changed: Jewish people are the opposite of the normal "race"-construction because they have no common external distinguishing features to set them apart from others within their social surroundings (and this is precisely the starting point for other forms of racism). Jewish people are "hit in their religious personality, in their history, and in their links with their ancestors." (Fanon)

For anti-semites, this assimilation and lack of "racial" distinctions represents an especially perverted danger for the "purity of the race". Already, Jewish ghettos have become the products of this anti-semitic racism, whose victims had to be first identified by spatial separation and later by the yellow star. (So-called properties of "Jewish looks" were only propaganda, although the Jewish people that happened to look like this had severe problems).

For the racists' plans, Jewish people are "useful" victims, because "popular opinion" would never accept the notion of a "conspiracy by Negroes against Germany" or a "Negro-Bolshevik" conspiracy as plausible. But it wasn't hard to find a few Jews in the Communist Party, either at home or in Moscow.

It makes no difference whether or not the propagandists believed all this themselves or not; it worked for the masses, and this was one of the causes of the Holocaust.

Anti-Zionism, to mention it briefly, is a political category, not a racist one. To put it pointedly: "In West Germany, there are many more Zionists than there are Jews, especially in the ruling parties." This is from the Jewish magazine "Semit" 2/90, looking back upon Strauss, Adenauer, and Springer.

The effectiveness of racisms, especially for underclass whites, can be partially explained by competition. (For the rich, immigrants don't provide economic competition, and the live in different areas; the rich, therefore, can afford to be liberal).

The fewer left-wing alternatives available, the weaker the women's and anti-fascist movements will be, and the more de-classification will express itself in racism and a hatred of women. On the basis of very real and existing racist patterns, de-classification does not lead to solidarity against the ruling powers, but to patriarchy and kicking those below. This is a starting point for understanding the "economic" development of racisms and sexism. But this does not imply that there is no individual responsibility for the decision between rebellion and kicking those below.



Nor should this give the impression that racism and sexism could only be eliminated through the social pressure of a strengthened left. Racism and sexism always exist, albeit open or hidden. That means they also have to be fought against within the left as well, even at times when they are less-visible publicly. (This was no done in 1968, nor in 1980/81!)

As was mentioned before, "race" was originally constructed for racist means. Assigning a "race" means assigning a position: oppressor or oppressed. "Race" is an (additional) factor in the stabilization of unequal political, economic, and patriarchal relations.

But this assignment has also given life to the "racial consciousness" of black people against internal and external colonialization. "Race" then becomes the common ground for organizing the resistance to racist oppression. (Important examples of this are the Black Panther Party and the Black Consciousness Movement). Class oppression and state violence are experienced as "race relations" and the struggle against this is invariably contested along the lines of "white and black". To call this racism a part of other racisms would be to deny their very different starting points: white racisms are used to maintain the imperialist order. They have a long and bloody history. Generations of white people have profited from them, in different amounts. Settler-states like the USA, Israel, South Africa, and Northern Ireland have, by means of institutionalized racism and the sharing of conquests and positions, given profits to the entire white settler population, including the workers. When resistance to this arises, when black consciousness and black organizations form themselves, in the slaves' rebellions from Soweto to Harlem, then this is directed against the imperialist status quo and white history.

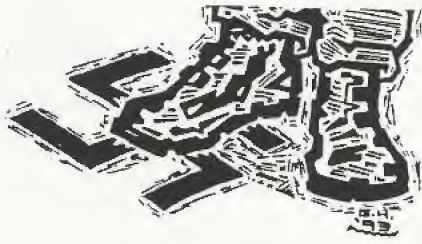
Struggles motivated by "racial consciousness", like black struggles, are anti-racist struggles!

Until all racisms are defeated, organizations which form around the issue of racial oppression are necessary:

"It would mean to disarm oneself strategically and tactically if one were to deny the reality of prejudices and observable differences, wherever they come from. It would be impossible - with the possible exception of a few thousand students - to organize a mass movement."

- Neville Alexander

The black liberation movements in the struggle for national independence are anti-imperialist and anti-racist, but not necessarily anti-capitalist and anti-patriarchal. Fanon says that after a long period of colonial and imperialistic de-identification, "Third World" nationalism is the only way to achieve a collective identity and the practical unification of the (until now divided) op-



pressed.

This probably is unavoidable, but this is still in the tradition of the step-by-step model which places national liberation before that of the working class and of women. Class struggles and patriarchy continue to exist, but are "frozen" in the interest of the national cause. But this "frozen" state is only an apparent one, placed in the program of the liberation movement.

Whereas the working masses and women figure prominently as fighters in the liberation movement, thereby making an important difference to the colonial puppet's armies, they disappear after the national victory in the economy which has to be built up in the patriarchal society that has grown into a nation state. The national victory itself is not achieved by means of a sexist-reactionary mobilization. The old is genuinely toppled by the struggle of women. But afterwards - as in Iran - the backlash occurs; the second-strike of the national "revolution" is aimed at women in a "fundamentalistic" - or Stalinistic - way.

Obviously, black people are divided along class and gender lines in the nation states established by liberation movements. But these divisions have different forms than those between white people, because they are determined by a long history of white racism and resistance to it. In the critique of the working class, the racist and patriarchal dimensions were already touched upon. So it is logical that black anti-racist organization and theory don't necessarily have to be anti-capitalist and anti-patriarchal.

IV.

"The notion of patriarchy has been rediscovered by the new feminist movement as a verbal weapon because the movement needed a notion in which the totality as well as the systematic character of the oppressive and exploitative relationships experienced by women could be expressed. Patriarchy names the historical and social dimensions (...) and is thus less open to biological explanations, as opposed to notions of male supremacy. Throughout history, patriarchal systems have not been universal, timeless systems that have always existed. (...) If patriarchy had a certain starting point in history, then it can also have an ending."

- Maria Mies

The above quotation helps explain the definition of patriarchy and rests further upon the necessity that the direction of anti-patriarchal criticism be given by feminist women.

This section will not proscribe feminist theory and praxis. Both fill countless volumes, and reality as well. But some aspects of feminist theory and practice need to be shortly recollected, however:

Violence against women was taken out of the private realm and shown to be structural and present in all other social relations; the humanistic notion of Humanity was broken down from a male abstraction into men and women, thus making women visible; the ruling conception of nature in science was robbed of its supposed

neutrality and the ordering of women under nature was dismissed; the whole of philosophy, including that of left-wing thinkers, was dismissed as being founded on patriarchal premises; the connection between sexuality and domination was illustrated; all dichotomies were critiqued (mind/body, nature/mankind (!)); a critique was made of the working class, as was discussed earlier; the importance of the labour of housewives and women in the "Third World" was affirmed; the demand for control over one's own body was made, against all reproductive technology and laws against abortion; and as a final example, the general remark that, all class and "race" hierarchy notwithstanding, any man gets from the system the control over at least one woman, and it is his duty to refuse this.

A lot of these criticisms, and especially the practice associated with them (more on that in part VII), are directly aimed at the traditional and autonomous left because they affect their theoretical starting points, inner structures, and utopian visions (more on this, too, in part VII).

Something more precise regarding violence against women:

"I believe that the importance of sexual and physical violence against women (psychological violence is something else, because its effectiveness is often linked to others) has not been understood in its full (social) dimension, not even by ourselves. Far too little, therefore, have we come to grasp and analyze the changes that occur, because only slowly but surely, bit by bit, does more and more come out into the open, even when the difficulties of arriving at a solution are enormous due to the individual nature of the mistreatment. Sexual abuse and rape during childhood doesn't just affect some girls and women, but rather millions of them. Child abuse in particular - as it is becoming increasingly clear - is becoming a mass phenomenon all over the world. That is why we can say that this phenomenon marks the social role of women. If your eyes have been open, then you will at least have some idea of the hideous and, most of all, unconscious consequences that (sexual) abuse as a child has on one's conditioning. For the rest of your life as a woman, this is always a determining factor."

(from a letter by a woman in the discussion)

Patriarchy does not, as defined at the start, exist in a social vacuum. It is linked to the other forms of oppression and has a common history with them in the process of mutual stabilization. Thus, in a class society, women as abstract beings, not influenced by their respective classes, cannot exist. The forms of oppression against women - and the resistance to them! - are different; they are different for the middle-class woman than they are for her cleaning woman; they are different for the both of these women than they are for a woman working in a sweat-shop in Malaysia or a woman farmer in Africa.

Therefore, the class divisions were followed historically by a division into civic and proletarian women's movements. But both of them, as opposed to the contemporary women's movement, lacked a feminist theory and true autonomy. The former was generally tied to state reformist policies, while the latter, for instance, was told by the Communist International in 1935 that there was no such thing as a specific women's question. Contemporary arguments between left-wing feminists and cultural feminists mirror, in part, these different class positions.

"The oppression of women knows no ethnic or racial boundaries, that is true, but that doesn't mean that it is identical within these boundaries. To deal with one of them without even mentioning the other, means to deny both what we have in common as well as what divides us."

- Audre Lorde

"There is no such thing as the universal patriarchal context...not until someone postulates an international male conspiracy or a monolithic, a-historical power hi-

erarchy. But there is a world-wide power structure, in which any analysis of culture, ideology, and social-economic conditions has to be planted by necessity."

- Chandra Talpade Mohan

In this paper, examples have already been given of the patriarchal and racist dimensions of capitalist exploitation and for the penetration of racism by class position and struggles. And more recently, the dimension of class differences within patriarchal oppression was also discussed. What remains now is the question of the importance of racism - and Eurocentrism - in patriarchy.

The discussion of Black and white feminists on this issue only got underway within the German women's movement after this paper had already been started. The fact that this (very intense) discussion was at first only held within women's groups was surely no coincidence. Leftist men, in the face of more severe attacks or more pressing themes, mostly just dug in and waited. And this is where the criticism of racism and Eurocentrism hit them full smack in the face, in addition to the charges of their patriarchal privileges.

Criticisms by Black feminists are essential to an understanding of triple oppression; in a way, they are a sum of their total experiences. Their criticism attacks racism from a feminist stance and also considers, of course, and works with class differences and differences between the metropolises and the "Third World".

"Two-thirds of humanity is coloured, and white feminists have to make themselves aware of that. They have to look at the conditions in which people live, and they have to talk about power relationships. Who has the power to oppress? What is the position of coloured women? Every oppressed group has to go and define its own road to liberation. But white feminists have to acknowledge that they form a part of economic and cultural imperialism that they have an ethnocentric point of view, and they often think they have a higher intellect than other parts of the population. How many white feminists would be willing to accept the intellectual leadership of African women? How can women talk about some other kind of freedom, and fail to look at South Africa? Feminism has to deal with imperialism, with land rights, with Maori's, with native Americans, with black women in South Africa; if not, it is a very short-sighted feminism without a global vision."

- Gloria Joseph, 1981

"It is claimed that racism and sexism are similar processes. Ideologically, for example, they both stress natural and biological differences. It is also said that notions of 'race' and gender both represent social categories. But as soon as a historical analysis is made, it is obvious that they are different and, thus, the analyses must also be different. The fact that black women are at the same time oppressed by patriarchy, racism, and class rule is the main reason not to introduce analogies that would make triple oppression invisible. We cannot define the one and only source of oppression. When white women name only patriarchy, we want a more complex concept. We find it difficult, too, to separate class position from sexism, because in our lives, we experience both simultaneously.

"As black women, we, by necessity, are in solidarity with black men against racism. This is a solidarity that white women, of course, cannot have for white men. We fight together with black men against racism - but just as well against their sexism. (...) White feminist theory and practice must acknowledge that white women are the oppressors in a power relation with black women. This compromises any feminist theory based on the equality of all women. Three central parts of feminist theory (family, patriarchy, reproductive labour) become problematic when applied to black women. They way in which the gender of black women is socialized is different from the making of white femininity, because the racist component is added. (...) The understanding of the

dependency of the housewife is problematic for black feminists. The claim that this model bridges the gap between the material situation in the household and the ideology of femininity overlooks the fact that black women often lead in their households.

"Black men are very often unemployed and women aren't so dependent upon them. How can it be claimed that black male supremacy exists and functions in the same way as white male supremacy? The history of slavery, colonialism, and imperialism have systematically put the white male roles out of reach for black men. (...) Power-relationships in slavery are obviously also patriarchal. But there is a difference in the patriarchal treatment of black women by black and white men. (...)

"The concept of reproductive labour has to be made into a problem as well. What does it mean in a situation in which black women do the domestic labour for white women? In this case, they are not wage labourers, but play a role in which they achieve the reproduction of black workers and of whites in the household simultaneously. (...) The tendency to generalize the oppression of such a vague category as 'Third World women', up to the point where all meaning is lost, is typical of the way whites handle the uniqueness of all our experiences and oppressions in their concepts and theories. The notion of patriarchy was introduced to distinguish sexist forces from other social powers, like capital. But using this term in its turn hides other differences."

- Hazel V. Carby, from "The Empire Strikes Back"

"The way in which capital, patriarchy, and 'race' structure the exploitation and oppression of black women makes it look impossible and undesirable to highlight one specific ground for all oppression: all three are always present in the daily experience of black women."

- Pratibha Parmar

The following quotations come from a speech by a woman from the Philippines, delivered at a meeting of a group against international sexual and racial exploitation held in Frankfurt. They reference the situation in Germany directly. The woman's criticisms are placed in the current context of the women's movement, but they must also be aimed at the entire white left. That is why they are printed here.

"Suffering from white racism, coupled with sexism, is an obligatory part of daily life for a foreign woman in West Germany. It's constantly being pointed out to her: this country doesn't belong to you. She feels lost, unwanted, inferior, isolated. And they feel ashamed, the foreign women, because they are looked upon as 'bought' women: dirty, without morality. 'How can you let yourself be sold?' the faces of the German women seem to say. What do you know about the things which are going on in our homes? Do you know what it means to be exploited by the multi-national corporations? (...) You look upon us as victims. Victims? If anything, I sure don't want to be looked upon as a victim, because I would fear that you would come and 'rescue' me and help me compassionately.

"We don't need your compassion, we need your co-experience. After that, we can talk about solidarity. Solidarity requires equal footing: we need to be on the same level, not one above the other. (...) And in the heads of many of you, you are saying: 'Why do you let yourselves be treated this way by these stupid German men? Why don't you get a divorce?' You won't understand it, you won't accept it, because you judge them by your own standards, whether knowingly or not. Because you don't have any idea what it means, or what the circumstances are at home, or how few are her possibilities. But most of all: you cannot accept that there are many roads to emancipation. (...)

"What are they, German women? They call themselves our sisters, our big sisters..."

"They are our conversation partners, who discuss with us our problems. (Don't German women have prob-

lems? Why is it always we who are talking?) (...) They are also the ruling women, because of what they belong to; their nationality makes them co-perpetrators in the exploitation of the under-developed countries of the Third World. They show great solidarity towards us and join in campaigns to fight the oppression of women in our countries, countries in which war is often the daily reality. What do you really know about our countries? Why do you show solidarity? What's behind that? (...) They are also the women who've been to Third World countries, either on their holidays or for some study project, and who, when they've returned, claim to be experts. They then give lectures and speeches for us and our movements. And for many of you, they are more plausible than we ourselves. (...)

"Another reason why German women support projects for foreign women is the enthusiasm of many left women for the strength of the social movements and the liberation struggles in the so-called Third World. The starting point is clear: the social circumstances in some Third World countries - exploitation, corruption, feudalism, US-imperialism - create the conditions for liberation movements. The oppressive situation is as clear as it can be. In the rich metropolitan countries, on the other hand, such a strength cannot develop, at least not without great difficulties. But in many women, there exists a great longing for the enthusiasm of the masses, their strength, their struggle, since it cannot be experienced here. This is connected with the idea that anything which is unfamiliar must be exotic. I can understand the longing. It is hard to bear, however, when the white women start teaching us how to wage our own struggles. Hard, when they want to force through - in old colonial style - their feminist theory. Hard, when they demand, at the same time, to be acknowledged for their sponsorship."

- Lidic Orben-Schmidt, 1989

Again, all that has been said here hits left-theory and left-behaviour, and left-men even more so. If those who have been quoted so extensively here speak mainly about women's structures, then this is simply because in other places there has been very little discussion about this, and elsewhere no such convincing texts are to be found.

V.

"The aim of theory is not to raise our intellectual or academic reputation, but to open possibilities to understand the historical world and its processes, to gain directions for our praxis, and to change it if necessary."

- Stuart Hall



Theory which wants to recognize and fight oppressive relationships is no mere hollow head-banging. Being hostile to theory is to partially disam one's self, because without theory, only immediately experienced supremacy can be registered, without understanding its structure, history, or global dimensions. To recognize this, ideas, notions, and a transmitting language are required. The use of a common language unites; confusion over words and unclear ideas divide.

In all liberation movements, the gaining of knowledge under the most difficult circumstances is a central part of the fight; theory is a weapon and weapons are not voluntarily rejected.

The totality of oppression, of which we are talking, simply cannot be experienced by everyone. The more white, the more male, the more rich, the more metropolitan one is, the less this is possible, and the bigger the obligation to solidarity is: to understand these realities is a learning process, so that you can then practice effective solidarity.

Supremacy is a central concept. To define it as one side of a duality between men and women, between black and white, or between labour and capital, falls way short. This presupposes a uniqueness and a completely separate existence of each of the sides which knows of no dialectic whatsoever. Supremacy for the aim of exploitation and preservation of power is, rather, a many-sided practice of oppression on the basis of several overlapping circumstances. The rules of supremacy change constantly as history moves on, and its material and internalized structures are continually built anew. There is no a-historical capitalism, patriarchy, or racism. They, and their connections, are processes of constant change.

To make a distinction in these oppressions between a material base and an ideological upper-structure would be a purely academic matter. That's why "in recent times, it has become difficult to find a simple economic class interest that is not permeated by ideology" (Hall). And Gramsci, in "The Philosophy of Practice", points to the fact that it "is a purely didactic difference between form and content to see the material powers as content and the ideology as form...[because] the material force cannot be understood historically without form and the ideologies would, without the material force, remain the whims of individuals."

The material violence of "ideologies" like racism and the hatred of women is all too obvious.

Supremacy is never complete; there are cracks in it and its internationalization is never free from contradictions. Oppressions aren't conducted separately and differently in the metropolises and the Third World. They are experienced in different ways, dependent upon which form of oppression is being experienced, and upon which ones they might commit or use themselves, and especially dependent on whether or not they fight against them. It's not the separation of oppressions which is important, but rather their mutual articulation. No single oppression is completely isolated or completely traced to another one; they form a consistent reality.

It's not a bad idea to conceive of supremacy as a sort of net. The meshes can be bigger (metropolises) or smaller (Third World). The threads can be older (patriarchy) or newer (capitalism), more stable (Germany) or weaker (Central America). The threads are knotted in different ways (racisms are connected to capitalism differently than patriarchy is, for example), and the net is constantly being repaired and renewed by many different forces (capital, state, whites, men) so as to catch others in it (women, blacks, workers), and these tear it as best they can.

This net-like view of supremacy, in which, at any knot or thread, both high and low are preserved, but no single cause or main contradiction is presupposed, also touches on the question about the revolutionary subject. If this can no longer be deduced from any one duality or single important cause, then that means that no single group of oppressed peoples can be given a privileged, avant garde position.

To decide upon the revolutionary subject by simply adding up the oppressions (Who is oppressed the most? Ah! They have to defend themselves the most!) would be an abstract construction of numerical science, which, by means of arithmetic, would give women workers a role they never asked for. To embrace them as the revolutionary subject would be fairly comfortable for the metropolitan left because no consequences result. But the lives and demands of black women and workers can very well be a measure for how a utopian liberation must be in order to end all oppressions. In this, no single oppression is played down, but rather the whole of it shows all of the beast!

The question of which oppression is the most important was mostly asked with an eye to formulating strategy; thus, social democratic and Stalinist labour movements claimed for decades that the exploitation of the worker was most important in comparison to other, "secondary contradictions". In an abstract sense, this question cannot be answered without arriving at the most unbearable comparisons. (What is worse, witch-hunts or slavery? Violence against black men or white women? War in the metropolises or war in the "Third World"?)

In reality, however, the question is different. The net-like character of supremacy and its simultaneous, global application require that the question be asked of each immediate situation of a concretely experienced and applied oppression. Then, differences in the composition of the oppressions appear, and they can be very/somewhat racist, very/somewhat patriarchal, very/somewhat imperialist or capitalist. Some examples: violence by a white man against a white wife is only superficially connected to capitalist/imperialist exploitation and has basically nothing to do with racism; a white male assembly-line worker is not exploited by racism and certainly not by sexism, but the black worker beside him is at least oppressed by racism; when white workers beat up a black man, that is primarily racist, although their act may have roots in the capitalist exploitation of all workers; when black workers strike against a white boss, very different components play a role. This list is as endless as reality.

It's clear that all forms of oppression must be fought against, and it depends on the recognition of the specific composition of oppression to determine just how the fight should go. That the fight against one component of oppression can make holes in other parts of the net (like during the British miners' strike, when the miners' wives organized themselves) is a welcome fact, but it's just as likely that the net could get tightened in one spot because of a misdirected or unfinished fight (for example, when workers' struggles are aimed against "double-earning" women or blacks).

The risk of wrong or unfinished fights is a good reason for the left to abandon its self-security and self-centredness. As Juliet Mitchell said: "An exploited class, an oppressed group, cannot gain any political awareness if it has not recognized the relationships between all the classes and groups in society; by turning into itself it will never get to this consciousness."

VI. Intermezzo: NS-Fascism And Communist Resistance

This section is not, not matter how it may seem at first, out of place, because NS (national-socialism) fascism is the historical background to a combination of capitalism/imperialism, patriarchy, and racism that is specific to Germany. In view of the present-day imperialism of Great Germany, it is necessary to look at the past with a contemporary vision. Besides, it is often easier to analyze historical phases that it is to examine the present-day.

The traditional left analysis of the NS dictatorship as being the most reactionary fraction of finance capital does explain the support of the multi-nationals for the Nazis, but this only highlights one aspect of the NS. It fails to explain either "the failure of the working class" or the relatively large mass-base of NS-fascism in Ger-

many. As with any form of nationalism, the popularity of NS was based on the premise that you belonged to a certain nationality or "race" and thus deserved privileges over those who did not belong. It also gave the illusion of an identity, which did not in reality exist, but which was in line with a certain desire for order and isolation.

The mobilizing force of Nazi ideologies was tied to those already present: racist ideas of German superiority over other races; demands (from doctors) for the elimination of "life unworthy of life", in the social-Darwinian tradition; male brotherhood ideals which reacted in irritation to the changing role of women in the 1920s; ideologies about the necessity of 'Lebensraum' (living space) and winning back colonies by revising the peace treaty signed at Versailles; and last but not least, social ideologies which played against class struggles and called for "popular unity".

The effectiveness of these ideologies was multiplied in NS because they became encapsulated in a state mechanism. This led to the briefly mentioned toleration for the destruction of "non-Aryans" and left-wing comrades.

NS was a very special case of racist labour organizing. Especially under the war economy, the spectrum of forms of exploiting labour via industrial hype ranged from a virtually unpaid labour force to working slaves and "destruction by labour". The divisions were done strictly according to the Nazi "race" scale: the management were German "Aryans", as were the technicians and the highly skilled workers; the next level were the non-voluntary "hired civil workers" from the West or Czechs; lower still were Polish workers; and at the very bottom were Soviet prisoners of war.

Besides these were the women and men in concentration camps - who were killed sooner or later - with patches stitched to their clothes which indicated their "usefulness" and perseverance. It's important to note that this labour force did not assemble simple products, but rather high-tech projects in the main economic sector! For instance, at the IG-Farben plant at Auschwitz, forms of oppression which are normally separated by whole continents or epochs were found hand-in-hand. Resistance came primarily from the lower levels of the hierarchy, but the prisoners, whether Polish, Russians, or Jews, were generally abandoned by the German workers. They did not behave as class comrades, but rather, according to their place in the hierarchy, as 'Herrenmenschen' (lords of people). Those who did show solidarity were either leftists or simple, compassionate people, but these were only a tiny minority of the millions. According to NS logic, there may have been economic reasons for the destruction of the Jews and the people of the East, but in general, it was a racist ideology that was utilized. It planned in which order the destruction would occur, and it planned choices for carrying out tests on humans. In a certain way, the NS used up all of the historic forms of racism in a compressed form in just twelve years: the persecution of the ill and mentally disabled, including murdering them; pogroms against Jewish people, leading up to the Holocaust; the wars for conquest and colonial space and for the exploitation and extermination of those that lived there (programs for the re-development of Africa had already been drawn up).

The NS ideologies not only mobilized their followers to attack certain targets, but they also imbued them with brutality, notions of "racial purity", and a leadership cult which surrounded the Party organizations.

Fulfilling one's own desire for power under such conditions was achieved by kicking out those below. In the private realm which the NS offered, at least according to their program, a man was at least guaranteed the control over one woman.

In the social sphere, once racists are in power, they have an immediate interest in controlling "their" women, because these are indispensable for the purity and continuity of the "race". All improvements promised to women under NS only served to keep them in this role. And this role was only valid for "Aryan" women - the

racist divisions ran through both genders. Jewish, Polish or Russian women were persecuted because of their nationality and "race" and because their "alien race" offspring were not wanted. They were not praised as mothers, but rather were treated as 'Untermenschen' (sub-humans). In Ravensbrück and other women-only concentration camps, there were German female guards, in so far as the SS granted them this power.

German women who fought against the NS did so because they were communists or Jews, and as such, they were compelled to fight. The fact that there were 800,000 women soldiers in the Red Army and other women in the partisan movements in both East and West has only become known in recent years (thanks in part to Ingrid Strobl).

The division of all women according to their "race" and nationality, according to their political conviction and their class status, dominated - under NS and during World War II in general - the patriarchal contradictions of their specific societies. Just being a woman did not determine which side of the barricades you were on.

"It is not the literal wording of the statute, but the meaning and spirit put into this literal wording by active fighters that determines the value of an organization."

- Rosa Luxemburg

It should not be claimed that the course of history would have been different in 1933 if the KPD (Communist Party of Germany) had taken a different political line. The (revolutionary) left was weak, it had very little money, and even fewer weapons, and was facing a broad front of middle-class and fascist forces. But a few aspects are noteworthy (and perhaps something can be learned from them).

From the early 1920s, in accordance with Soviet-style Bolshevism, the KPD had a strict hierarchy, a ban on differing factions, and the Party-line was the primary fixed dogma, and any diversions from this were punished by expulsion from the Party. It's obvious, therefore, that cultural-revolutionary and women's positions, which were passed off as petty-bourgeois, anarchistic, or secondary contradictions, had no chance of influencing the Party leadership.

With the Stalinization of the KPD, women disappeared completely from the Party leadership (Politburo). So as not to give Nazi propaganda any holding points, communist Jews were also removed from the front ranks. The KPD was not racist, but it had its 'white spots'. In its program, the KPD was much more progressive on women's issues than the other parties (for example, they wanted to get rid of all laws banning abortion), but it also held that women's issues were secondary contradictions. And Rosa Luxemburg's questions regarding the Soviet Communist Party still applied to the KPD.

The concept of solidarity meant that the class conscious proletarians of the KPD were oriented according to male values. The Party's ranks were never more than 15% women; only the half-charitable group Red





Help was about half-women. The whole private realm was separated from class interests and this allowed patriarchal oppression to work its way into the 'proletarian family', about which the KPD propaganda proclaimed 'clean girls', strong comrades, and heroic mothers. This paralleled the Soviet Union, where, after the first few progressive laws, the liberation of women was toppled by Stalinism.

"The psychological structure of a class is a moment of its objective situation."

That line is taken from a study which was conducted in 1929/30 among a few hundred workers, almost all of them social-democrats or members of the KPD. One of the results was that the actual characteristics of left-wing individuals often differed greatly from official party platforms and progressive views. The stable base of anti-fascist power was actually much smaller than could be deduced from the membership and propaganda of the KPD and SPD. Sure, all leftists hated war and wished for happiness and liberation. They also obeyed their party - but that didn't mean they were necessarily ready for the personal risks and the private consequences. Their political views were often limited to the public sphere alone and these views were not anchored emotionally into their personality.

The study used questions like: "What can be done to improve the world?" KPD members, of course, replied that "the ruling class has to be crushed!" Well, fine, but when the same persons replied to the question of whether or not children should be spanked that "children need to be spanked so they learn respect", or when he, like 23% of all KPD members, in opposition to the official KPD program, thought that women should not perform paid labour, then there's obviously something wrong. (This study went into much greater detail that is possible to relate here.)

Of all KPD party members, social democrats, and left-socialists surveyed in the study, only 15% had both a political program and a private/personal revolutionary attitude. Only this minority could be expected in critical times to "summon up the courage, self-sacrifice, and spontaneity required to lead the few active elements and defeat the enemy." Another 25% were rated as "reliable, but not active", and the rest were either indifferent or, in the private sphere, utterly reactionary.

In the KPD there were about four times as many true revolutionaries who were progressive in the private sphere as well as there were among the social democrats, especially amongst the 'cadres'. But it would be biased to suppose that only the cadres were good revolutionaries.

This was especially true of the non-Stalinist communists who were no longer members of the KPD, and these were not covered by the study. Many Party members, on the other hand, had only been in the Party for a few months at the time of the study and the fluctuation between left- and right-wing parties was very high.

(One necessary remark has to be made about the link between political consciousness and personal behaviour: the study mentioned above was only a questionnaire; had it looked into the actual behaviour - also of the 'private/personal' revolutionaries - then the results would no doubt have been even more miserable.)

Now, which of us is not curious to know what the results of such a study among present-day left-wing organizations and groups would be?

VII.

"Attempts to name the collective subject of a complete social change have, by and large, ended up in one of two quagmires: either an organization, party, or trade union is named, and then the revolutionary subject is not one of flesh and blood, but rather an institution which is external to its members, but which can be identified exactly by its program, internal rules, and membership lists, or no organization is named, but rather a tendency - a cluster of individual subjects - whose state of being is not reliably identifiable and whose program is not available, but has to be deduced by interpretation."

- Rüdri, an Autonome comrade from Switzerland

These two quagmires can be avoided when we talk here about the autonomous-left. This is clearly a tendency and there is no rigid organization or fixed program. The points on which people come together are defined by the item at stake and change over time. What is meant by the autonomous-left will be made clear by further reading.

The autonomous-left is not ready for revolutionary change, and most autonomists do not want any solidly organized structures. The movement is more an expression of rebellion than of resistance to supremacy. In spite of occasional initiatives and claims to the opposite, it is a defensive trend - which is not surprising, given the balance of power in Germany.

The Autonomen are a constituent part of history; the movement did not come out of nowhere in 1980. It's no coincidence that it did not spring to life from out of the ranks of factory workers. It's no coincidence that it's white and almost exclusively German. It's no coincidence that it never has been an explicitly anti-patriarchal power with women at the head of it. All of this continues as 'white spots' in its theory and practice. Oppressive relationships within the Autonomen's own ranks remain invisible, and some global ones are only picked up on in an abstract way with no consequences drawn. This is hardly ever noticed, but the horizon of experience - which has narrowed because of these white spots - can be filled to the brim by those themes in which the autonomous left is/was strong (ie, squatting, anti-nuclear actions, the Hafenstraße, etc).

The result of these oppressions becoming invisible is, unfortunately, that the movement's own victories and the campaigns that go with it are overrated. Instead of measuring the success of the fight against all oppressions, everything often gets centred around one's own self and one's own projects. It's typical for self-centred movements to possess a wide gap between the situation of one's immediate surroundings and distant goals and utopias, because the realization of utopia must be preceded by the recognition of the oppression of others and the recognition of fighting potentials outside of the one's own structures. The less this is done, the more stubborn and self-centred the movement becomes and the less this is noticed. To be left, then, merely becomes getting a stamp of approval for one's own project or life-style and not the common opposition against all oppressions and

solidarity with all oppressed peoples. (The campaign around the IMF congress in Berlin in 1988 was a good example of at least a partial over-coming of this self-centredness.)

The autonomous-left: which class does it belong to? What gender is it? What colour/nationality?

One by one, then:

Class position: this is not intended to allow the previously critiqued economism back in through a side door; revolutionary "truths" cannot be deduced from one's position in the production process. But, class position means a lot more, for it is a deep-rooted pre-conditioning of attitudes. Someone from a working-class family has other experiences and processes these differently than a child from a middle-class background. The factory - depending on one's class position - is either normal or external territory. In the same way, racist and patriarchal experiences are dependent on class. Political targets for attacking are also influenced by it: left-leaning workers often fight a daily war against their bosses and those in command of capital; those who have leisure to study can take on more global activities (there's nothing to be said against either of these!).

Class positions also determine life-styles (something which is often important to Autonomen). Working in a factory means you have to go to bed early. If you have to wear overalls or some company uniform all day, then you're bound to like different clothes than the average Autonome. If you become an apprentice at age 16, then you don't have much of an opportunity to settle yourself over the years into some big city's left scene. The life-styles of Autonomen - including female Autonomen - are inaccessible for many class positions. There are exceptions, but they have not greatly influenced the main body of the autonomous left and its composition.

The rather diffuse class positions of the Autonomen, which is certainly not a working class position, creates or continues white spots. Problems of political relations rest partly on ideological elements of the Autonomen, who often see or think of themselves as 'non-working' (which is often not according to the actual conditions). On the other hand, this self-image is due the self-financing of the Autonomen by making use of money given to them either by the state or their parents - and this has much to do with class position.

Strikes by industry workers are seen as external events, so long as there is no major media interest or no cops are involved. The importance of state repression is rather over-stressed while economic violence is underestimated. What is happening in small firms and big factories in terms of rationalization or small sabotage wars is only known to a few Autonome specialists. Knowledge of the (international) linkage of capital and restructuring is learned from economics courses rather than from the workers' perspective. Other ways of fighting and showing solidarity, common amongst workers of both genders, usually disappears into the white spots. This often leads to a general denunciation of workers as being stupid blockheads who only have themselves to blame if they have to go to work each day.

"A patriarchal guy cannot be a leftist."

- any feminist

The gender of the autonomous-left: while class position and whiteness have not been made into problems for the autonomist movement, the same cannot be said of its patriarchal structures. That is the work of women's organizations and feminist criticisms. The so-called 'gender neutrality' of the left was exposed as being based on male brotherhoods; the liberation of the worker was, indeed, just the liberation of the male worker; the left as an alleged liberated zone and model for utopia was brought back down to earth by the reality of ('private') relationships between men and women. If you look at the

extent of this criticism, it's no wonder that it had to fight its way through the left again and again, even the autonomous-left.

Three examples from the past 20 years:

"We can see what a concrete slab you have in front of your faces, because you can't see that without your doings that people are organizing, and in numbers which you would think to be the beginning of the Red Dawn if only they were workers."

- Helke Sander, at an SDS conference in the late-60s

"A carnival of feminists, moving through the area, playing pop music, dressed up, throwing paint and smelling with the stench of a foul ideology" - this is how the KBW, at that time the largest Marxist-Leninist organization, described a women's demo. Feminists, according to the KBW, were "indeed reactionary" and had to be "fought mercilessly". Nowadays, the old cadres of the KBW are in the 'realo' wing of the Green Party.

In 1989, a strategy paper for the "Radikale Linke" conference was released which didn't even mention feminist theory. Only after much protest was this added, but according to many participants, the feminist contributions were not really listened to, at least not by the old-left chairpersons.

The consequence of these contradictions can be summed up in another quotation:

"Autonome organization was especially stressed against the traditional left organizations, who always claimed leadership, with regard to organizing, ideology, and program. The feminist claim to autonomy in this sense means the rejection of all tendencies that subordinate the women's question and the women's movement to other, seemingly more general themes or movements. The autonomous organization of women is the expression of their wish to make their qualitatively different character and identity into an independent power base for the feminist movement."

- Maria Mies

Some male Autonomens don't let their attitudes surface openly - for they would be attacked by women - so they decide the smartest thing to do is to be 'neutral' towards women's positions. This neutrality prevents clashes with the women's structures, which have become stronger, but it doesn't do much to change these structures or their own consciousnesses. Old attitudes are just masked over and opportunities for violence still exist, as many examples unfortunately show.

"Until now, the denunciation of this has been moralistic in tone, and this theme is preferably left in the hands of social workers and psychologists. In any case, it is not a part of their politics. Not at all in the entire left, and certainly not for guys. What I envision for the mixed structures is that we women demand from the guys that they cope politically and in an organized manner with the violence against women exercised by them and their gender in society. They have to work it over, think about it, and decide if they want to be a part of the problem or a part of the solution."

(from a letter by a woman in the discussion)

Anti-patriarchal criticism, picked up by men, has the same lack of credibility as is expressed in the coming quotation by Cheryl Benard about the anti-racist behaviour of whites. But notwithstanding that, positions have to be made known, because only then can criticisms be made. And criticism is necessary for change. Guilty silence or soft-taking is no good in critical times.

Those places where women's structures are less active, the white spots are especially large. But hostility to theory also plays a role here, because the oppressive relationships which men cannot experience for them-

selves can only be known through theory (with practical consequences following from this, of course). Hostility towards theory is then felt very much according to gender with immediate results for the relation between men and women on the left.

The more abstract texts by Autonomens on strategies and global issues are also put into a feminist context in the amount that such elements were introduced by women. Usually there are just a few remarks about patriarchy ("race" is virtually non-existent as a category), and even these seem as though they were stuck in at the last minute, rather than having come about through real thought-out politics. The importance and extent of patriarchal oppression is more or less lost.

"The white offers his rejection of the ruling values as proof of a commonness of interest and puts problems in more categories that affect both "races" (alienation, capitalism, etc.), but this only credible to a point, because his duty can never be like that of a black person's and because he can still make use of the privileges of his "race". The weaker one is then dependent upon the insight of the powerful, instead of upon their violence."

- Cheryl Benard

The autonomous-left in Germany is equipped with its privileges of whiteness, whether it wants this or not. The fact that such potentially racist white spots are beginning to be discussed within the women's movement has not yet touched the autonomous left as a whole. But no one will claim that its white spots are in less need of correction. Anti-racist campaigns, such as those against Shell and Daimler in South Africa, are all well and good - but they are not proof of the contrary. This solidarity is practised from a distance from which those being addressed can hardly reach individual leftists with their demands and criticisms. This solidarity is given according to local rules and with the perpetuation of the usual behaviour. It does not demand anything new, since these campaigns are regarded as the same as any other campaign.

This is different than solidarity with those suffering from racism in their own neighbourhood. These people are able to come in and question the politics and lifestyles of the Autonomens (for example, one illegal immigrant from Chile wondered why a leather jacket and a kafia immediately signified one was a leftist). These people would notice the white spots. For instance:

"Leftists could not imagine that refugees/immigrants could possibly want anything else than trying to be like them; what they would prefer is a free-spirited, socialist, internationalist, colonized immigrant, not a Muslim, fetishist, or Jew."

- Memmi

For more than 20 years, millions of immigrants and refugees have lived in West Germany. They were never present in the movement in '68, nor did they join the ranks of the Autonomens. This was partly because they didn't want to, and also partly because of their class position. Many immigrants disappeared into the private realm after getting jobs, and also into organizations focusing on their country of origin. But the "racial" neutrality of the German left has also made them invisible, and they have only played a role in a few groups and campaigns. Linked to a Eurocentric method of analysis, racism was only seen as due to capitalist instigation or nazi-like ideologies; that these racisms represent authentic oppression and have evoked ways of life just as authentic was overlooked.

Immigrant communities here are seen as the result of racisms, and communication with them has never been sought or forced. The reason for this is probably that the autonomous-left - and not it alone - has had a paternalistic attitude towards, for example, the "Turks". Without any knowledge of their structures, their habits in actions, or their legitimate fears of the (to them) foreign cops, campaigns are mounted and pushed through. The usual argument that most Turkish people don't want any contact with the German left overlooks the fact that solidarity is only possible between equal sides - sides that need to know each other. And not every personal contact has to be a political one right away. Friendship is based on respect. And this is just what many people don't feel for the "Turks".

A few more examples of the typical errors of judgement caused by racist white spots and Eurocentrism: under restructuring, it's not the "race"-neutral worker that are the first to be fired, but rather the non-Germans in the "Third World", it isn't a "race"-neutral sub-class that is starving, but poor blacks; there is such a thing as the 'feminization' of poverty, but in Germany, the 'Turkization' of poverty usually comes first; state violence is no "race"-neutrally directed at all those that resist, but rather first and foremost against foreigners, who get in more trouble and longer jail sentences. This list could easily be extended.

VIII.

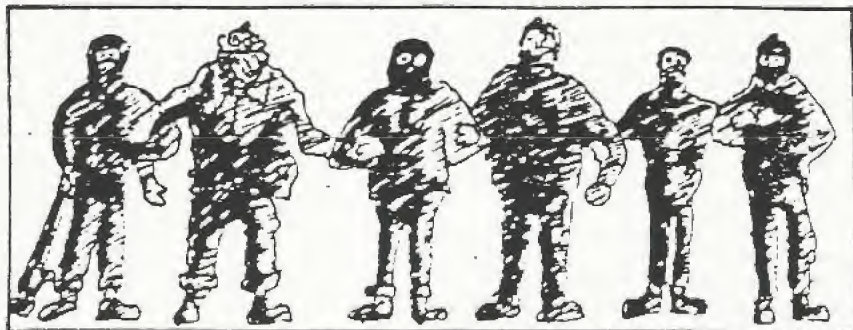
"The problem of unity rests on the definition of the enemy. That means that only people who identify their enemy in at least a very similar way can hope to unite their powers."

- Neville Alexander

From these pages of criticisms of white spots, the demand for consequences arises. But, we don't want to fall into the old trap of thinking up shrewd plans and then waiting for them to be carried out. Here are just a few

CONTRA

EL RACISMO
LA REPRESION
LA XENOFOBIA
EL FASCISMO



In this second addendum, time and space constrictions make it impossible to correct all of the faults in "Three Into One". But a few of these mistakes need to be pointed out, and these can serve as examples for possible ways of broadening and improving the triple oppression discussion.

First, two considerable errors:

The paper "Three Into One" completely lacks any critique from the movement of disabled persons concerning notions of progress and productionism, which parts of the left have taken from bourgeois ideology. The left-wing notion of "a utopia where people are freed from sorry and sadness" contains "a hidden form of violence which, at the very latest, comes out into the open when therapeutic vigour reaches its limits, because the 'patients' are proven to be resistant to therapy. (...) There is no room for old, sick, disabled, and socially 'deviant' persons in this human picture. They again find themselves on the lowest rung of the ladder of social hierarchy of worth, and their very status as people is questioned. It is at this point that the death-fantasies and the death-plans of new and old 'euthanasia' propagandists comes into play. (...) The dogmatic development of productive force as the motor of the process of historical evolution prevents a discussion of the actual content and quality of 'social and technological progress'. And in those places where people failed to follow the logic of historical development or who did not satisfy the demands of a socialist workers' society, communist economists attempt to adapt these persons to the conditions and to intervene in their improvement - perhaps through the use of heredity and human biology. Even left-wing utopias with perfected 'new people' must, against this background, be questioned on account of the implications of their subliminal forms of violence." (from "Deadly Ethics - Contributions Against Euthanasia and Eugenics", Libertarian Association Publishers). Such an examination did not take place in "Three Into One".

Another significant error in "Three Into One" was the unduly brief discussion of anti-semitism. In the paper, anti-semitism was treated as an element of National Socialism, thus cutting off its century-old history both before and after Auschwitz. Racisms in Germany cannot be understood, at least not completely, without recognizing the persecution of Jews. Apart from the excursion on the communist resistance in "Three Into One", there was no expressive description of the struggles of Jewish partisans and ghetto-fighters who resisted the destruction machinery. These are vividly described in the reflections of Bernard Goldstein ("The Stars Are Witnesses"), Marek Edelmann ("Coming Before God"), and others.

In subsequent discussions between the original initiators of "Three Into One", two points came to light which I can only describe from my point of view here. It is of theoretical significance, whether anti-semitism, as it appears in "Three Into One", can be properly described as a "special form" of racism, or if it has a greater significance and extent in the form of "anti-semitic structures". Or does this strain the notion, and aren't the aspects of "anti-semitic structures" then brought into line with the fundamental structures of triple oppression? On this second point, the various political biographies and interests of the participants in the discussion clearly played a role. This concerns an assessment of left-wing anti-Zionism as it came about as part of Palestinian solidarity work in the context of the new anti-imperialism of the 60s. It is to this original starting point that I must align my opinions of certain actions and communiqués from earlier this year - in particular against those during the Gulf War who sought to write off solidarity work as "the sin of '68ers'". Whether the concept of anti-Zionism is still useful or not is a secondary question.

It's crucial that any critique of Israel not be tainted by anti-semitic resentment, but rather deal with concrete facts like expulsions and land seizures carried out by

Zionist settlers in Palestine, the massive repression of the Intifada, the bombing of refugee camps, Israel's support of military dictatorships and of South Africa, and Israel's role as a nuclear power and a crucial NATO outpost. These things must be remembered in 1993, because some old-leftists want to use generalizations and theoretically lavish anti-semitic notions to make all critiques of Israel impossible. (To prevent any misunderstandings: There are no such old-leftists involved in "Three Into One".) Despite all of the differences on these individual questions, it's clear nonetheless that "Three Into One" does not take into consideration the importance and continual need of a leftist (self-)critique of anti-semitism.

As for the more general and less serious mistakes in "Three Into One":

The division which takes place in triple oppression, without differentiation, of "different categories of oppression: exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence" is more an expression of laziness than anything else. (see "Herrenvolk...", page 58ff) These categories are not complete, and, at the level of fundamental structures, they can be made known and combined. The concept of "oppression" needs to be formulated in a more concrete way in a more in-depth discussion.

Just criticisms have been made (by LUPUS and others), namely that "Three Into One" speaks about repressive relations, but without describing the internal aspects of the subjects which live in these relations and which reproduce them. This gives the impression that there is a "side opposite to the contradictions" within individuals, as if the "net" did not, in fact, penetrate the very hearts and minds of individual subjects. There is too great a demand in "Three Into One" for relations to be destroyed, one which is not tied to a process of emancipation for individuals. What individual forms of living are revolutionary under triple oppression? What would revolutions look like if they were waged along lines of emancipatory living?

It would be wrong to offer a proposal of a monolithic subject, one which is given its unbroken identity by means of its position in society. Consciousness and denial are not "prerequisites of the political process", rather they are first "tied to one another through material conditions, experiences, world-views, traditional interpretations of one's situation (day-to-day consciousness) and 'value', and thus they first become mentioned as effective political 'interests'. 'Objective' social positions and their connected experiences are first translated into a complex and contradictory arrangement of 'interests'." And since "every individual takes part in a whole series of social relationships (privileges and oppressions), it is a plurality of determinations which builds up the position of each individual subject. Every individual is, therefore, necessarily multi-faceted and heterogeneous." (Hirsch, "Capitalism or Alternative?") Since feelings and "hidden aspects of personality" have an influence on thoughts and praxis, triple oppression must be a subject of political psychology. If analysis always referred back to the social confines of the subject's inner-structures, then it wouldn't have anything to do with forms of psychology.

Another flawed notion is the use of term "white spots" in "Three Into One". Although it's true that there are many gaps in our understanding and that mistakes are often caused by ignorance, the use of "white spots" in "Three Into One" is about much more than just this. "Filters of truth" (D.King) depend on one's subjective reality and are tied to a means of recognizing one's interests. These means of recognition are not imperfect reflections of the real world in the form of subjective thoughts, but rather they are a manner and means of making realities "invisible".

Therefore, filling in a "white spot" does not mean filling in a picture with learned information, but rather it means opening a gate to ways of thinking and acting which was previously closed and understanding new

worlds and seeking to live in them. This doesn't just change a piece of the "map" of an individual or of the left in general, but rather it's about changing our entire subjective and collective reality.

The calls for solidarity and "selflessness" which were issued in "Three Into One" are occasionally taken to be a call for "representative politics". But along with the use of the notion of "selflessness", consternation politics, with its politeness and continual consequence of being splintered by each subjective location, needs to be criticized. The error inherent in "selflessness" is that it implies an unspoken division between the "self" and the "other". It would be more correct to speak of an "association of relations", in which the "self" is always present and developing itself, because it recognizes "the others" as part of the same relation as itself. In other words: Openness, opening yourself up and learning from people and relations beyond the confines of your immediate experience, and drawing personal and practical consequences from this is by no means a form of "representative politics", but rather a consciously practised form of solidarity by subjects.

The affairs, struggles, and wishes of those who used to be the "others" now become your own, without forgetting or reproducing your own privileged differences or those conditions that affect your own point of departure.

It would have been good to have included a longer section on new anti-imperialism in "Three Into One", one which dealt with nationalisms and some examples of the relationship between the metropolises and the Three Continents. A section with discussions containing anti-patriarchal contributions from men, or one on the knowledge and experiences of leftists from the former-DDR concerning racism and patriarchy would have been important as well. But the initiators of "Three Into One" were not able to do this, or they had no direct links to these themes - but this shouldn't stop anyone else from filling in these gaps at some point.

In conclusion, even if this can only be mentioned in passing, there is something else which is fundamental to day-to-day work and which often gets forgotten behind the mountain of problems associated with a discussion of triple oppression. Particularly in a time when the right-wing and its ideology are on the rise, it's indisputable that the notion of "left-wing" needs to be filled with a new identity content. The core of that which understands itself as "left-wing" can best be phrased in this famous line from Marx: "...changing all relations, in which a person is a humiliated, subjugated, abandoned, and despised presence!"

The triple oppression analysis does not simply critique the leftist universalism of "changing all relations" expressed above, rather it critiques much more, namely that (old) leftists were never correct in their own universalist analyses. For them, "a person" meant a white, male, metropolitan worker - and they only sought to change the relations which oppress him.

In contrast to this false, "invisible-making" universalism, the triple oppression analysis recognizes three fundamental aspects to domination and respects the autonomy of women, blacks, and workers, as well as their own critiques of relations and their own (self-)organization. But this is certainly a problem which can be solved both theoretically and practically, namely: Where is the border between a universalist strategy of "changing all relations" and a respect for autonomy and other peoples' chosen path to this changing of relations? And more importantly still: How can this border be erased?

In the quotation from Marx cited above, "a person" is a hitherto simply understood, but never yet reached, condition, one which can only be realized in a society which negates all judgements of genders, 'races', and classes. One that defies the hitherto dominant norm which not only determines peoples' behaviour, but also - by means of its deep roots - their needs and dreams." (Ingrid Strobl, "Fear of the Chills of Freedom")

Klaus Viehmann - Werl Prison, February 1993

more general thoughts and suggestions to make this paper something more than just something to be filed away in an archive. The definition of the enemy can be more complete with the analysis of triple oppression. An incomplete recognition of the enemy always leads to a short-coming in liberation struggles and utopias. Either the enemy is diminished in its racial aspect and the liberation of blacks is neglected, or the patriarchal aspect is passed over and the oppression of women remains, or the capitalist aspect is not seen and the workers (and others) have to suffer.

Urgent consequences of triple oppression:

- The consciousness of the impossibility of the separation of fights against all oppressions.
- The consciousness of oppressions and knowing whose privileged/oppressing side you are on.
- Rejecting the orientation which focuses on your own interests in such a way that oppressions that don't affect the left in this country so much are seen as more important.

Claims to personal happiness must be measured against those of the less privileged. The old contradiction between a strategy of one's own liberation in life and surroundings and a selfless revolutionary labour in opposition to distant oppressions has always been present in the autonomous left. Taking triple oppression seriously would lead to one choosing the latter.

Concerning the inner structures of the autonomous-left, the need arises from triple oppression for autonomist organizations which are based on oppressions within and outside of the autonomous left. The women's movement has already fought and reached this autonomy, and rather than waiting to convince the left, it has created its own power base. This is a prerequisite for change, because internally oppressive relationships are also violent relationships. These cannot be changed harmoniously, but only by shifting forces. If this hadn't been done, women's positions would not have been put through to today. The acknowledgement of triple oppression would also demand an autonomous organization of workers both inside and outside the autonomous left so that they can put through their positions. What's more, the autonomous-left has to move more to the fore in the fight against capital. Unfortunately, the existing workers' groups are too small. And last but not least, triple oppression also demands the organization of non-Germans, Blacks, and immigrants. Only on the basis of various forms of autonomy is a unity possible which is not possessive, embracing, or unequal.

Alliances can better be formed out of one's own strength than out of the need created by weakness. Here again: Friendship is based on respect. The white left as a whole has traditionally had a tendency to think of itself as possessing a complete and rigid view of the truth. An acknowledgement of triple oppression, however, results in the realization that "others" (according to gender, "race", and class position) also have experiences of oppression and resistance, experiences, however, which are not subjectively open to us and which can only be partially objectively learned.

Autonomy means understanding that any individual or group can only decide for itself how it wants to defend itself. Translated, this means an end to Eurocentric ideology and "missionary consciousness". This prerequisite selflessness - even if only partly realized, because in a revolutionary movement, such a moral should have its value - is not only a moral category. Rather, it should be an expression of the knowledge that liberation can only exist by removing all oppressions, thus it is more of a political category. To be more concrete: the enemy, in the guise of the West German system, is changing, at the head of the new superpower Europe, into a clearer form. Capitalist exploitation (especially in the former DDR) and Germany's imperialist influence are sharply on the rise. Although it's hard to conceive of any possible increase, the contradictions with respect to the "Third

World" are sharper now, too. Racisms are changing and, on the whole, getting stronger: against Turkish people, Roma and Sinti, Poles, Vietnamese, and people from Mozambique. Also, women are being forced back into the households and out of the positions they have gained for themselves. This is all obvious and well-known, so we don't need to go into further detail here.

All these changes can be analyzed as oppressions in light of triple oppression, and they can be understood as a whole and fought against. But this is dependent upon the realization that it's impossible to separate these fights and to ignore the (organizational) consequences these fights imply.

The aim of this paper is to make this recognizable and to perhaps push the process along a little further. Hopefully this has been made clear.

First Addendum

In the summer of 1990, I put together, in a written form, the preceding discussion, which I had with women and a few men who had been writing to me or visiting me for years. The discussion took place under the conditions of my imprisonment. This discussion was also very time-consuming and, for practical reasons, unavoidably vague on certain points. The results were then discussed once more and edited until everyone felt that they could be published. But this is still a discussion paper, not all of the parts of all of the individual discussion papers are included in their entirety in this paper.

We then intended to distribute this paper without any author's name being listed, so that the content might speak for itself. But upon reflection, we noted that, in the autonomous-left spectrum, (authors') names seem to be invisible, in other words, by not mentioning any name, it makes it seem like it is supposed to be a secret who the paper came from. But the fact that only my name is signed to the paper shouldn't hide the fact that I encountered many problems, first from promptings from women, and then from feminist texts and texts from the black movement.

These influences are - I hope - strongly recognizable in this text. Even the reworking of the original collection of discussions was a co-production; but this shouldn't serve to deflect any future criticisms from myself. But reactions should also not (only) land on my desk in my cell, because the triple oppression discussion needs to progress openly and not remain stuck in a circle of insiders.

Over the last six months, the discussion of "Three Into One" has continued; the question of utopias, which can reach out beyond the scene-ghetto, plays an equal role in this discussion along with a careful analysis of the relationship between the Three Continents and the metropolises in the capitalist world system. And there is and always will be the permanent question of to what degree men, particularly white men, can participate in a discussion of themes which primarily concern women, particularly women of colour.

The results of this discussion can't be summarized with "Yes" or "No" answers. Maybe there will be another discussion paper later on. Another aspect of this paper is the following: This text is an example of how discussions are and could be conducted between prisoners and those on the outside.

Klaus Viehmann,
Werl Prison, January 1991

Second Addendum

This new print-run was prompted by the discussions of the past two and half years, up until the end of the 80s, summarized under the title of "Three Into One". The end of the DDR and the USSR, the war in the former Yugoslavia, and the Gulf War had not yet taken place.

"Three Into One" came into being before Hoyerswerda, before Rostock, and before the wave of fascist attacks against refugees, disabled persons, homeless people, gays, and leftists.

In the last two or three years, the situation on the remnants of the (autonomous-)left has also changed; the developments with the RZ and RAF are just one example of how slim the gap is between radical change and disorientation. Originally, "Three Into One" was merely supposed to preserve a longer discussion in a written form, whose publishing was practically a coincidence and whose initiators had never really counted on a broad circulation. Many things in "Three Into One" are only just sketched out, only just begun, because triple oppression and critiques of racism were new territory in the Germany of the late-80s, thus there were hardly any German language discussions of this. The other initiators, being more praxis-oriented, and I, compelled to theory by my status as a prisoner, often stood clueless when faced with the complexities of the problems we were dealing with and of the consequential adaptation of the triple oppression conclusions to the reality of the world, to leftist theory and praxis, and, last but not least, to ourselves in our own discussions. We did not have, nor do we now have, any knowledge of all of the aspects of its fundamental structures: class-oppression, 'patriarchy', racism; we certainly don't have any knowledge of its endless interrelations.

"Three Into One" was and is a discussion paper and a critique of leftist realities, and, as such, it can never be completed. It is certainly not a reference work for people to take from it only those bits that they need.

The core of the paper, namely the propagation of the triple oppression analysis as a means of bettering our understanding of social totality and the interrelations between anti-capitalist, anti-patriarchal, and anti-racist theory and praxis, remains the same. The changes and events of this past year have shown once again the significance of this. Nationalisms, for example, are replacing traditional analyses, and the aberrations which are putting a humanistic face on imperialism in the minds of (former) leftists speak for themselves. The rise of the right-wing and its ideology can't be fought against with anti-fascist strategies from the 20s and 30s, which knew nothing of anti-patriarchal critiques and even less of (new) critiques of racism. The internal structures of the Autonomie-scene, which were clearly attacked in "Three Into One", need to be critiqued - sadly, no less so today than a few years ago.

The reactions to "Three Into One" were generally selective and the paper was interpreted as being "anti-racist", with critiques of capitalism and patriarchy being superseded by this actual theme. It would be a bitter irony if the change from the old "main contradiction" of class struggle was rewarded with the insidious introduction of a new "main contradiction", racism...


The proposed "net-like" model of thought in "Three Into One" was seen as an improvement over bipolar proposals and mono-causal thought. Of course, "net" is a picture taken from mechanics and can never give full representation to the complexities of triple oppression. But as a proposal, it represents some progress from simplistic "top/bottom" schemes and, thus, is still useful.

In "Three Into One", concepts were used which were actually given new content for use in the triple oppression analysis. For example, the "definitions" of various struggles which were given were bad, and they made divisions where divisions should not (now) be made. Even the political concept "black" can't be universally defined, because some migrants and Jewish women don't fit into the usual definition of "black".

The fact that such examples of imprecision are infused in the paper, even up to this day, is caused by the paradoxical difficulty that new concepts first come into being with a new praxis and a new understanding, while the old, existing concepts can't be fully adapted to this new praxis and this new understanding.

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LINGUA



WAR OF WORDS

Colonialism,
Language
and
English Only

by Jimmy Emmerman

"Open up. This is the language police. We're investigating a report of Spanish speakers in this apartment."

A futuristic sci-fi nightmare? Perhaps, but in 1988, two years after English was declared the official language of the state of California, Latina and Filipina nurses at the University of California San Francisco Hospital were reprimanded for speaking Spanish and Tagalog on the job. The courts eventually overturned the English-only workplace rules, but that a "liberal" employer such as a major university would consider such rules in itself had chilling implications.

A nationwide movement whose proclaimed goal is making English the "official language" of the U.S. is spreading. In virtually every state where this idea has been brought to a popular vote, voters have overwhelmingly approved the measure.

The English Only Movement bases its appeal on a seemingly innocuous and obvious idea—that, as the glue that holds the U.S. together, the importance of English should be codified in law and protected. But scratch ever so slightly and blind patriotism and racism ooze to the surface. From concert-goers in Boston yelling for Linda Ronstadt to "sing in English" to Los Angeles school teachers demanding an end to bilingual education, the English Only movement is a breeding ground for racism.

Although most people, including many who support English Only, don't realize it, the movement is integrally tied to a U.S. state strategy evolved during the Reagan years. Its goals were to contain and overturn the process of revolution in Central America and undermine any potential support for national liberation struggles within the U.S. — particularly among Mexican people along the 1,000 mile border. At the same time,

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English Only represents the continuation of a 500-year history of European colonization of non-white people in this hemisphere and its attendant chauvinism and arrogance, captured in this quote from Theodore Roosevelt:

We have room for but one language in this country and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns our people out as Americans, of American nationality, and not as dwellers in a polyglot boarding house.

Colonialism, an attack on the sovereignty of a people, violates every aspect of the colonial subject's personality. Its chains include an ideology of superiority and inferiority, domination and submission, encoded in law, media, education, and other forms of culture. If all goes as planned, this sense of inferiority becomes embedded in the psyche of the colonized person.

Language is a key weapon in this war. The language of the colonizer represents the "pinnacle of civilization." That of the "native," "barbarism." Franz Fanon, whose reflections on colonialism seeded national liberation theory around the world, observed:

Every colonized people — in other words, every people in whose soul an inferiority complex has been created by the death and burial of its local cultural originality — finds itself face to face with the language of the civilizing nation; that is, with the culture of the mother country. The colonized is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country's cultural standards. He becomes whiter as he renounces his blackness, his jungle.¹

This dynamic of cultural imperialism and cultural resistance is a constant theme in the history of African, indigenous, and Spanish-speaking peoples colonized by the U.S.

BLACK ENGLISH AND SLAVERY

The African slave trade represented the first need to control language. In order to minimize the risk of rebellion on board the slave ships, slaving captains had a conscious strategy of placing speakers of different African languages together, preventing communication. Captain William Smith, in *A New Voyage to Guinea in 1744*, described how by "having some of every Sort on board, there will be no more Likelihood of their succeeding in a Plot, than off finishing the Tower of Babel."² Once Africans arrived in the Americas, slave makers had the job of preparing them for life as chattel. Among other techniques, they would forbid the speaking of African languages and separate babies from their parents, so that new generations would forget their African roots.

In the clutches of slavery, separated from others of their tribe, Africans developed a new language, Black English, utilizing a combination of English and Africanisms and retaining many grammatical structures

of African language. Black English, or Ebonics, is the language spoken by many Black people in the U.S. today. In the South Carolina Sea Islands, physical isolation allowed for the purest preservation of the original plantation creole. This language, Gullah, is still spoken by about a quarter of a million Blacks, who retain tremendous pride in their language. In the words of Janey Hunter, a 70 year old Gullah speaker, "I keep my Gullah language too, 'cos I love it, and that's me. I can speak other language, but I love my Gullah language. If you disown that, you're disowning your parents."³

Contrary to the intent of the slaveocracy, the development of this new Black English played a critical role in the creation of a new national identity among Africans in the U.S. According to Sterling Stuckey, in a brilliant study, *Slave Culture: Nationalist Theory and the Foundation of Black America*:

There was, inevitably, some unevenness of movement toward cultural oneness because of the language factor alone; some years in the New World were required before those from different ethnic backgrounds achieved cultural oneness by being able to use the same language. Ironically, it was a degree of harmony that could not be reached through African languages.⁴

Although most of the white power structure which governs Black people's lives—school teachers, social service workers, and employers—deny the validity of Black English and seek to suppress its use, linguistic research has refuted the notion that Black English is a "lazier" or "sloppier" version of white English. In fact, Black English is a fully-developed language, complete with a grammar and vocabulary as sophisticated as any other. Even among those Blacks who use white English to function in a racist society where conformity to white norms is a prerequisite for success, Black English is what most Black people speak when they're with other Black people.

WITH A FORKED TONGUE: WHITE-WASHING NATIVE LANGUAGES

Unlike Africans, whose stolen labor was considered essential for the new colonies, Native Americans were basically in the way. In the 1830s, President Andrew Jackson initiated the forcible removal of Indian tribes from the eastern U.S. The forced march to Oklahoma, The Trail of Tears, resulted in the deaths of one-third of the Indians. Confined to reservations, a conscious educational policy was developed, designed to destroy Native culture.

In the case of the Cherokee nation, this involved dismantling one of the most effective bilingual education systems in history. The Cherokees had been guaranteed their language rights by treaty in 1828. After their forced exodus to the West, they established a system of 21 Cherokee language schools which attained a literacy rate of 90 percent. According to a federal study, these schools made such widespread use of bilingual

materials that by the 1850s Cherokees had a higher English literacy level than whites in Arkansas or Texas.

This was not to last. By 1879, the U.S. government began dismantling bilingual schools and mandating instruction in English only. In 1886, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported:

I [have] expressed very decidedly the idea that Indians should be taught the English language only. There is not an Indian pupil whose tuition and maintenance is paid for by the United States Government who is

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permitted to study *any* other language than our own vernacular — the language of the greatest, most powerful, and enterprising nationalities under the sun. The English language as taught in America is good enough for all her people of all races...

The Commissioner suggested removing Indian children *en masse*, forcibly if necessary, to boarding schools away from their families, because:

The greatest difficulty is experienced in freeing the children attending day school from the language and habits of their untutored and often savage parents. When they return to their homes at night and on Saturdays and Sundays, and are among their own surroundings, they relapse more or less into their former moral and mental stupor.⁵

Ben Nighthorse Campbell, a Northern Cheyenne, described the experience. "Both my grandparents were forcibly removed from their homes and placed in boarding schools. One of the first English words Indian students learned was *soap*, because their mouths were constantly being washed out for using their native language." Of course, literacy in English and Native languages declined precipitously. By 1969, only 40 percent of Cherokee adults were functionally literate in any language.

PUERTO RICO: A MODEL COLONIALISM

After the U.S. seized Puerto Rico in 1898, a U.S. Commissioner of Education, Victor S. Clark was appointed to oversee the transformation of the Puerto Rican schools into model colonialist institutions:

A majority of the people...do not speak pure Spanish. Their language is a patois almost unintelligible to the natives of Barcelona and Madrid. It possesses no literature and little value as an intellectual medium... English is the chief source, practically the only source,

of democratic ideals for Puerto Rico. There may be little that they learn to remember, but the English school reader itself provides a body of ideas and concepts which are not to be had in any other way.⁶

In 1909, the U.S. moved to abolish the teaching of Spanish in Puerto Rican public schools. Schoolmasters were ordered to give instruction exclusively in English. These measures provoked an angry response; children from six to ten years of age refused to attend their classes unless they were taught in Spanish. Some children who refused to learn English were turned out into the streets.

Puerto Ricans responded by setting up a Spanish language school for those who had been expelled.

In 1916 the Commissioner compromised, allowing

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Spanish instruction in grades 1-4, Spanish and English in fifth grade, with English only in higher levels.

Although this policy remained in effect until the late 1940s, to this day Puerto Ricans speak Spanish as their native language. The reasons for the ultimate failure to impose English in Puerto Rico are captured in the sentiments of Cayetano Coll y Cuchi, a member of the Puerto Rican House of Delegates at the time of the 1909 student strike: "We knew perfectly well that the soul of a people is incarnated in its language. We would have preferred being without a country, to losing our native tongue."⁷

SILENCING THE BORDER

The seizure of half of Mexico between 1836 and 1848 — the current states of Texas, Arizona, New Mexico, California, Colorado, Nevada and Utah — had a devastating impact on Mexican people living in these territories. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, ceding these territories to the U.S., guaranteed the original inhabitants land and water rights, as well as use of their own language and customs. But prevailing European chauvinism and outright settler greed made a mockery of the letter and spirit of the Treaty.

The first school administrations in the areas taken from Mexico were controlled by Anglos who knew little or no Spanish. Teachers, trained in the educational system of the early 1900s, would, in the description of Carey McWilliams, "invest their position, on this issue, with an emotional halo of moral and patriotic self-righteousness... it seemed both heretical and disloyal,

despite the guarantees of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, to tolerate any form of bilingualism."⁸

This situation persisted well into the 1970s. A 1972 U.S. Civil Rights Commission study showed that 40 percent of Mexican children in educationally and mentally retarded classes in the Southwest were there *because they did not speak English*. Schools which discouraged the use of any Spanish in elementary classes ranged from 13.5 percent in California to 66.4 percent in Texas. In the Rio Grande Valley, "Spanish detention" — punishment for speaking Spanish in class — remained in effect until the late 1960s. Until 1973, it was against the law to use any language other than English for instruction in Texas schools.⁹

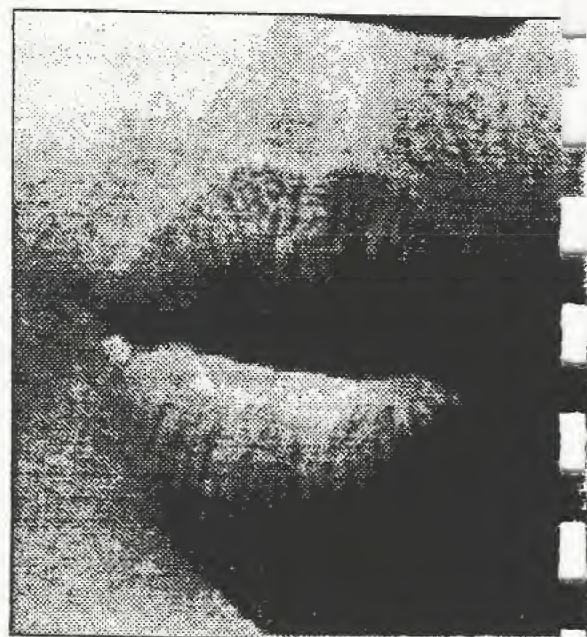
Suppression of Spanish meshed with a systematic neglect of Mexican history and culture. At the time of the Civil Rights Commission report, only 0.7 percent of Mexican secondary school children were enrolled in Chicano history courses, and 0.9 percent in Mexican history courses in the entire Southwest.¹⁰

These issues became a focus of Chicano organizing in the late 60s and 70s. Bilingual and bicultural education became a mass demand and eventually led to federal legislation requiring education in student's native languages, as a transition to English proficiency. Many activists went beyond this however, arguing that *maintenance* of native language and culture was a critical condition for their liberation. The politics of "la Raza" led to a revival of interest in Mexican history and culture and the development of a strong sense of

maica, and the first steps towards the invasion of Panama.

These interventions are well known. More surprising is the preoccupation of the Reagan administration with the prospect of revolution engulfing Mexico, with ominous implications for the U.S. This view dominated the thinking of key members of the Reagan administration, such as Constantine Menges, special assistant to the National Security Council. In his 1988 memoir, *Inside the National Security Council: The Making and Unmaking of Reagan's Foreign Policy*, Menges presents his perspective on Mexico:

... the Mexico of the late 1980s is a very fragile land. Since 1983 this sun-drenched but poverty-ridden nation has been in the throes of a visible economic and hidden political crisis that threatens its political system.... If communist groups succeed in taking over most of



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solidarity with the rest of Latin America, "nuestras Americas."

By the time, Ronald Reagan stepped into the Oval Office in 1980, armed with his strategy for intervention in Latin America, the U.S. right wing saw solidarity between Chicano/Mexicano activists in the Southwest and national liberation struggles south of the border as a national security threat, fueled by the bilingual movement.

CHAOS ON OUR DOORSTEP?

Reagan and his cronies orchestrated an eight-year full-scale assault on progressive and revolutionary movements in Central America and the Caribbean: an enormous military build-up in Honduras, billions of dollars in military aid and U.S. advisors to El Salvador's death squad government, a resumption of aid to Guatemala, a murderous CIA/contra war and economic blockade against Nicaragua, the invasion of Grenada, the destabilization of the Manley government in Ja-

maica, and the first steps towards the invasion of Panama.

States would be face to face on land with one hundred million people under communist control and allied with Cuba and the Soviet bloc.

By invoking a vision of chaos on the border, a flood of Mexican refugees, or armed infiltration by Communist guerrillas, a case was being made to militarize the border and clamp down on illegal immigration.

Right-wing preoccupation with Mexico did not stop at the border. In 1985, the Council on Inter-American Security—a right-wing think-tank made up of counter-insurgency experts, retired military officers, contras, U.S. Senators and Congressmen, many with links to the State and Defense Departments — published *On Creating A Hispanic America: A Nation Within A Nation?* The report was authored by R.E. "Rusty" Butler,

a businessman, columnist and consultant for the National Council on Educational Research, an English Only lobbying group.

With sharply racist overtones, Butler warned of the impending population explosion which will make Mexicans a majority in the Southwest in the early part of the next century. He pointed to a pattern of increasing immigration from Mexico to the U.S., as well as the higher fertility rate of Mexicans compared to whites.

Butler focused on Mexican nationalism as a serious threat to the physical integrity of the U.S. He traced the idea of Aztlán, a Chicano homeland, from the 1960s to the position of the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional

Security founded English First. Pratt is a direct-mail entrepreneur whose other political action committees include U.S. Border Control and Gun Owners of America. English First lists members of 20 state legislatures on its advisory council and claims a membership in excess of 200,000.

The other major organization, U.S. English, claims a membership of more than 350,000, with over 100,000 in California alone. The organization has an annual budget of \$7 million. Its stated purpose is "to defend the public interest in the growing debate on bilingualism and biculturalism."

U.S. English was founded by Dr. John Tanton, a Michigan ophthalmologist, and S.I. Hiyakawa, a former U.S. Senator from California. (As President of San Francisco State University, Hiyakawa was known for his racist attacks on Black studies and his suppression of student activism in the 60s.) Founded in 1983, U.S. English was an off-shoot of another Tanton brainchild, FAIR, the Federation for American Immigration Reform, a Washington, D.C. lobbying group advocating strict immigration regulation. Tanton is also immersed in a web of anti-immigration and zero population growth organizations, all supported by ultra-right wing

foundations, known for their support of racist causes.

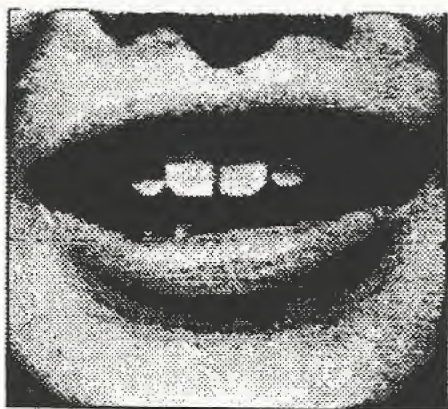
With the tenure of William Bennett as Secretary of Education, the English Only forces secured the commanding heights

of educational policy-making. Bennett launched an attack on bilingualism in September of 1985, when he criticized bilingual education programs as ineffective in making a rapid transition from non-English to English. Two months later, he made another speech equating the ability to speak and read English with loyalty and citizenship. According to the Department of Education, public response was overwhelmingly positive.

English Only advocates advanced to key positions within the Department of Education. In 1987, Bennett hired Rusty Butler, author of *A Nation Within A Nation?*, as a special assistant on post-secondary education. Gary Imhoff, a U.S. English consultant, was hired to review and evaluate materials used in teacher-training for bilingual education programs. His job was to determine whether maintaining non-English languages and cultures was being promoted over the goal of English proficiency. In a book co-authored with former Colorado governor Richard Lamm entitled *Immigration Time Bomb*, Imhoff had argued that assimilation of immigrants had to take precedence over the preservation of cultural identity, even at the expense of lowered educational expectations: "If we can't afford school dropouts, who are a natural by-product of displacement and culture shock, then we can't afford immigration."

To date, English Only legislation has been passed in

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Mexicano, which advocates socialist reunification with Mexico. According to *A Nation Within A Nation?*, short-sighted language policies which cater to Mexican nationalist sentiment by teaching Spanish—and, worst of all, promote Mexican pride and encourage maintenance of national culture—create the conditions in which this "subversion" can flourish. His solution—classic counter-insurgency theory—is to dry up the ocean (the Mexican people), so the fish (Mexican nationalist guerrillas) have nowhere to swim. In this case the ocean is Spanish and dehydrating agent is the English Language Amendment.

With *A Nation Within A Nation?*, U.S. counter-insurgency thinking came full circle: from Central America, up through Mexico, and into the Southwest. And with this linkage, came the origins of a new mass political movement, English Only, integrally tied to the strategies of intervention in Central America and militarization of the border.

THE ENGLISH ONLY MOVEMENT

In 1983, Larry Pratt, a former Virginia State Legislator and a director of the Council for Inter-American

18 states, most recently Colorado and Florida. Additional states are targeted by U.S. English for campaigns, particularly New York and Texas which have been identified as key states along with California and Florida. The ultimate goal of the movement is to get legislation passed in 34 states, enough to secure an amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Thus, step by step, the English Only movement is building a mass base to suppress non-English speaking people.

"DELIBERATELY INFLECTING CONDITIONS OF LIFE ..."

In a country where 96 percent of the population speaks English, the idea that the dominance of English might be threatened or overwhelmed by Spanish is absurd. The visions conjured up by English Only advocates, almost uniformly, of cultural fragmentation and civil war, mask a harsher reality: Mexican people living inside U.S. borders are in imminent danger of losing Spanish along with their national cultural heritage. Seven out of ten children of Spanish-speaking immigrant parents become English speakers, and their children — the third generation — grow up with English as their native language. Among Mexican people whose roots in the Southwest go back to the U.S. occupation and seizure of northern Mexico, the decimation of Mexican cultural heritage and loss of Spanish language proficiency is intensified.

Now we have the development of a mass movement, born and bred of white supremacy and U.S. chauvinism, whose goal is the eradication of any vestige of this language and culture from the public educational system in particular and U.S. society generally. When the larger context of attacks on Mexican people is taken into consideration — the continual violation of land and water rights, the militarization of the border, and other attempts to isolate Mexican people on this side of the border from any contact with the southern part of the Mexican nation — the implications are clear. We are facing a concerted campaign to destroy Mexican national identity.

According to the United Nations, genocide is defined as "deliberately inflicting conditions of life, designed to destroy, in whole or in part, a people, nation, religious or ethnic group." When the intent is to destroy a people's language and heritage, the term cultural genocide is most appropriate. For all its claims to be protecting the English language, the English Only movement must be exposed for what it really is: a strategy of cultural genocide against Mexican people.

Yet, despite a deliberate strategy to deny colonized people in the U.S. the use of their languages, Spanish, Black English and Native American languages persist. In most cases, this is simply the refusal of a people to sacrifice their national identity and accept their disappearance as culturally distinct people. But the struggle to reclaim a national language, like other aspects of the struggle for national culture, can become part of a

conscious political strategy to resist cultural genocide:

To fight for national culture means in the first place to fight for the liberation of the nation, that material cornerstone which makes the building of a culture possible... A national culture is the whole body of efforts made by a people in the sphere of thought to describe, justify, and praise the action through which that people has created itself and keeps itself in existence. A national culture should take its place at the very heart of the struggle for freedom. ¹¹

Stopping English Only is more than just replacing restrictionism with democratic pluralism. It is an integral part of a struggle by Mexican people to maintain their national identity — Mexicanidad — in the face of a political, economic and cultural onslaught aimed at destroying them. It has to be linked with efforts to hold onto Mexican-owned land in the Southwest, with a campaign to stop repression by the Migra (immigration police) and against the militarization of the border.

The Movimiento de Liberación Nacional Mexicano and the Colorado Coalition Against English Only are building a National Coalition Against English Only that projects this perspective. The Coalition is organizing a national education campaign to expose English Only and develop grassroots resistance to any attempt to use English Only laws against non-English speakers. For more information about the Coalition and its activities, contact them at: 98 Wadsworth Blvd., Ste. 127-170, Lakewood, CO 80226, (303) 922-7243. □

Footnotes

1. *Black Skin, White Masks*, p.18.
2. *The Story of English*, Robert McCrum, William Cran, and Robert MacNeil, Penguin Books, New York, 1986, p. 200.
3. *The Story of English*, p. 209.
4. Oxford University Press, New York, 1987, p. 23.
5. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior*, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1886, p. xxiii.
6. From *The Puerto Rican Papers of Victor S. Clark*, cited in *The Puerto Ricans: A Documentary History*, Edited by Kal Wagenheim with Olga Jimenez de Wagenheim, Anchor Books, Garden City, NY, 1973, p. 141 and *Puerto Rico: Flames of Resistance*, by Peoples Press, p.36.
7. Cited in *Puerto Rico: A Documentary History*, p. 181.
8. Carey McWilliams, *North From Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States*, Greenwood Press, New York, 1968, pp. 298-299.
9. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, "The Excluded Student: Educational Practices Affecting Mexican Americans in the Southwest," *Mexican American Education Study, Report iii*, Washington, DC, Government Printing Office, 1972, pp. 13-16, 19.
10. U.S. Civil Rights Commission, p. 34.
11. Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, p. 233.

Indian Issues and Anti-Indian Organizing

Introduction

This section examines the evolution of modern anti-Indian movements in North America, and the varied ways that Indian and Indian support movements have responded to them. It also contends that anti-Indian movements cannot be countered without an understanding of deeper economic, political, and cultural issues.

While the nature of relations between the first European settlers in North America and the Continent's indigenous people was at times ambiguous, it did not take long before the colonies and, later, the American state launched an all-out assault against the native population.

Native lands were also coveted by railroad, mineral, logging, and other interests, which widely advertised the promise of "free land." Settlers were sent to claim land within the sovereign territories of many Indian nations, often unaware of or ill-prepared for the hostile reception they would face. The inevitable clash "justified" a rescue by federal armed forces, thus securing the land for business interests. Tribal leaders were convinced, coerced, or tricked into signing a total of 371 treaties up through the 1870s, ceding almost all their land to the government, save for some small reservations. By Supreme Court ruling, these remaining tracts of land constitute "dependent nations."

While some Indian resistance was crushed by dramatic massacres, for the most part Native Americans were subdued by a combination of disease, alcohol, food rationing, the cooperation of Indian collaborators, and the theft of children for boarding schools — a situation not radically unlike today. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), until its transfer to the Interior Department, was part of the War Department. White homesteaders were used to police Indian people — some taking the task more seriously and viciously than the Army would have them, while others came to see Indian neighbors as good trading partners. In 1936, federal authorities established tribal councils on the reservations, with some superseding traditional forms of government.

Nevertheless, even against these overwhelming odds, the traditional cultures and religions (and even some governments) survived. Technologies and practices adapted to Western society, but the core values of Native peoples remained, including their strong relationship to the land.

The Anti-Indian Movement

The modern anti-Indian movement was created out of a non-Indian "backlash" against gains made by Indians since the 1960s. At least three major factors motivate anti-Indian groups.

- 1) The call for "equal rights for whites." This concept is based on the assumption that increased political and jurisdictional power of the tribes infringes on the liberties of the individual American taxpayer. The use of civil rights imagery can reach such extremes that whites are described as an oppressed people victimized by "Red Apartheid." The legacy of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., is invoked to support an agenda to roll back Indian rights.
- 2) Access to natural resources. These resources can be fish or game, land or water, but the case is the same: no citizens should have "special rights" to use the resources. The case is made in anti-treaty pamphlets such as "Are We Giving

**Native Americans have
survived against tall odds**

**Gains of the '60s Led to
an Anti-Indian Backlash**

SPEAR...



...THIS!!!

This sign was found in a tavern in the Eagle River, Wisconsin area prior to the 1987 spearing season.

America Back to the Indians?," "200 Million Custers," and the ironically titled book *Don't Blame the Indians: Native Americans and the Mechanized Destruction of Fish and Wildlife* by Massachusetts writer Ted Williams.

- 3) Economic dependency. In a rural reflection of the "Welfare Cadillac" myths used against urban African Americans, all reservation Indians are said to wallow in welfare, food stamps, free housing and medical care, affirmative action programs, and gargantuan federal cash payments — all tax-free, of course. (No one has to pay state sales tax on reservations, but otherwise Indians have had virtually identical tax obligations as non-Indians.) While any quick drive through a reservation will show the Third World conditions Indian people have to live under, anti-Indian groups maintain that these conditions are caused by alcoholism and the breakdown of the Indian family, rather than the reverse. In the same breath, the groups denounce any tribal effort to establish economic self-sufficiency, through appropriate industries, small businesses, tourism campaigns, gaming, or the sale of natural resources.

Anti-Indian groups deny any trace of racism, and will even point to members whose great-grandmothers were Indian in order to prove their point. There are also some racists who will make an 'exception' for Indians, whom they romanticize as noble savages resisting big government. Even such figures as Posse Comitatus leader James Wickstrom has written of Indians as a "pre-Christian warrior race" (not unlike Hitler's images of ancient Teutonic warriors) that is being driven off the land by "Jewish bankers."

The Northwest

The modern anti-Indian movement was born in the Pacific Northwest, and moved from there to the Northern Great Plains, the Upper Midwest, the Southwest, East Coast, and Canada. Along the Pacific coast, where tribal fish harvests form the basis of the traditional tribal economies, the backlash to Indian rights was first felt in the 1960s. In Washington, Oregon, and Northern California, these harvests were seen as a threat to the commercial fishing industry (despite the real threat posed by pollution and huge fishing trawlers). Washington anti-Indian groups mushroomed in the 1970s, after federal judge George Boldt ruled that tribal members were entitled to 50 percent of the state salmon harvest.

The leading anti-Indian group, ICERR (Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities), and several property owners' associations on Indian reservations were joined by such groups as Steelhead/Salmon Protective Association and Wildlife Network (S/SPAWN). The groups formed a base in state legislatures, in local communities, and among violence-prone vigilantes who regularly shot at and beat up Indians. At one point in the early 1980s, the anti-treaty forces got a statewide referendum passed, but could not sustain their movement after the state finally began to negotiate with the tribes on a government-to-government basis.

Meanwhile, in the Northern Great Plains, land and water disputes erupted between the tribes and white ranchers. The result was the formation of Montana groups like the East Slope Taxpayers Association, All Citizens Equal (ACE), and the Citizens Rights Organization (CRO); groups in the Dakotas like the Cheyenne River Landowners Association, and the North Dakota Committee for Equality; and Nebraska groups like the Concerned Citizens Council. Some of these groups have members living on reservations, which have been heavily allotted (divided) since the 1920s. Resident whites voted for Bennett County to secede from South Dakota's Pine Ridge Reservation, and other whites have opposed many forms of tribal jurisdiction.

Connections between some of these groups and organized right-wing networks also exist. The Center for World Indigenous Studies, based in Washington state, has documented links between anti-Indian groups and

Christian Identity and neo-Nazi organizations such as the Idaho-based Aryan Nations. In its report "Competing Sovereignties in North America and the Right-Wing and Anti-Indian Movements," the Center states that "individuals associated with the anti-Indian movement now appear to have occasional, if not frequent association with right-wing extremist groups."

The Midwest

In 1983 the United States Supreme Court *Voigt* decision affirmed the treaty rights of the Anishinabe (Chippewa) to harvest off-reservation natural resources in northern Wisconsin, northeastern Minnesota, and Michigan's Upper Peninsula. The decision upheld the treaties of 1837, 1842, and 1854, which secured United States access to the Lake Superior region's timber and copper. Many local settlers maintained a respectful relationship with the Chippewa through the 1800s — even protecting the Wisconsin Chippewa from forced removal — until the beginnings of sport fishing. Traditional Chippewa spearfishing in Wisconsin-ceded territory was outlawed in 1908. At the same time as the 1983 court ruling, mining companies began moving back into ceded territory, potentially endangering the fish, deer, and wild rice that the treaties guarantee to the Chippewa.

Anti-Indian sentiment in Northern Wisconsin — seemingly dormant since white vigilantes attacked Menominee Indians in 1975 — reemerged in opposition to the Chippewa in the 1980s. Some whites decried what they saw as the "rape" of the fish resource, vital to the local tourist economy, even though the Chippewa never took more than three percent of the fish. Among the local groups were Equal Rights for Everyone (ERFE), and the Wisconsin Alliance for Rights and Resources (WARR). The groups merged in 1987 with Protect Americans' Rights and Resources (PARR), led by paper mill foreman Larry Peterson. PARR committed itself to lobbying Congress to limit the legal power of the treaties. PARR had some clout in the state's powerful paper industry, which at one time unsuccessfully urged the state AFL-CIO to take an anti-treaty stance.

At the same time, protesters began gathering at boat landings on spring nights during the two-week Chippewa spearfishing season. They chanted taunts such as "timber niggers," "welfare warriors," and "spearchuckers," and carried signs reading, "Save a Spawning Walleye, Spear a Pregnant Squaw," and "Too Bad Custer Ran Out of Bullets." The often-drunk crowds threw rocks, bottles, and full beer cans. The image-conscious PARR leader-

Some whites decried what they saw as the "rape" of the fish resource, vital to the local tourist economy, even though the Chippewa never took more than three percent of the fish.

ship left it up to individual members whether to protest at the lakes. This initial timidity led to the formation of a more militant group, Stop Treaty Abuse (STA), led by pizza parlor owner Dean Crist.

Crist marketed an alcoholic beverage he dubbed "Treaty Beer," and organized mass rallies and civil disobedience, claiming to take his inspiration from Dr. King.

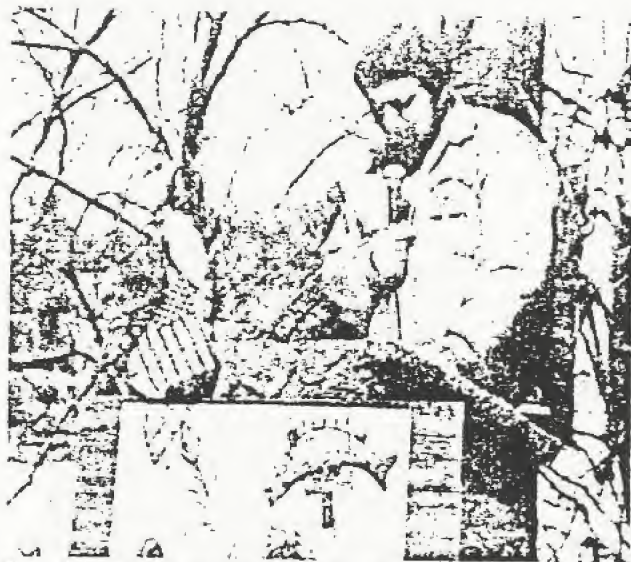
Starting in 1988, STA organized thousands of protesters to go to the boat landings, and the level of violence increased markedly. On the roads leading to and from the lakes, spearers' and other treaty supporters' tires were slashed, vehicles run into ditches, and elders nearly run down. On the landings, Chippewa were assaulted, threatened with death, harassed with whistles and mock drum chants, and pipe bombs were exploded. On the lakes,

spearfishing boats were rammed, swamped, and blockaded by protest boats, youths fired metal ball bearings with high-powered wristrocket slingshots, and snipers fired rifles from the shoreline. Spearer Walt Bresette said in 1990, "Currently, the only Chippewa who are spearfishing are those willing to risk their lives. Everyone else, through violence or threat of violence, has already lost their rights."

While the anti-treaty groups seem home-grown in the depressed northeastern counties of the state, some links are evident. Central Wisconsin is the headquarters of some right-wing populist groups, such as the John Birch Society and the Posse Comitatus. Crist was quoted in the Wisconsin State Journal in 1990 as saying that "David Duke is saying the same stuff we have been saying, like he might have been reading it from STA literature." In 1989, the *Milwaukee Sentinel* reported the formation of a death squad, armed with land mines and



Protesters at Lake Nokomis



Dean Crist, STA founder and anti-treaty activist

offering money for the assassination of two Indian leaders. The same year, notes were found of a phone call from the "ANUnderground" (a possible reference to the Aryan Nations) urging anti-Indian snipers to open fire on spearing boats on their way to the lakes. PARR leaders Wayne Powers and Darlene Hangartner also spoke at meetings of the state's minuscule Populist Party chapter; and Milwaukee Skinheads of the White Patriots League have attended PARR rallies.

Elsewhere in the Midwest, the potential still exists for similar anti-Indian movements to grow. Opposition to the Chippewa fishing in Michigan has developed since the 1979 *Fox* decision upheld treaty rights, resulting in groups such as the Michigan United Conservation Clubs (MUCC) and Enough Is Enough. In northeast Minnesota, only the Fond du Lac Chippewa spearfish, with no protests yet apparent. In Northwest Minnesota, some non-Indian residents of the White Earth Chippewa Reservation have opposed Chippewa claims on lands illegally allotted (divided) earlier this century. White Earth Equal Rights Committee and Totally Equal Americans (TEA) have taken up the cause. (As with timber and water rights, the issue of land rights has serious economic implications.) Elsewhere throughout the United States, the anti-Indian backlash also centers on cultural/religious issues, such as Indian efforts to change demeaning team mascots, to preserve burial sites, or rebury their dead interred in museums and displayed as curiosities and tourist attractions.

National Groups

Anti-Indian groups throughout the continent are beginning to better coordinate their efforts. Both PARR and ICERR say they are national organizations representing thousands of members throughout the United States.

But they and other groups have united in a national coalition known as the Citizens Equal Rights Alliance (CERA). Its executive and advisory boards reflect participation from at least 13 states. CERA's national headquarters and president, Bill Covey, are based in Montana. CERA concentrates on pressuring Congress to modify or abrogate treaties. Perhaps the most insidious national groups are those that use legitimate sports or conservation images to cover for their anti-Indian activity. Among these groups are Trout Unlimited, the National Wildlife Association, and the International Association of Fish and Wildlife Agencies. The potential for local chapters of other environmental, sports, animal rights, or resort owners organizations to be manipulated into anti-Indian groups is significant.

The Pro-Indian Movement

The pro-Indian movement contains both Indian and Indian support groups. Many of the support groups were specifically founded in response to the formation of anti-Indian groups, but have since taken on a life of their own and tackled other issues. The movement supports treaty rights, and counters racism, as well as cultural and religious bias directed against Indian people. The support groups take it as their duty to counter racism in their own non-Indian communities. This is done through cultural events, media work, TV and radio programs, distribution of factual materials, and the development of school curricula on Indian history and culture.

Wisconsin Indian groups won the introduction of a mandatory public school curriculum in 1990, largely because legislators agreed that anti-Indian beliefs should not so easily be passed on to the next generation. PARR announced plans to picket schools in protest of the move. In a strange twist, such anti-Indian groups have focused more public attention on Indian values and traditions, resulting in the long term in a wider public understanding — precisely the opposite of their goals. Some Chippewa have publicly thanked PARR for agitating against them, since they have made more legal gains than they would have in its absence. Other Indian groups around the continent also see anti-Indian activity as an ironic opportunity for improving their situation beyond the status quo that existed before that activity began.

Many Indian activists are acutely aware of government policies of "divide-and-conquer" when it comes to their white neighbors. Even more so than most support groups, some Indian groups have developed a sophisticated analysis of non-Indian communities, tying declines in the economy such as unemployment and the closing of small businesses to the search for an Indian scapegoat. They tend to emphasize the outside "common enemy" — whether governments or corporations — that confronts their communities. Tied to this com-

mon enemy is often a threat to the environment facing Indians and non-Indians alike.

In South Dakota, Lakota (Sioux) Indians and white ranchers were at odds over water rights in the 1970s, until underground water supplies were threatened by mining and energy interests. Lakota leaders approached the ranchers with the news that, if corporate plans were allowed to proceed, there would be no water left in ten years to argue about. Together with environmentalists they formed the Black Hills Alliance, which successfully headed off major mining and coal slurry projects. This three-way alliance was repeated around the country, from the Western Shoshone fight to stop the M-X missile in Nevada, to the Cowboy and Indian Alliance (CIA) in Montana's coal country, to Wisconsin rural whites' support for using Chippewa treaties to stop metallic sulfide mines.

Legal Strategies

Pro-Indian groups use legal, educational, organizing and action strategies to lessen the appeal and impact of anti-Indian groups. Legal strategies center both on strengthening the treaties in federal court and on blocking harassment by anti-Indian groups. Any court victory for the tribes presents anti-Indian groups with a *fait accompli*, since few such decisions have been overturned on appeal. The risk is, of course, that decisions can go both ways, and Indian nations can find their sovereignty infringed by unsympathetic judges and courts.

In Washington state, the anti-Indian movement was largely marginalized by a court decision mandating that state and tribal governments co-manage natural resources in treaty-ceded territories. The decision gave the tribes legal standing to limit off-reservation projects that may endanger salmon. The interest of the resource was put ahead of either Indian or non-Indian interests, removing S/SPAWN's main arguments.

In Wisconsin, federal judge Barbara Crabb issued a mixed series of rulings on the treaties during the late 1980s and early 1990s. In 1991, the Lac du Flambeau Chippewa asked her to keep protesters away from the boat landings, to order three county sheriffs to enforce laws against protesters, and to stop protesters from physical harassing tribal members, especially on the lakes. She rejected the first two requests, but granted the third — issuing an injunction that strictly limited STA's direct action options. The order was backed by undercover observers from the FBI and United States Marshals (who ironically were the main culprits in violence against the American

Indian Movement on the Pine Ridge reservation and elsewhere). Anti-Indian leaders also knew that the state's Hate Crimes Law could be used to stiffen penalties against them if they assaulted Indians. That law has since been ruled unconstitutional, however (see Legislative section). On the one hand, federal and state intervention may strengthen the identification of Indians with "big government" in the eyes of some populist-minded whites. On the other hand, Crabb's court order effectively scared hundreds of potential protesters away from the lakes, severely embarrassing both STA and PARR.

Education and Organizing Strategies

The most important long-term strategy employs both education and organizing. This is especially true in the white "border towns" near reservations, where even a small anti-racist minority can dramatically lessen anti-Indian sentiment. The use of reservation radio stations — such as WOJB on Lac Courte Oreilles (Wisconsin), and KILI on Pine Ridge — has proved invaluable in this effort. Many educational strategies focus on building cultural understanding, fostering knowledge about the legal basis of treaties, and promoting the idea of living in peace with one's neighbors.

Another approach is to refute the false claims made by anti-Indian groups about resources, welfare, and other issues. In doing so, it is important to recognize the irrationality of many of these claims, and realize they are put forth for deeper economic, political, and psychological reasons. In other words, if one "fact" is effectively disproven, it will quickly be replaced by another fraudulent claim. The "facts" are there to fill more substantive needs; only by addressing those needs, and putting forth an entirely new framework for viewing the conflict, can we hope to erode the grassroots base of anti-Indian groups. It is also important not to let these groups set the

agenda for debate, with irrelevant discussions about fish populations or blood quantum statistics, but to focus on issues to which *they* have to respond.

Indian activists are often very familiar with their adversaries in anti-Indian groups. They may have gone to school together, or have had business relationships. These ac-

tivists often refrain from taking on hard-core racist groups directly, preferring to address their comments to the groups' followers, who may be genuinely affected by the groups' scare tactics, or are simply going along for the excitement. Native leaders go through pains to emphasize that their land claims are not made at the expense of local non-Indians. In a key 1980 speech,

**Anti-Indian movements
cannot be countered without
an understanding of deeper
economic, political, and
cultural issues.**

American Indian Movement leader Bill Means said that the Lakota claim to the sacred Black Hills covered only state, federal, and corporate-owned lands, not private landowners. A subsequent claims suit by the Sioux Nation Council narrowed in on government lands.

In a 1987 article in the *Daybreak* newspaper, Native journalist Ismaelillo offered an original educational approach to land claims disputes. He wrote that many white settlers were, in fact, lied to when the federal government told them they had clear title to their new homesteads. By not telling them of the clouded title stemming from previous Indian ownership, the government committed an act of fraud. People or local communities whose lands may be covered by Indian land claims could, therefore, refrain from taking action against the tribe, and instead sue the federal government for compensation, with Indian support. In Wisconsin, the Chippewa have taken a similar approach, by trying to redirect sports groups' anger toward state government, which has tied its lowering of fish bag limits to spearfishing, even though it knew for years that the real damage to the fish population was caused by habitat destruction and mismanagement.

Two parallel networks were born out of the Wisconsin treaty crisis, which worked in different but complementary ways. Honor Our Neighbors Origins and Rights (HONOR) is primarily a church-based organization, involved in lobbying, and working closely with tribal governments. It has focused most of its educational work on racism, whether from PARR and STA, or from the anti-timber rights agenda of the Wisconsin Counties Association. The Midwest Treaty Network (MTN) is a looser alliance of grassroots pro-treaty groups, including reservation associations. Its base is mainly in the environmental and social justice movements, and it helped create the Witness for Nonviolence to actively monitor violations of Chippewa rights. Its educational work stresses positive economic and environmental uses of the treaties. HONOR and MTN have grown together in the realization that they need to confront both the racism emerging in the region, and provide alternative plans for change that can pre-empt such racism in the future.

Action Strategies

Ultimately, once people have been educated, they can be mobilized. A number of successful action strategies have been used by Indian and Indian support movements to directly counter anti-Indian groups.

For example, STA leader Crist marketed Treaty Beer nationwide as a fundraising and publicity gimmick, but didn't realize how his product would unite pro-Indian groups. Mass rallies at the Washington state capitol secured a denunciation of "hate in a can" by the governor. On the steps of the Wisconsin state capitol, community leaders poured the beer into a pink toilet bowl. A Chicago Indian group successfully petitioned

FIVE GOALS OF THE WITNESS PROGRAM

The MTN's Witness program had five purposes, not all easily coexisting in the same project:

- 1) To be a presence for all the Chippewa families at the boat landings, so they don't take 100 percent of the abuse;
- 2) To show by this presence that not all non-Indians oppose treaty rights, as is often conveyed in the media;
- 3) To prevent a high level of tension and violence, with a calming influence, and the deterrent use of cameras and recorders;
- 4) To actively use nonviolent tactics to defuse tense or violent situations;
- 5) To document harassment, intimidation, and violence that does occur, using detailed notes, photos, and audio/video tape.

local liquor stores not to carry the product. Three breweries that started canning the beer — in Wisconsin, Ohio, and Louisiana — were one-by-one threatened with boycotts by HONOR, and dropped the "true brew of the working man." Crist gave up after four frustrating years.

Some action strategies require more commitment and risk. At the height of some conflicts, activists have put themselves physically between Indian and anti-Indian forces in visible displays of support. During the 1973 Wounded Knee siege, and the 1986 Big Mountain crisis, non-Indians stood in front of government forces attempting to evict people from the land. A peace camp was also set up between Mohawk and government positions in 1990 by the Montreal-based Centre for Nonviolence Resources. All these efforts are a way to express that any assault on Indian people could also injure non-Indians.

This strategy developed in a highly organized and effective way in Wisconsin, with the Witness for Nonviolence. The Witness started informally during the 1987 spearfishing season when local women stood with Chippewa friends at the boat landings, in a gesture of moral support. Within two years, the multiracial Witness came to involve treaty supporters not only from all parts of Wisconsin, but from around the nation and world. By 1991, a total of about 2000 treaty supporters had documented anti-Indian harassment at the lakes.

Red Cliff spearer Andrew Gokee commented that "The more Witnesses on a given night, the more peaceful the lake will be." Even some protesters have been heard to say to each other, "Don't say that, the

Witnesses will hear you." Other protesters have said to Witnesses, "You white people are all traitors," and "We have red niggers, black niggers, and a few white niggers, too."

Witnesses are not pro-treaty protesters. At the Chippewa's request, they don't wear political buttons, carry signs, chant slogans, or carry on any unnecessary dialogue with the anti-treaty protesters. They are identified only by white armbands, and have signed a pledge of peace saying they will not participate in any conflict. Yet state and federal politicians tried to discredit Witnesses as merely the pro-treaty counterparts of PARR and STA, and as an obstacle to peace. This may be because one of the main targets of documentation has been the state-coordinated law enforcement effort, which has been spotty at best. While in some counties riot police helped protect the Chippewa, in counties with the largest PARR STA memberships, many officers either looked the other way, or openly sympathized with the protests. The 1990 Witness report detailed incidents of racial intimidation, violence, and police response. The documentation was used not only for legal purposes, but for political purposes, such as responding to Gov. Thompson's contention that little racism was evident at the protests, and there were "no ugly incidents."

By 1991, the Chippewa and Witnesses regularly outnumbered the dwindling numbers of protesters during the spearing season. The media proclaimed 'Crist's Last Stand,' but it is abundantly clear that STA and PARR are down to a hard core that is far more racist and threatening.

Both a continuing Witness and police presence will be needed in the future. Some resort owners stopped supporting the groups because their racism and vio-

lence began to keep tourists away. And the fact that groups claiming to protect fish didn't lift a finger about threats from mercury and mining was not lost on environmentally conscious Wisconsinites. In a May 1991, *Wisconsin State Journal* poll, 59 percent of southern Wisconsinites supported treaty rights, and an amazing 42 percent of northerners agreed.

As each year passes, the Witness wrestles with various questions. Witness' obvious support for the Chippewa, such as standing between the protesters and the drum, can at times lessen the credibility of their documentation, unless it is collected by unimpeachable electronic means (such as camcorders). Also, protesters' attacks on Witnesses can become a media issue, detracting attention from attacks on Indians, unless it is made clear that Indians remain the primary target, and Witnesses are only present at their invitation.

Other potential pitfalls need to be addressed by Indian support groups. One is the stereotyping of working-class whites as "rednecks," without taking into account the similar economic forces working against both reservation and off-reservation communities. Local whites should be encouraged and supported to take a strong role in Indian support work. Another area to develop is a respectful relationship with grassroots Indian organizers, by keeping out of internal tribal politics. Non-Indians should limit their involvement in Indian issues to questions that revolve around non-Indian individuals and governments to limit Indian rights. Lastly, the cultural distinctiveness of Indian peoples needs to be protected not only from racists, but from romantic New Age consumerists of the "Wannabe" tribe, and from political activists who see Indian resistance as identical to other anti-racist struggles, lacking its unique national, cultural and spiritual dimensions.

Native American Population

861,500 Indians lived within or near Federal reservations as of January 1987

The largest Indian Reservations as of January 1989 were:

- Navajo (Ariz., N.M., Utah) 185,661
- Cherokee (Okla.) 87,059
- Creek (Okla.) 56,244
- Choctaw (Okla.) 26,884
- Pine Ridge (S.D.) 20,206
- Southern Pueblos (N.M.) 18,837
- Chickasaw (Okla.) 12,369

Native Americans

Prior to European colonization, the indigenous, aboriginal people of North America built stable communities and established civilizations.

Genocide — the extermination of an entire population — was practiced against Native Americans in order to push them from their lands to make way for white settlers. Disease also severely decimated the ranks of aboriginal peoples throughout the Western Hemisphere. From an estimated population ranging anywhere between 8.4 and 112.5 million throughout the Western Hemisphere prior to 1492, the American Indian population in the United States declined from about 600,000 in

1800 to a mere 250,000 between 1890 and 1900. Meanwhile, the non-Indian population increased from approximately 5 million in 1800 to over 75 million in 1900 according to Russell Thornton's *American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492*. By 1980, the American Indian population had recovered to 1.37 million. The ignominious history of United States policy toward Native Americans involved countless methods of dehumanizing and robbing them.

In the late 1830s, the Cherokee Indians were forced from their lands, where they had established a mighty nation in what is now north Georgia and western North Carolina. They were relocated far from their home to Oklahoma, and forced to live in what can only be described as concentration camps. The long march to Oklahoma — the Trail of Tears — cost more than 8,000 lives, approximately one-third of the Cherokee population — and changed forever the Cherokee nation and the Indian experience. Other tribes experienced similar forced removals.

Though hundreds of thousands of Native Americans died in the 19th century as a result of such policies, a massacre which occurred in the northern Plains a century ago stands out as one of the most heinous incidents in United States history: the massacre at Wounded Knee in what is now South Dakota. In that massacre, an estimated 300 people, mostly women and children, were gunned down by the United States military.

Today, Native Americans live in grinding poverty on reservations and off, with the highest rates of unemployment and the greatest amount of disease of any population group in the country.

The conditions persist at the same time as many Americans maintain a simultaneous fascination and disrespect for Indian culture. While Indian jewelry and pottery are held in great esteem and many people adopt aspects of Indian spirituality, sports teams still are labeled the Braves, the Indians, the Redskins and similar names.

Indians always fought this domination with a variety of tactics, from outright warfare to courtroom battles. Much of today's struggle is in the courtroom, where many Native American groups are working to retrieve a measure of treaty rights and control over the resources on the land which has been left to them, as well as to regain control over Indian artifacts and burial grounds that are being taken over by museums and land developers. In a recent battle over Native American fishing rights in Wisconsin, racist whites adopted the slogan, "Save a Fish, Spear an Indian."

Latinos

There are significant differences in the experiences of various Latino populations in this country. These differences are based on the historic relationship of Chicanos, Mexicans, Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, and others to the United States government, white society, and each other. Of course, all suffer from language discrimination, in which institutions seek to impose English as the only acceptable language of discourse. A conservative social movement seeking to legis-

late "English Only" gained in strength in the 1980s as the Latino population in the United States sharply increased.

Puerto Ricans suffer not only from discrimination based on their skin color and language, but also from the colonization of their homeland. Puerto Rico became a colony of the United States in 1898 and has been occupied by the military ever since. Officially, a "commonwealth," the drive to become the 51st state has been stalled by the continuing strength of the pro-independence movement on the island and among Puerto Ricans on the mainland. Nevertheless, millions of Puerto Ricans have been forced to leave their homeland in search of jobs and economic opportunity.

Racism directed at Mexicans and Chicanos is based on skin color and language. It is also based on the conquest of Mexican lands during the 1845 war with Mexico. It can be traced to the arrival of the Spaniards to Mexico, three-and-one-half centuries earlier. When light-colored skin came into existence in that part of the continent, so did the preference for it, and the dark skin of the Indian was despised and belittled. White Spanish land owners were brutal taskmasters, and their finely-tuned racism was a large motivation for the revolution of 1810 which began to break the ties to Spain. Mexico has also been conquered by the British and French, in

Many Americans maintain a simultaneous fascination and disrespect for Indian culture.

United States 1992 Latino Population:

22,354,059, about 9 percent of total U.S. population

By Nationality:

- Mexican 13,495,938
- Puerto Rican 2,727,754
- Cuban 1,043,932
- Other 5,086,435



In recent years, Latinos in the U.S. have been the target of vicious anti-immigration campaigns. This photo was taken in 1992 in northwest Georgia, where Mexicans working in the poultry processing industry have been attacked by the KKK.

addition to losing half its national territory to the United States after more than thirty-six armed invasions of its sovereignty.

There has not been a self-defined term for Chicanos; they have been called Spanish, Hispanic, Mexican-American, Latin American — all terms imposed upon them by others, except the word Chicano, put into use by the movements of the 1970s. It simply means a person of Mexican descent born in the United States.

One of the most visible manifestations of racism against Chicanos in the United States has been the process of assimilation carried out in the public education system. Just as blacks were relegated to separate schools, so were Chicanos. As late as the 1960s, young children were punished and humiliated for speaking Spanish. Some who lived isolated within a white community would often change their birth names — Santiago to James, Olivares to Oliver — in a desperate effort to mask ethnic origin and avoid violence.

A focal point for anti-Latino action is through population control by the enforcement of unfair immigration practices. After each World War, Mexicans, many born and raised here, owning lands or businesses, were transported by railroad car out of the country and left destitute in Mexico. These actions were called the repatriation, Operation Wetback and other names. During the Depression, when the need for Mexican and Chicano labor was low, the United States suspended

welfare payments and people traveled to Mexico to avoid starvation. Whereas during the 1920s the United States absorbed a population of one million Mexicans, in the 1930s the country threw out about 500,000 people of Mexican origin, reported the President's Commission on Migratory Labor in 1951.

Most of the changes in immigration practices were part of an effort to control the size and make-up of the labor force, a practice which continues today. Armed force continues to be exercised by the United States Immigration Service which terrorizes exclusively Chicano neighborhoods, raiding factories, retail stores, and schools.

Economically and politically motivated immigration policies — sometimes in violation of international human rights standards — have similarly traumatic impact on many immigrants from Central and South America.

Asian Americans

Asian Pacific Americans are now the fastest growing minority in America and are frequently targeted for hate crimes. According to the 1990 Census, the Asian American population doubled from 1970 to 1980, and again from 1980 to 1990.

More than 30 sub-groups are included as Asian Pacific Americans, among them: Filipino, Korean, Thai, Mien, Hmong, Laotian, Indonesian, Pakistani, Samoan, and Micronesian.

Asian Pacific Americans are often called a model minority, but this stereotype ignores the long history of exclusion and discrimination which continues today. The first Asian immigrants came to America centuries before the Revolutionary War.

Asian immigration to America greatly increased in the late 1880s. They were scholars, farmers, laborers,

1990 U.S. Population of Americans of Asian and Pacific Island Descent
7,274,000, about 3 percent of total U.S. population

By country of origin:

- Chinese 1,643,924
- Filipino 1,403,882
- Japanese 843,784
- Asian Indian 814,688
- Korean 800,140
- Vietnamese 611,016
- Laotian 145,480.

Oriental rugs, *not* people

Asian groups should not be called Oriental. The term Oriental is considered offensive to most Asian Pacific Americans because: 1) it assumes the world's peoples should be divided into Oriental and Occidental and 2) to many, it painfully conjures up stereotypical Hollywood images of mysterious, opium-smoking caricatures in gambling dens. However, the term Oriental is appropriate to use for objects, such as Oriental rugs.

merchants and others. Despite the stereotype that these early Asian immigrants were poor and unskilled, United States customs figures show they came with a higher level of native literacy and more money than the average immigrant. However, with the post-Civil War depression and the rise of the white labor movement, Asian workers became economic scapegoats. Thousands were forcibly expelled from cities by angry mobs in the 1880s and early 1900s.

In 1882, the Exclusion Act successfully restricted immigration of Chinese laborers. This marked the first time that immigration laws would restrict one ethnic group. In all, over 600 pieces of legislation directed against Asian Pacific Americans were enacted by the early 1900s. These laws forbade them from citizenship, owning land, intermarriage, employment, and other forms of participation in American life. Subsequent immigration laws, in 1917 and 1924, virtually stopped immigration of new Asians to America for several more decades. The Exclusion Act was not repealed until 1943.

Even American citizens of Asian Pacific ancestry were viewed as unwelcome foreigners. This was dramatically illustrated during World War II when 120,000 Japanese Americans, the majority of whom were born and educated in the United States, were placed into internment camps, forced to abandon businesses, homes, and other property.

Anti-Asian bigotry continues today. In fact, there is evidence that it is increasing, due to deteriorating economic conditions and a rise in Asia bashing. Asians and Pacific Islanders, both overseas and in America, often have become economic scapegoats. Recent media headlines tout Asian investment as "America's New Invasion" or "Japan Wars," while ignoring investment by the British and Dutch, who are actually the largest foreign investors in America. Anti-Asian remarks are heard at the highest levels of government.

There is a false belief that Asian immigrants get ahead because they are given government money which other groups do not get. In truth, they get no such

preferential treatment.

This country's experience in World War II, Korea and Vietnam have allowed forms of anti-Asian bigotry to continue. In these last three major conflicts, Asians were the enemy. This has continued to fuel anti-Asian hostility and hate crimes.

Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders are proportionately the most targeted racial group in such cities as Boston and Los Angeles. The frequency of attacks against Asians caused United States Justice Department official Martin A. Walsh to call hate crimes against Asians the fastest rising of any group.

Violence against members of the Asian community has had a devastating impact as many of the victims are new immigrants who are stunned by the vicious hatred of their attackers. These immigrants also have minimal historical interaction with social services, the criminal justice system and other means of support and redress.





Scapegoating Immigrants

Immigrant-bashing is on the rise

By Elizabeth Martinez

Time to face some troublesome facts. In Los Angeles during the 1992 uprising many long-time Mexican-American residents said "We're not the ones rioting, it's those immigrants"—meaning Mexicans and Central Americans. At a San Francisco rally marking the 30th anniversary of the March on Washington last August, Dolores Huerta was speaking. A middle-aged African American woman stood and screamed angrily at Huerta, "Go back to Mexico! We need our jobs!"

Incidents like these—and there are many more—leave us with certain questions: will African Americans be made the shock troops of an ugly campaign by racist whites to scapegoat immigrants for the social ills devastating Black and other poor communities? Will established Latino residents forget where they came from and fail to see the racist, classist divisiveness in today's immigrant-bashing? Shall we all remain blind to the need for solidarity among African Americans and Caribbean Blacks, Arab Americans, Asian Pacific Americans, and Latinos—not to mention progressive whites—in combating today's international attack on immigrants?

Imperatively the times call for understanding what the hell is going on and why. Three questions confront us, as formulated by a homeboy friend the other night: "Who is the gun pointed at? Why is the gun being pointed? What is the gun?"

Who Is The Gun Pointed At?

From the U.S. to Germany to Australia, anti-immigrant actions and policies have escalated in often deadly fashion during recent years. In the United States, President Bill Clinton wasted little time breaking his campaign promise to

end Bush's inhuman policy toward Haitian refugees. Under Bush and Clinton some 40,000 Haitians have been summarily returned to a military-police dictatorship of unbridled brutality where they would be lucky to escape immediate death. Surely this year's award for racist immigration policy should go to the U.S., whose officials were sending unarmed Haitian refugees back to Haiti last October even as other officials pulled armed U.S. forces out, saying Haiti was just too dangerous.

Clinton's action also gave the green light to the right wing's anti-immigrant agenda. His own proposals (see "An Activist's Guide") are aimed at tighter Border Patrol control and a speedup in reviewing asylum requests that could send people to their deaths faster.

In California, government officials have generated a tidal wave of anti-immigrant laws or programs. Gov. Pete Wilson led the way with a stream of outrageous proposals, among them denying citizenship to children born in the U.S. of undocumented parents. He got four passed in October which include a ban on giving driver's licenses to the undocumented, requiring state and local agencies providing job training or placement to verify a person being a legal resident, and increasing penalties against getting Medi-Cal benefits "fraudulently" or helping others to do so.

Not to be outshone by a Republican, California's two new Democratic women Senators offered their own measures. Even the erstwhile liberal Sen. Barbara Boxer urged sending the National Guard to defend the U.S.-Mexico border against my relatives. Some "reformist" politicians like Rep. Romano Mazzoli advocate stricter enforcement of employer sanctions. At the heart of the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act, these sanctions provided for penalties against those who knowingly hire the undocumented; the sanctions haven't worked but they have encouraged

discrimination against anyone who looks or sounds "foreign." As for the Hispanic Congressional Caucus, it has taken a mix of positions.

The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) also sparks anti-foreign, anti-immigrant sentiment. NAFTA negotiations never address the civil and labor rights of immigrants—only Mexico's responsibilities to stop northbound traffic. An anti-immigrant attitude prevails in the debate over NAFTA, the main issue being whether NAFTA will increase or diminish immigration from Mexico.

California, where 40 percent of those who immigrate to the U.S. settle, has repeatedly seen bombings and other violent attacks on Asian and Latino immigrants or their advocates by ultra-rightists. One image speaks to all these actions. Irma Muñoz, a 20-year old woman who immigrated from Mexico recently, became a successful engineering student at the University of California, Davis, and began working publicly as an intern for a state legislator advocating less reactionary immigration policies. Last April two white male students at UC Davis punched her, cut her hair, and scrawled on her arms and her back with a black magic marker: "Wetback" and "Go home you illegal." If she told anyone about the attack, they warned, she would be killed along with "your wetback friends" like the legislator.

In Texas, where the second largest immigration occurs, the spectacular "Operation Blockade" went up last September. A Border Patrol inspiration, it put 650 armed agents in a 20-mile long line facing the Juarez-El Paso border for 24 hours a day, supposedly to prevent "illegals" entering from Mexico—but of course they harassed those with papers too. Overtime costs quickly ran up to \$300,000 and anybody could walk around either end of the 20-mile line, but no matter, at this writing the operation continues and will also be replicated in the San Diego area. Somebody fretted that the word "blockade" implies an act of war so the San Diego operation is called "Enhanced Enforcement Strategy." That does sound nicer.

New York, the third main destination of immigrants, saw a tidal wave of anti-immigrant (particularly anti-Arab and anti-Muslim) hatred after the World Trade Center bombing. A September 1993 poll of 1,203 New Yorkers reported "startlingly negative attitudes on recent immigration in a city renowned for its international character." More than 63 percent said the number of recent immigrants was too high and more than two-thirds said immigrants had made New York a worse place to live. As for "illegal" immigrants, 55 percent saw them as a serious terrorist threat and 82



Jose Carlos Martinez killed by Border Patrol — V. Tellez

percent of the U.S.-born said they believed tighter controls over immigration could have prevented the World Trade Center bombing.

Add to such hysteria the racist depiction of U.S. shores being assaulted by boatloads of Chinese refugees. Incidents also occur in scattered locales like Fall River, Massachusetts, where 12 white men murdered a Cambodian American and severely beat his friend last August 14 while racially taunting both. Or the University of Nevada in Las Vegas, where an India-American student died after being set on fire by two men—one white, one African-American—who said they didn't want any more foreign students on campus.

Elsewhere in the world: In Germany police reported 2,285 acts of rightist violence in 1992, mostly against foreigners and including seven murders. On May 29, 1993 came the Neo-Nazi firebomb killing of five Turks—three young girls and two women—along with other violent attacks on Turkish refugee hostels, homes, and restaurants. A German clerk in a Berlin store falsely accused a Turkish resident of stealing; when the woman's daughter protested, the clerk said "We got rid of 6 million Jews, we'll get rid of you too." Chancellor Helmut Kohl refused to attend a memorial service for the firebombing victims and threatened Turks who might defend themselves. (Of Germany's 1.8 million Turks, many came here 30 years ago invited as guest workers; many were born in Germany.) The German parliament passed a law, which required changing the German constitution, that blocks most applicants for political asylum.

- In France attacks on North Africans have been common, with citizens complaining that Third World immigration "is changing the French way of life." Last June France's National Assembly overwhelmingly approved a new law authorizing police to carry out random identity checks to clamp down on undocumented immigrants.

- In Italy a group of North African immigrant workers were beaten and stabbed by 20 Nazi-skinheads in February, 1992.
- Last spring Spain was reported to be increasingly xenophobic toward immigrants from Africa, who numbered 264,000 in Barcelona alone, as well as from South America. An African immigrant in Madrid was murdered last spring in an officially recognized hate crime. An appalling traffic bringing workers from North Africa to Spain by boat has led to 1000 deaths by drowning in the last five years, 300 in 1992 alone. Apparently nobody cares, again we find the zero value put on the life of a poor black person.
- In Hungary, with 50,000 refugees from the war in the Balkans, Gypsies have been a favorite target. One gypsy was beaten to death last Nov. 6 by skinheads.
- Britain sees constant attacks on "blacks" (which includes Indians and Pakistanis). One in three Britons does not want Arabs or Pakistanis as neighbors and two of three said in an October 1993 poll that they don't want to live near Gypsies.
- In Holland middle-class white flight from the schools increases as the immigrant population rises.
- Switzerland's 1991 elections showed rising animosity to immigration when the leader of a rightist party scored big election gains.
- Australia began enacting tough policies in 1992 to deal with an immigration "problem" that critics say does not really exist. And, in an ultimate irony for white folks, we find that immigrants from the Caucasus—yes, Caucasians—who have moved to Moscow since the Soviet Union disintegrated are resented, harassed and attacked as "blacks."

Three chilling commonalities surface in this geographic mix. First, in almost every country the anti-immigrant attack coincides with and nurtures a rapid growth of neo-Nazi and far-right groups. But the New Right is not a fringe creature; it includes "respectable" reactionary politicians, with a number of them winning office on an anti-immigrant platform.

Second, many liberals join reactionary forces in scapegoating immigrants. Some major environmental organizations have formed an anti-immigration alliance and are loudly demanding curbs on immigration for its supposed ecological damage and excess population ("immigrant women have high fertility rates"). It seems that 2-4 percent of the U.S. population causes every evil from pollution to traffic jams.

Third, the attack on immigrants is usually racist (and often anti-Muslim). Paris's conservative mayor Jacques Chirac minced no words: they even have

"smells" of their own, he said about immigrants. In the U.S. the very word "immigrant" means people of color in most people's minds; forget the many Europeans.

Why Is The Gun Being Pointed?

Immigrant-bashing and persecution embody a ruling class tactic going back centuries that blames "outsiders" for a society's woes. Today's message is: "Don't blame corporate interests, don't blame the Savings & Loan banks, don't blame the government or elected officials, do blame immigrants!"

"Operation Scapegoat" calls for the U.S.-born to see immigrants as individuals who have freely chosen to leave their homes and cultures, and not to see that most people migrate under the pressure of political, economic or social forces. Similarly the receiving country is seen as a passive victim of invading hordes, when in fact its policies may well "pull" migrants in various ways. The U.S. sent \$6 billion in aid to El Salvador's government during the 1980s to crush the popular insurgency. Almost 500,000 destitute, frightened Salvadorans moved to Los Angeles, mostly during the 1980s. Could there be a connection?

Foreign policy including warfare is one answer to why people move across borders. Other politico-military reasons would be ethnic conflict, civil strife, and persecution. These have had devastating impact in recent years: the massive dislocation of people in Iraq and Kuwait caused by the Gulf War, the aftermath of the Berlin Wall's collapse, and effects of the disintegration of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union.

The economic reasons for migration are no simple matter but we surely need to look at immigration in relation to global economic trends today. For centuries pressure from the failure of domestic structures to provide basic employment and subsistence has created economic refugees. We can see the effects of contemporary economic restructuring, intended by capitalists to restore their profit rates and to hell with millions of skilled steel workers, auto workers, and others. Arturo Santamaria Gomez, the Mexican professor and author, writes of how globalization has caused a deepening U.S. dependence on the Mexican immigrant work force, for example. "Globalization puts a competitive premium on pools of low-paid, 'flexible,' vulnerable workers," he said in a *Nation* article (Oct. 25). Mexican and other migrant labor—especially when undocumented—is key to restructuring the U.S. economy.

Historically that labor carries great advantages for the capitalist. It is vulnerable, especially if undocumented, and totally disenfranchised. Here is the most basic function of the border: as a mechanism for defining and maintaining control over labor by the possession or lack of "legal" status. History is packed with experiences of deportation just when an undocumented

worker was due to be paid or when workers began to organize for their rights; of low wages and terrible working conditions accepted because the alternative was deportation. Such crippling controls make the undocumented worker a very special kind of wage slave, more enslaved than waged.

But the growth of global economic integration involves more than cheap labor, as immigrant rights activist Maria Jimenez tells us. Why does *The Wall Street Journal* call for a totally open border, even as other voices from center to right demand tighter control? It seems possible the *Journal* understands that today countries belong to an interdependent collectivity shaped by global trends. That it questions the role of borders in an era of galloping, global economic integration. Why try to regulate immigration with border control at a time of energetic efforts to open up national economies and create trading blocs like NAFTA?

Saskia Sassen, of Columbia University, a longtime expert on immigration issues, has written about such contradictions. She points out, for example, the way overseas operations of firms have a migration impact. We can conclude, people are moved when investment moves. The real migrant is capital.

What Is The Gun?

Instead of considering such realities, we are barged with a repertory of hostile myths about immigrants. We hear regularly two key myths. (1) "Immigrants are taking away jobs."

In fact, in the U.S. the Rand Corporation, the Urban Institute and the Heritage Foundation—hardly dens of leftism—all concluded in various studies that immigrants do not take jobs from native workers and depress wages. *Newsweek* recently reported (and I would agree, from random observation of janitorial and other service work in a few cities) that during times of high unemployment there may be temporary displacement in some job sectors. But even if that happens, new jobs are soon created by the presence of immigrants with their needs for basic goods and services. This temporary displacement is numerically very small. Immigrants mostly work in jobs in highly exploitative sectors like the garment industry, as nannies, or in the



fields, with the legalized working 2-5 hours more per day than the general population.

(2) "Immigrants use services but don't pay for them, and thus they drain local and state resources." But again numerous studies show the opposite: immigrants, including the undocumented, pay more in taxes than the cost of the services they use. *Business Week* (of July 13 1992) reported that immigrants pay \$90 billion in taxes each year, while receiving \$5 billion in services. (This truth is masked by the fact that much of the tax money goes to the federal government, not the state providing the services.) Also, immigrants use fewer services than the native-born; for the undocumented, always fearful of capture and deportation, the percentage is tiny. The director of the National Immigration Forum says less than 1 percent of newly legalized immigrants received general assistance in 1987-88 and less than half a percent obtained food stamps and AFDC. As for social security taxes, since most immigrants are young they will pay a disproportionate amount of tax for an increasingly aging population.

The myths are intended to prove that the very real deprivation experienced today by the U.S.-born should be blamed on immigrants—that largely impoverished 2-4 percent of the population. In California, whose economic problems obviously rise from such setbacks as failed new industries and severe cuts in tax revenue under Prop. 13, this scapegoating seems ludicrous. Instead of swallowing it we should all protest the real causes of the crisis and immigrants should be demanding: No taxation without representation.

Politics is the first, obvious place to find the reasons for those myths. Governor Pete Wilson's approval rating rose seven points soon after his "get tough on immigrants" campaign warmed up. Immigrants have always been a favorite whipping boy and recruitment ploy for rightist forces. Such politics echo the anti-social services, anti-labor shift that has swamped much of the world over the last two decades.

A key part of this shift is the intensification of racism, and racism plays a key role in immigrant-bashing—so often that it's sometimes hard to separate one from the other. In France Jean-Marie LePen's rightist National Front Party has grown steadily for several years on a platform that would cut off immigration specifically of Arabs and Africans.

Fighting Back

In the long run, universally humane treatment of immigrants and refugees requires global changes in today's economic policies and the supra-national agencies like the World Bank or GATT who determine them. Meanwhile, we must deal urgently with the short run. That calls for two related kinds of action: building a new civil rights movement that includes immigrant and refugee rights, and combating forces that pit people of color or workers against each other by scapegoating immigrants.

On the first front we need to begin by defining immigrant and refugee rights as a civil rights issue around which all must unite. We need a new civil rights movement that recognizes immigrants are usually non-white and are made vulnerable to exploitation and abuse because they lack citizenship and knowledge of English. At the top of our civil rights list is getting the Border Patrol under some control. We need procedures, starting with H.R. 2119, the Immigration Enforcement Review Commission, to investigate complaints about this autonomous agency—the largest police department in the U.S., guilty of rape and murder of defenseless immigrant women and men, almost all Mexican or Central American.

Nothing is more difficult than combating the divisiveness that has pit people of color against each other. The mass media, right-wing organizations, politicians, and normally progressive voices have established a climate where 63 percent of 500 Latinos polled in California this year thought enforcing employer sanctions was the best way to curb illegal immigration and 73 percent of African Americans believe immigrants are taking their jobs, according to a Harris poll. The right-wing Federation for American Immigration Reform, FAIR, ran radio spots targeting black communities that blamed the problems there on those foreign hordes coming across the border. In a more subtle but equally venial way, TV gives us an automo-

bile commercial in which an African American salesperson says: "Go see *Rising Sun*, then you'll know why you have to buy your car from me."

School children learn racist anti-immigrant epithets heard from parents or the media. To hear a Chicano kid sneer "Mexican" at a day laborer on the street corner is cause to grieve mightily. To hear African American children holler "wetback" at recently-immigrated Latino kids who speak too little English for self-defense is also grievous. To hear Latinos object to protests about the bombing of an Asian rights center because "those people didn't have it hard like us" is sad indeed.

We need to set aside narrow, reactionary nationalisms that tell us to care only about our own. We need to welcome and encourage voices that try to expose the scapegoating, like that of Joe Williams III, an African American writing in the *Los Angeles Sentinel* last Sept. 9. Williams compared the current attacks on the undocumented to the harassment of blacks during the 1950s-1960s, when many moved north or west as southern agriculture declined. "They were accused of taking the jobs of the white man. They were accused [by whites] of undermining the salaries of union workers." But it's even worse today, Williams concludes, because mainstream politicians as well as segments of the black and Latino communities join the attacks. About Latino immigrants "We must realize that California and four other states were...part of Mexico," he says.

A new civil rights movement should not deny that class differences exist among immigrants, but those don't justify the current denial of civil/human rights across the board. A word must also be said to organized labor: it's time to reject that racist, elitist attitude toward immigrant workers, including the undocumented. Unions need to recognize the courageous determination of workers today like the Los Angeles drywallers—almost all Latinos—or the San Antonio garment workers' organization Fuerza Unida—almost all Latinas. It could do much to revive the U.S. labor movement. Civil rights, human rights, labor rights: all are needed.

We are left with a chilling question of our time: Will we unite to fight the devious scapegoating of immigrants? At the very least that attack will move U.S. society still farther to the right. At worst, it can usher in neo-fascist tendencies.

The immigrant and refugee rights struggle points to our need for a whole new world view. Does anybody really think the way to deal with an estimated one million migrants wandering the planet today is by locking some doors? There is no way that 19th century nationalism can be useful. It is profoundly backward to go on seeing countries primarily as bordered nation-states which can resolve issues like immigration policy unilaterally. *No Hay Fronteras*...

Open Borders For All!

As the East-West tensions of the "Cold War" era disappear into the annals of history, Third World people are now coming under the even more chilling grasp of the New World Order. After the dissolution of the "Cold War", we are seeing a new war being further developed - clearly it has been in existence for decades, but it is now becoming more visible and defined - and that is the current North-South struggle. One aspect of this struggle is the current situation facing Third World refugees and immigrants in the northern industrialized nations. With this issue of *Arm The Spirit*, we are focusing much attention on the new asylum-policies being implemented across Europe. We have reprinted documents and communiques on the issue of refugees and migration politics, but as these issues are also of relevance to the current situation in North America, we would also like to offer an overview of the ideological issues involved in the question of refugees and asylum-politics. As well, we touch upon the organizing efforts of refugees/immigrants and the autonomist-left to thwart both these specific policies and the growing tide of right-wing extremism across Europe in general.

Asylum Politics in the New Europe

Just by looking at the statistics, it's clear that the paranoid fear which is sweeping Europe with regard to the present "flood" of immigrants has been carefully crafted by the ruling powers to serve their ideological needs. Most migration takes place within the nations of the Three Continents themselves; only a very few people ever reach the wealthy northern metropolises.

Although life in the northern metropolises provides refugees with obvious material advantages over their life back in the Three Continents, their situation is hardly enviable. They face new (and sometimes not so new) forms of an oppression which manifests itself within the entire social-political-economic framework of society. Upon reaching Europe, many refugees and immigrants run into immediate obstacles. For example, in many European countries they are not allowed to have jobs for anywhere up to 5 years. Denied any economic self-sufficiency, they are forced to seek to State assistance. This economic assistance, which is minimal at best, invariably forces them into camps run by both the State and private agencies such as the Red Cross. These camps cut off their freedom of movement and ability to organize, and in some cases allows for their use as cheap labour. Outside the camps the situation is not much better. Institutionalized racism forces refugees and immigrants to assimilate into a European society that does not take into account their different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. This makes getting jobs or job training, access to proper education, seeking social assistance, etc., difficult or almost impossible to obtain. Women, in particular, must cope with the double oppression of being both refugees and women. Indeed, Europe's asylum-policies, in addition to their obvious racist overtones, are also inherently sexist. Women who seek divorce or separation from their immigrant husbands, for example, cannot seek an individual asylum request if their initial entrance into Europe was granted as the spouse of an asylum-seeker.

Inside the 12 European Community (EC) nations, there are residing at present, out of a total of some 340 million persons, only about 6.1 million foreigners - less than 2%. Nonetheless, politicians in Europe are screaming about how "The Boat is Full!" But it's not only Christian Democrats and the parties of the right who are to blame for the rise in racism. Cries from politicians, very often social democrats, for stricter immigration controls have led to tacit support for right-wing extremist violence. Far-right political parties such as the National Front in France, the Vlaams Blok in Belgium, and the Lombard League in Italy have actively campaigned on

anti-immigrant political platforms. Both the National Front and Vlaams Blok have openly called for the forced removal of refugees and immigrants and further curtailment of their rights. Recent electoral successes by these parties shows that their policies are being met with growing acceptance. Indeed, the National Front, under the leadership of Jean-Marie Le Pen, recently captured an average of 15% of the vote nationwide in recent municipal elections, in some areas capturing a higher percentage than France's ruling Socialists. In this atmosphere, other political parties are using anti-immigrant hysteria to bolster their popularity. Rightist political candidates such as Parisian mayor Jacques Chirac have complained of the "noise and smell" of immigrants and former president Valéry Giscard d'Estaing has likened immigration to an "invasion". These sentiments are not exclusive to the right, however. The French Communist Party, for example, supports tougher immigration laws in order to "protect French jobs for French workers", and in many countries it is the Social Democrats who have been sounding the cry for stricter border controls and tougher asylum policies to crackdown on the "parasitic illegals" who are milking Europe's welfare system. Even the Greens have not taken a resolute stand on the issue. Some Green parties feel that the boat truly is full, and that Europe's already fragile ecosystem can't bear the burden of thousands more immigrants. Despite their vague wishes for a "multi-cultural society", Greens across Europe have taken part in the parliamentary discussions on curbing immigration numbers, and they have not taken up the slogan of the radical-left: "Asylum Rights for All!"

Europe, in fact, has been hit on all sides with the complexities of the refugee situation, a situation which makes clear the contradictions of capitalism. With the collapse of the East Bloc, the fallen State-socialist economies have left in their wake high unemployment and economic despair, and tens of thousands of East Europeans have begun heading westward. But no longer are these people welcomed as political refugees; now they, like so many others from the Three Continents, are labelled as "economic refugees" and told to leave.

With European unity just around the corner, Europe's ruling powers have gone into high gear in their attempts to successfully prepare Europe for its role as a world economic super-power. But their preparations for the harsh realities of unity were in fact started years ago, behind closed doors. Their goal has always been - as more and more people are now beginning to realize at the last moment - to establish a system of regulation, selection, and control to safe-guard the European fortress. Through various treaties like the Schengen Agreement and the Dublin Accord, Europe's member nations are preparing to take the final steps towards harmonizing the asylum policies of the various individual EC states and to thereby put an end to what they see as the most pressing problem of the '90's: "uncontrolled" migration.

Again, this line of policy is not exclusively right-wing. In fact, what we are almost seeing is a crude re-definition of the social democratic credo, an attempt to make the most of "the potential of society" (as RARA note in their communiques). Strict asylum-policies, which are obviously racist, are not necessarily exclusively so. Again, Europe's ruling powers do not want to eliminate the migration of cheap labour to within their borders, rather they want to control it better. Europe's welfare abundance was built, to a large degree, thanks to the people of the Three Continents. In addition to the obvious fact that the capitalist imperialism of European multinational corporations has, for decades, been exploiting the nations of the Three Continents to feed the European production sector's insatiable need for raw materials, also within Europe as well, cheap and illegal migrant



labour has been a widely-utilized base in the labour market, even if official statistics never record this fact.

Europe needs this expendable labour base now more than ever, especially as unification will bring increased demands for better production in order to stay competitive in the global capital market. For one thing, Europe is faced with a demographic time-bomb, namely a declining birth-rate. Thus, the capitalist economy in Europe in the '90s will require migration, so the goal of Europe's ruling powers is to control and maximize the efficiency of the influx of foreigners. No longer will skin-colour alone be the deciding factor. What will be sought after, however, is flexibility, adaptability, and political submissiveness.

But what will the effects of this harmonized policy be? For one thing, Europe will indeed begin to resemble a fortress, as the EC's outer borders become more and more militarized, like the Rio Grande in America's southwest. In fact, army units are already being used to aid in border controls across southern Europe, and the Austrians are leading the way out East by increasing patrols to stop the flood of East European immigrants. And in line with the TREVI Agreement, international cooperation in data collection and policing efforts will be greatly intensified. The goal of this is two-fold: firstly, to create EUROPOL, a European-wide police network, united by a massive computer system, the Schengen Information System (SIS); and secondly, to also use this harmonized data collection to strictly control immigration.

Soon, Europe will have in place a "one-shot" policy with regard to asylum applications. This means that a person seeking asylum in the European Community must apply at the nation he/she arrives at, and the decision handed down by this nation applies for entrance into all other nations. In other words, refugees and immigrants will only have one chance to enter Europe, and if they fail at one port of entry, they won't be allowed in at any other European port of entry. This is designed to clamp down on the inter-European migration of "illegals". Currently, "illegal" immigrants can move between various nations in Europe in the hopes of finding one with a more lenient

asylum policy. This is soon to be halted, both with harmonized external regulations, and also with the use of greater numbers of immigration police who will search Europe's inner-cities in an effort to gather up "illegals" for deportation. And in an effort to stop people from trying to enter Europe in the first place, the Schengen and Dublin Accords seek to cut down on flight from the nations of origin themselves. Already, there are visa requirements for entering Europe from about 60 nations. Also, Germany, for example, dresses immigration police in Lufthansa [German airline - ed.] uniforms so they can more easily check exit papers and stop certain people from trying to enter Europe before they ever leave their nation of origin.

Resistance To Europe's Asylum-Policies

Again, the sudden prominence of the "refugee problem" in Europe has unleashed a tide of xenophobia and racism which has manifested itself in countless attacks by right-wing extremists upon refugees and immigrants all across Europe. As a result, resistance to these events has had to be two-fold: resisting the EC's new asylum-policies in general and also actively confronting active neo-Nazi groups.

Across Europe, refugees and immigrants have been organizing and taking action against immigration policies, as well as actively defending themselves from fascist attacks. For example, in France, there have been over 4000 self-help associations set up by immigrants, many with the explicit aim of fighting racism. Others have taken direct action to protest their treatment. During the many attacks by fascists, police have refused to intervene, so it is only when they actively defended themselves that refugees have been able to repel the attackers. For example, in Norderstedt, in northern Germany, a group of 70 refugees who had occupied a church in Neumünster for 6 weeks in an attempt to halt their forced transfer to a refugee shelter in the ex-GDR were forced to accept the offer of an allegedly "safe" refugee shelter in the ex-GDR. Within one week this shelter was attacked by over 200 fascists with fire-bombs and knives. The 15 policemen at the scene fled, leaving the refugees to stop the fascist attack themselves. The refugees then reoccupied the church in Norderstedt, were again forced to leave, and have now sought refuge in Shalom Parish, also in Norderstedt. This Parish is also demanding that the refugees leave immediately, and it will not provide any food or medical supplies to them. On February 8, the refugees began a hungerstrike. This is just one of many initiatives that is being organized and carried out by refugees in their fight for the right to determine for themselves where they shall live.

Within the radical-left there have been many initiatives undertaken in solidarity with refugees and immigrants, on many different levels. The clandestine movement, most notably Revolutionary Anti-Racist Action (RARA) in the Netherlands and the Revolutionary Cells (Revolutionaire Zellen - RZ) in Germany, have been attacking the State apparatus that dictates immigration policy and its implementation. The most recent RZ action was their attack on the Refugee Division of the provincial administration building in the town of Boblingen on August 2, 1991. This attack caused over \$375,000 damage and destroyed data files on over 10,000 refugees - a concrete hindrance to the State's deportation schemes. And there have been similar smaller attacks throughout Germany by autonomous groups on administrative targets designed to both protest Germany's asylum policies and to express solidarity with all peoples of the Three Continents seeking material aid in the wealthy northern metropolises. Indeed, the RZ quote refugees who speak of a "migration war" being declared on the imperialist northern powers by the refugees from the Three Continents. After decades of exploitation, the people of the Three Continents are now coming to claim what is theirs, a justifiable claim made by many immigrants. And much of the (white) left in Europe, while gladly expressing feel-good solidarity, has had trouble coping with this explic-

itly anti-imperialist outlook on migration.

Ever since Germany's reunification on October 3, 1990, there has been a dramatic rise in right-wing nationalist extremism. And more recently, this has been spurred on by the paranoia surrounding the refugee "problem" decreed by the politicians. Racist attacks by right-wing groups on foreigners - in the form of gangs of youths with bats attacking foreigners, fire-bomb attacks on foreigner's houses and asylum-centres, etc. - became daily events by the end of August 1991. The politicians did little but verbally denounce these pogroms - indeed the ruling powers tolerate the existence of neo-Nazi groups for their functional value, in this case, of adding to the media hype/hysteria around the refugee issue - and all the left could manage was whimpering cries for more police protection. So it was really only the autonomist scene which actively sought to provide real concrete solidarity and support.

The name Hoyerswerda has become synonymous with asylum politics in Germany. In early September 1991, Hoyerswerda, a quiet East German city whose coal industry is about to go completely bankrupt, was the site of nightly attacks by right wing extremists on an apartment building housing primarily Vietnamese immigrants. The attacks were so repeated and so vicious that the immigrants had to be taken out of the city. But what was most frightening about the ordeal was the fact that the nightly attacks had the silent, and also the active support of Hoyerswerda resident. This signifies deep-seated racism, but it also points out something the ruling powers actively try to exploit, namely the economic frustration felt by so many working-class Germans, particularly in the now-defunct GDR. This is an effective means of preventing mass protest from the German proletariat against the State, namely turning the lower-classes onto the only segment of society more vulnerable and exploited than them: the refugee population. On September

29, a huge anti-racist convoy headed out from Berlin and convened a huge demo in Hoyerswerda. The march, which was plagued by internal problems which resulted in confrontations with the police, was nonetheless important because of the concrete cooperation which took place between autonomists and refugees.

The anti-fascist resistance (more commonly known as ANTIFA - Anti-Fascist Action) in Germany has, in its internal discussions, been trying to tackle two potential pit-falls in its organizing: the first being that the ANTIFA movement must not become merely an anti-Nazi movement, but should keep a broader, anti-imperialist perspective. Obviously, street-level confrontations with Nazis - "Attack The Nazis Wherever They Appear!" is one popular slogan - must continue, but ANTIFA organizing efforts have to keep a broader view as well, because the State, again, merely utilizes the extreme right to push through its own capitalist ideological agenda. As many ANTIFA discussions make note of, the State itself is not fascist - it's a big mistake to think this - but it does utilize fascist tactics and groups. Bearing this in mind, autonomist groups have tried to remain active on both of these fronts. For example, on October 18, 1991, 5 buses used to forcibly transport refugees out of Berlin against their will - ostensibly "for their safety" - were destroyed in a fire-bomb attack by an anti-racist group who were expressing solidarity with the refugees' wishes to freely decide where they want to live. Similar attacks on bus and travel agencies responsible for forcibly relocating refugees have occurred recently in Berlin. And as for the Nazis, one of the best recent actions was the October 28, 1991 attack on Karl Polacek's house. Polacek, the leader of the extreme-right Freedom Workers Party (FAP) is one of the many neo-Nazi politicians whose electoral support has been growing recently. In the attack, approximately 40 masked autonomists drove up outside the house and attacked with stones and molotovs as Polacek and 30

Actions In Solidarity With Refugees

Refugees are often transported, against their will, from places deemed too dangerous for them on account of the rising tide of racism.

Every day, in both old and new parts of Germany, there are attacks on refugees and immigrants.

Before these recent incidents, such attacks and humiliations did not occur to such a degree in Berlin, because most refugees are here for the first time.

We stand in principle behind the right to freely choose where people wish to live; and this includes immigrants and refugees!

Mannheimerstrasse, Wednesday night:

Buses belonging to "Bayern-Express", the company which is primarily responsible for the transportation of refugees out of Waterlooof (a part of Berlin - ed.) - these buses are burnt, and they won't be used again soon.

Our action won't end racism or the implementation of asylum policies. But hopefully we did help to disrupt things, because otherwise the whole racist apparatus would operate without any friction.

So let's attack this apparatus with a variety of actions!

ARAG (an anti-racist group)

On the order of the branch of the Refugee Administration in Waterlooof, refugees, against their declared will and despite all of their legal rights, have been "removed" to the former DDR [East Germany - ed.]. Their subjection has been used as a means of showing that life for them in West Germany is impossible.

Tolerance of racist attacks is one of the clearest forms of the State's cold refusal to deal with the problem. And then there's the so-called "normal" living

conditions which range from inhumane living accommodations to inadequate nursing care to the complete denial of medical treatment. And with the new measures - intern centres, quicker deportations, the recording of police records, and the increased cooperation between the police and social workers - the system of deterrence, control, and expulsion is being perfected. The repressive character of the West German state is made clear by this attack on the weakest segment of the population.

But the refugees are resisting all of this, by struggling for concrete improvements in their care, by organizing their self-defense against racist attacks, and, like in Schwalbach, where they are resisting their removal to the former DDR. Over the last few weeks, many groups of refugees have abandoned their appointed residences and decided for themselves where they wish to live. We support these efforts.

On the other hand, it's necessary to attack the organs and functionaries who carry out this inhumane treatment of refugees.

That's why, on 21/10/91, we smashed the windows of five travel agencies belonging to "Bayern-Express" and made the offices unusable by tossing butyric acid inside. Bayern-Express has for the past two years, and especially over the last two weeks, carried out several "removals" of unwilling refugees to the former DDR.

For the right to stay and the free choice of where to live for refugees!

For a strong anti-racist struggle!

Autonome Groups

(Fond greetings to the anti-racist group ARAG!)



other Nazis were having a meeting inside. 15 right-wing extremists were injured in the attack and no autonomists were arrested. Other effective efforts include the publishing of photos, names, addresses, and car-descriptions of known neo-Nazis.

The second thing to be avoided in an anti-racist/anti-fascist organizing around the issue of asylum politics is the tendency (particularly of the white left) to objectify refugees and to down-play their own organizing efforts. What the autonomist scene has tried to do is to carry out its actions not "on behalf of" the refugees, but rather in support of the refugees' own struggles. Such was the case for example, with the attack on the buses in Berlin. Likewise attacks on neo-Nazi groups are a concrete way the autonomists can provide solidarity and support for the refugees, without using the refugees' cause to further some other political agenda. Autonomists in Stuttgart, and in other German cities as well, have also recently begun actively supporting the immigrants' own organizational efforts by working together with refugee organizations, immigrant-youth street gangs, etc. On October 10, 1991, after a meeting between some 30 autonomists and another 300 or so primarily Turkish youths, the group split up and began patrolling the streets in order to find and attack neo-Nazis. Such cooperation between autonomists and street gang members causes the police great concern, of course.

The left has a gross tendency to be paternalistic and even racist when it comes to comprehending the problems faced by people of colour. The only way to both overcome this and to provide concrete political support as well is to organize alongside these groups, using means which fit the conditions under which they live.

The Current Situation In North America

While conditions are the same here in North America, they have not yet reached the levels that we see in Europe. Recent changes to Canadian immigration policy are designed to make it more difficult for Third World people to seek refugee status in Canada. For example, Canada maintained a list of countries which they would not deport refugee claimants to. Called the B-1 list, it included countries such as El Salvador and Guatemala. While this list provided a certain measure of protection, the fact that an entry visa was necessary made flight difficult, often with tragic consequences. Upon reaching

Canada, refugees have to meet a narrow definition of what constitutes a refugee, one which stresses individualized persecution, as evidenced by an immigration lawyer who has stated "a villager who is shot at because of his or her political opinion can be a refugee; villagers who are bombed from the air because they live in guerrilla-controlled territory are not thereby considered refugees".

Another deterrent in Canada's immigration system is one which, although not yet implemented, could have severe consequences for refugees coming to Canada. The Safe Third Country concept declares as ineligible for refugee status all claimants who, after having fled their country of origin, have lived in a country which the Canadian government declares "safe" (that is, a country which, in Canada's opinion, is not in the habit of returning legitimate refugees to their homelands). This list is as yet partly empty, due in great part to the fact that while the US is a signatory to the UN convention and an ally, at the same time it rejects over 96% of Salvadoran refugees and a United States District Court decided in 1988 that the U.S. is unsafe for Salvadoran refugees. Clearly, if implemented, refugees coming to Canada through the U.S. could conceivably be prohibited from living and working in Canada, due to their having resided in the U.S.

Further, under a new law, it is an offence to organize refugees to come to Canada, to aid or abet a person without valid travel documents, or to aid persons coming into Canada without documents. This is an obvious hindrance to refugees in that many refugees fleeing persecution and repression do not or cannot have valid travel documents, or destroy them for their own protection.

Clearly then, the Canadian immigration system is actively promoting deterrents as a means of dealing with refugees. And in a statement which seems to parallel those made in the Schengen Agreement, the Immigration Commission told its employees just before these new measures came in that "Prevention of arrival is as important as removal in reducing demand upon the refugee determination process."

For those refugees already in Canada, and for those attempting to enter the country, the rise to prominence of political parties such as the Reform Party and of neo-Nazi organizations such as the Heritage Front gives much cause for concern. The Heritage Front, based in Toronto, Ontario, an explicitly racist organization with a strong anti-immigration platform, is led by Wolfgang Droege, a former Ku Klux Klan recruiter who was arrested a few years ago after an attempt by a handful of Klan members to overthrow the government of Dominica. The Heritage Front has strong ties with fascist skinhead groups, and last year it tried to bring Holocaust revisionist David Irving to Toronto to speak. The Front also runs a racist "hotline" called the "Anti-Immigration Hotline", which has been targeting Native peoples and refugees. The Reform Party, Canada's fourth largest political party, is a right-wing party which on the question of immigration argues that "immigrants should possess the human capital necessary to adjust quickly and independently to the needs of Canadian society and the job market". Clearly, such a policy excludes most Third World people. Further, the Reform Party supports an immigration policy that has as its focus only Canada's economic needs. In a recent development, several members of the Heritage Front who had joined the Reform Party were expelled. This expulsion was no doubt based on the desire of the Reform Party to present a clean image for mainstream Canada, but, as Heritage Front Leader Droege stated, "The Reform Party is perfect for us. We stand for the same things."

The situation facing refugees and immigrants is similarly grim in the United States. On January 31, the Supreme Court voted 8-1 to allow the forced repatriation of Haitian refugees from the US naval base at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba back to strife-torn Haiti. Although US government officials claim there is no evidence to support claims that forcibly returned refugees face persecution, all returning refugees are photographed and finger-

printed by Haitian officials and there are no US officials in Haiti to follow up on brutality claims.

In the US presidential primary elections, debate has focussed around jobs and the 'middle class', with not a single one of the Democratic Party contenders speaking out against Bush's deportation policy. But conservative Republican challenger Pat Buchanan has made his sentiments known: the US should literally build a fence along its border with Mexico to stop the flood of illegals from "stealing American jobs". Indeed, Buchanan's ability to regularly garner at least 30% of the Republican Party vote is in many ways more frightening than David Duke's - the former Klan leader and founder of the National Association for the Advancement of White People - ability to win over 40% of the vote in Louisiana's gubernatorial election. Buchanan's far-right stand on most issues, including his blatantly racist anti-refugee stance, speaks to racist sectors of white American society. What's more, with his "respectable" history as a CNN talk-show host and newspaper columnist, as opposed to Duke's past as a Nazi organizer, Buchanan has succeeded in becoming a legitimate political contender who is able to get plenty of TV interview time to spread his conservative rhetoric. Buchanan feels so confident in his ability to develop a following that he has stated that if the Republican Party continues to "stray from its most basic values" and not dump Bush and nominate him instead for this year's presidential election, then he has vowed to form a new conservative party to challenge the Republicans in the 1996 elections.

The current refugee policy of the United States is already forbidding, with most impetus for "change" coming from forces like Pat Buchanan on the right, while most of the liberal-left has been wholly silent on the issue. President Bush continues to justify forcibly deporting Haitians who have entered the US as "economic" refugees. Bush has also come up with an interesting new way to implement the "peace dividend": using Gulf War trucks and jeeps to patrol the Rio Grande border. All of this, combined with a new work-permit card which officials claim is forgery-proof, should help the Bush administration achieve its predicted goal of one million deportations in 1992.

Open Borders? No Borders!

The visible trend in refugee policies when looking at both Western Europe as well as North America is one of prevention, detention, and selection. It's both a racist program designed to protect white society and white jobs as well as a capitalist manoeuvre to insure the continued economic domination of the North over the South, with those refugees which are allowed to enter the "fortress" becoming optimally utilized to achieve total economic efficiency so as to increase the living standards already enjoyed by those in Northern metropolitan society. Indeed, since the motives behind Northern refugee policies are both racist and capitalist, and not solely one or the other, has resulted in a vicious circle of hate and exploitation: the plunder of the South sends a stream of refugees to the metropolises of the North, where immigrants are confronted with racist hate and fascist violence, which is tacitly supported by the State and fed with government-generated paranoia in attempt to win public support for increased controls over refugees, and this is to further protect the North's economic superiority which is the root of the problem to begin with.


Our response to all of this has to go beyond calling for a more "humane" refugee policy. We have to help bring an end to the domination of the North over the South and part of this is demanding that all borders be open to everyone!

The following is a partial list of sources used for this article: Radikal, Konfrontation, NN, Interim, TATblatt, Toronto Ecomedia, Community Charge, Nicaragua Solidarity Network...

(From Arm The Spirit 811 - Jan./Feb. 1992)

Fear of the Shivers of Freedom

by Ingrid Strobl



Though we only know a bit about matriarchy and about certain matriarchal societies from historically factual materials (as opposed to retrospective daydreams), one thing is sure: namely, that patriarchy as a ruling system could only be established after a long and bloody struggle. The proof can be found in European history, in the classic legends and stone tablets depicting the Amazons, in the witch hunts, and also in the ethic of Rousseau and the Napoleonic Code. Yet even after the temporary total defeat of the female gender, over and over again groups of women rose up against what was thought of as their "natural destiny."

In the 16th and 17th centuries, for instance, numerous groups of women fought for lives which were independent of men. They survived in various ways: as craftswomen, migrant laborers, midwives, or even swindlers. These women refused to be reduced to the role of "reproducer." Rather they were noisy, insolent, and rebellious, and were actively involved in developing political sects and rebellious movements. They formed a feisty revolutionary potential, and were thus a threat to both the secular and spiritual powers. The witch hunts which accompanied the consolidation of the state were developed as an instrument to suppress these potential and sometimes acute uprisings of those rebellious wives. After the murder of what's estimated to be between 9 and 30 million women in less than two centuries, the majority of the survivors and descendants were intimidated to such an extent that they subjected themselves to what had become a common patriarchal society. Although all women were not accused, tortured, or killed, the effect was the same. In an atmosphere in which any women is a potential witch, behavior which may help to avert the suspicion of oneself is quickly developed.

The middle class revolution of the next century liquidated what was left of female rebellion. The beheading of Marie Antoinette can be looked upon in this light. The infamous Marie was decapitated not only because she was queen but also as a symbol of the "immorality" of the old society. Long before her death, male revolutionaries had started a campaign in which the queen was portrayed as the personification of decadence: nymphomaniac, lesbian, adulteress, power crazed. Last but not least, she was accused of keeping contact with poisoners and witches. The revolutionary Olympe de Gouges suspected the deeper meaning of this campaign and had her head chopped off too. But the ordinary run of middle class women went along with this sexist garbage to the point where they wanted the queen's head even before that of the king.

Because of their ability to bear children, women were entrusted socially with the task of child rearing and reproduction as a whole. This became a burden which curtailed their social and political influence. Many theorists, including some feminists, attribute this gender role to "natural" biological differences, thus consolidating women's role through biological determinism. These theories, however, ignore the fact that, rather than being unchangeable, both reproductive and social work were formed and have evolved over time.

An example is the historical development of child-rearing. Until long into the 18th century, children were not "raised." Instead, they were fed and grew up in their mother's family or social group. Babies were put in carrying boxes so that they could be laid down somewhere during work — whether in the fields, the stable, the workroom, the forage-wagons, or on the barrow of the traveling market-woman. Unwanted babies were often killed or given to a midwife to raise until they were no longer a hindrance. So-called mother love, in the way we know it today, is a middle class invention. Reproductive work didn't always mean what it means today — that the "housewife" has to handle it all herself.

This reduction of women's role to that of child rearer did not take place for the greater number of women. Women participated in trade, in agriculture, in the factories. Women were always present — in some periods so much so that their position was challenged by their male contemporaries. Examples can be found in the struggles of craft guild women, midwives, beer-brewing women, and others. In the 19th century, the developing German workers' movement collaborated with reactionary tailors to bring the women-controlled trade of tailoring into the hands of men.

The fact is that women are required to do not only reproductive work, but productive work as well. In reality they are doubly burdened, while in society's

eyes they're not seen as doing any work at all. Patriarchal theory and social politics have systematically worked on making the woman invisible, by excluding her from daily life where it was impossible to ignore her. This invisibility was propagated for so long that she herself began to doubt her existence, began to see herself as merely an appendage to a man.

All of this is not to deny biological differences between men and women, especially in the reproduction of the human race. The man only carries the sperm, while the woman has to do all the rest: bringing together the sperm and egg, ripening the egg, the developing the fetus into a child, giving birth, and finally nursing the child.

If a society were organized around the simplest principles of fairness, it would be obvious that, after the birth of the child, it should be the father's task to take over. He should be responsible for caring for the baby, since, after all, up to that point he was rather idle in its reproduction. There is no reason at all, neither physical nor psychological, why the biological mother should be indispensable in caring for the newborn child.

The ability of women to give birth also causes other burdens and, although they exist in nature, they are conditioned by society as well. Monthly menstruation is one of these. But paramount is the fact that women, unlike other animals, are fertile all year round and can always be made pregnant. A continual state of pregnancy not only weakens the woman's body, but limits her participation in society. Women therefore experience a permanent threat: their whole way of life is limited just by the sexual act.

Women's experience has consequences not just for their social existence as a whole but for their sexuality and views of sexuality. Too often the woman become resigned to her state, at the same time as the man becomes aware of his power: his ability to make the woman pregnant and thus weaken her. Society needs to be organized differently to address this situation; women need to be given more power to complement the biological vulnerability of childbirth and reproduction.

**Sexual
relations
are perverted
into a lie
for sale,
a luxury
which can be
regulated and
controlled,
a fantasy.**

**The
concrete
advantages
of malehood
obstruct
men's view
of the
unimaginable
advantages of
being human.**

There have been times in European history in which women were capable of redressing this imbalance. From the beginning of history women developed methods of birth control which allowed them to regulate their fertility and uncouple their sexuality from the dictates of reproduction. In other words, sexuality could become a pleasurable experience.

By the time of the transition from matriarchal society to the patriarchy, a large part of the female population had already been deprived of these contraceptive skills and only a few specialists, the midwives, could offer them help. This explains why midwives and so-called wise women were the first to be criminalized in the witch hunts. In the end women had to be deprived of their ability to control their own fertility, so that they would be at the mercy of men.

Hereafter heterosexual women could only control their fertility by mutilating themselves: by totally giving up their sexuality, by submitting to barbarous and often murderous abortion practices, and by acquiring the ideology of female asexuality or frigidity and, even, internalizing it.

The decent middle class female was unacquainted with feelings of pleasure. Her body was an instrument for the satisfaction of men and for reproduction. The price a man had (theoretically) to pay for this satisfaction was either taking care of one legally inferior woman for life or paying by the hour for a prostitute.

Kant's rather sober statement — that marriage is a contract for the mutual use of the sexual organs — was already an anachronism at the moment of its formulation. Certainly from the time of the French revolution, when the uncontrollable fishwives of Paris became domesticated middle class women, mutuality was out of the question. Only the woman's body was used: by the man to satisfy his growing sexual needs, by the woman to obtain some "social" advantages. For

the woman, her body was no longer a source of delight, but simply an apparatus, the use of which she could sell in exchange for other goods of equal value: either a one-time sale to a single user or one that would be repeated again and again to multiple users. The necessary support, care, and cleaning of the machine was guaranteed in the first case by the one-time buyer, the husband. In the second case, the woman had to bear the costs herself, resulting in a higher sales price — and faster deterioration of the machinery. In this way, women experienced an alienation far deeper than a worker's from the products of her labor. For, while as a wage laborer, a woman sold her labor power — for example, the skills of her hands — as a woman she sold herself entirely.

The most humiliating picture of female slavery and alienation is that of the married woman who, full of loathing and antipathy, lies resigned and completely abandoned under her possessor, wanting only one thing: that he finish quickly. This radical depersonalization of a woman's sexual identity has far-reaching effects on her whole identity. And this is true for the identity of the man as well. He is confident in his wife's willingness, but her resignation bores him and drives him to search for variety among "immoral" women. They not only sell him their bodies, but for an extra fee give him the illusion that he experiences and gives delight. So, the original intent — to give and receive delight — is perverted into a lie for sale, a luxury which can be regulated and controlled, a fantasy. In reality, the man doesn't want to see the independent autonomous delight of the woman, because it threatens him. It is a sign of self-reliance, of independence. It is something to be denied women, because it attacks the power base of men.

On this basis, which is the result of a social development so deeply anchored that it has become second nature for both genders, men feel themselves strong enough and confident enough to try to appropriate women's attempts to liberate themselves. Thus, in the early revolutionary stage of the Soviet Union, initial attempts at sexual liberation promptly changed into their opposite. When women like Kollontai advocated the dismantling of marriage as a forced structure and called for free love, every man who did not directly disapprove of such demands joined their ranks. The girls of the Komsomol were now under pressure or even forced by their male colleagues to be sexually available. If they refused to be at the men's disposal, they were branded as counter-revolutionary and effectively blackmailed.

Something similar occurred during the sexual revolution of the 60s. Women who refused to sleep with everybody and join in any and all sexual games were denounced as reactionary and frigid. What happened then in limited, quasi-elite circles has

become a mass phenomenon is today's pornodrenched male society.

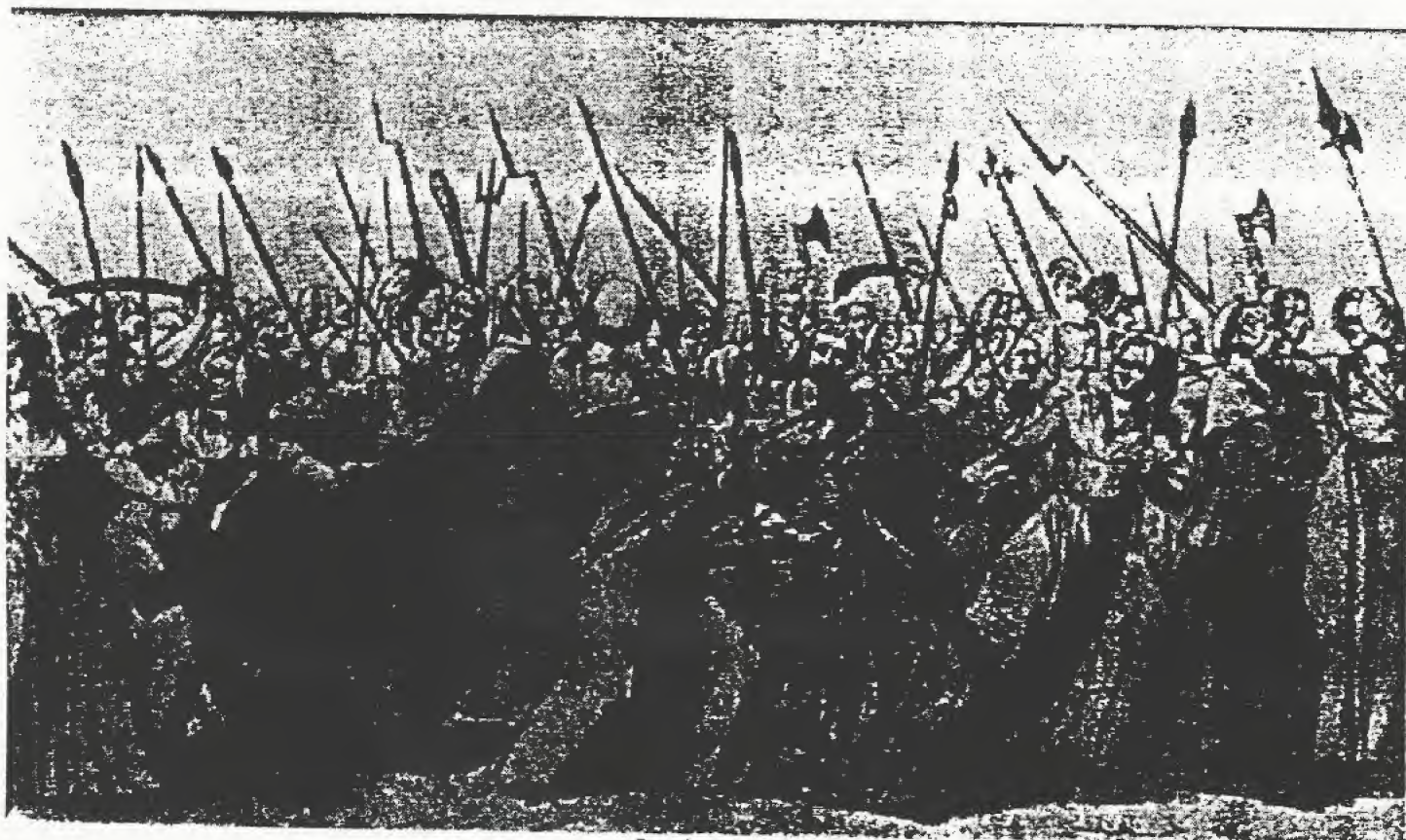
THE LOVE CONNECTION

Simone de Beauvoir once laconically observed, because you cannot make women believe that their greatest happiness comes from scouring pots and doing laundry, you must make them believe that they do it out of love. With the political and social entrenchment of the middle class, which followed the overthrow of the aristocracies of Europe, marriages of convenience were replaced by marriages of "love." At least that's what marriage partners tried to make themselves believe.

The working class had the idea drummed into their heads that the petty-bourgeois family based on

the course of history, which was channeled into the strait-jacket of "love." It became one of the most effective levers of patriarchal power, next to the actual application of violence. It's the most radical, strongly anchored obstacle to her own liberation that a woman encounters: namely, that she "loves" her possessor, that she looks to her private rapist for protection from a rapist who is a stranger, that she has gained her very identity from the "acceptance" of her opponent.

The base of middle-class patriarchal power rests on a three-part constellation: (1) the dependency of the woman who lacks power or knowledge to control her own fertility, (2) the ongoing alienation of the woman from her own body as a source of pleasure, and (3) the simultaneous numbing of the female consciousness by the drug "love." Denying any of



Revolutionary Parisian market women marching to Versailles, October 1789.

love was a sign of social progress, an escape from a backstreet existence. This propaganda landed on fertile soil. In the case of men, this ideology strengthened their social status and actual power over women. It gave women the illusion that they could be liberated from the production-labor portion of their double burden. And, as de Beauvoir asserted, they found the scouring of pots out of love more acceptable than the scouring of pots out of slavery.

Beneath this constructed ideology, however, lives a real human desire for companionship, love, and sex. It was this need, taking different forms throughout

these deprives a "revolutionary" theory of its revolutionary quality.

That men remain silent about the sexual relations of power is logical. Their self-indulgent sexual behavior has become second nature in the process of establishing and expanding patriarchal power. It's a part of their identity, which is threatened in its totality when this part is abandoned. That women remain silent about this is in part connected to their identification with the aggressor and his theories. And it is also connected to the fear, by the (female) slave, of the shivers of freedom. In this way, the sexual

relation between the genders — based on violence and forming the foundation for economic and social relations, and therefore needing to be overturned in the most radical way — is disregarded, even by those who are at this moment busy fighting relations of violence and power.

THE WOMAN-FRIENDLY SEXISTS OF THE LEFT

Just as there are smart racists, there are smart sexists. Their well-established tactic is to encourage women to believe that their ability to give birth confers special qualities: women as a gender are better human beings, more loving, more tolerant, more caring, more peaceful and considerate of life. This suggestion implies, on the one hand, that men don't have to learn these qualities, and that women, on the other hand, should keep their distance from "male" (as defined by men) qualities. Many women let themselves be drugged by this narcotic, so that they don't have to accept and change their real position as unequal, dependent, exploited and humiliated beings.

The radical left variant of this smart sexism is the romanticization of reproduction as a domain of subjectivity, a sort of enclave which so far hasn't been demolished by the order and rationalism of capitalism. This variant of "woman-friendly" sexism denies the dependency-creating, isolating, obtuse, monotonous, and neurotic character of domestic work. This kind of work consists for the most part of endlessly repeated activities, "Sisyphus" work. The cleaned plates are used, get dirty, have to be cleaned again and so on ad nauseam. The floor's cleaned, it's walked over, gets dirty again, has to be cleaned, and on and on.

The lie, or self-deception, of these left sexists is exposed by their fantasy images. They demand, at the most, a socialization of domestic work, never a take-over of these activities by the man, either privately or collectively. In his fantasies, the male revolutionary does not see himself washing the dishes, doing the laundry or cleaning toilets. If he has to do these kinds of necessary duties at all, he does them with aversion, as a duty or concession (often forced to it by female housemates). But in his revolutionary theory, although these nasty tasks are automatically left to women, the left man manages, through a kind of revolutionary magic, to transform the unpleasant character of domestic chores into a thoroughly humanizing activity.

It would be naive to believe that the regulating of human beings, something which has become second nature, could be negated by a decision, by a revolutionary deed. For an interminable time, it can only be brought up again and again as a subject for discussion through a long-lasting and tough struggle. It will bring the revolutionary woman again and again into

conflict with her comrades and with "normal" people. These societal "norms" appeal to the love of ease, because it's always less tiring to comply with them than to fight them, socially as well as personally. Society tells the revolutionary woman: "You can only make yourself heard and understood by normal people, the masses, if you start to behave normally yourself."

It's not an outside enemy against which the revolutionary must fight: the norms are hidden deep inside and are closely intertwined with the material which makes him a social human being. In order to fight against it he has to destroy part of himself. This is also the case for the revolutionary woman. She must destroy the (female) slave inside herself, just as the male revolutionary has to destroy the ruler in himself. She struggles for her victory as a human being, but he must struggle for his defeat as a man. The norm that is inside of him makes him blind to the goal that the revolutionary woman struggles to attain: the creation of the human being. The concrete advantages of his malehood obstruct his view of the unimaginable advantages of being human.

That's why the male revolutionary again and again swerves onto the terrain that he can oversee, that of pure economy. That's why he denies the political in the personal, his own involvement as a profiteer in the relations of power. That's why he falls back into petty-bourgeois idealism, into total personification, as soon as the terrain shifts to the contradiction between the sexes and his personal contribution to its abolition. As a revolutionary man, he acknowledges the societal conditions of human existence. But in the meantime, he can shirk away from history and declare, as stubbornly as a child, "But I'm not like that!" In the worst case, all men are evil, but he's the friend and helper of women.

Women who struggle against the power relations between women and men, women who have declared war upon the patriarchal norm — that tough and grim enemy of being human — women who want to radically abolish the ruling relations, their dominion in the true sense of the word — we women have no need for male comrades who look upon themselves as our friends. But we do need male comrades who are prepared to become the enemy of the man. □

This article is reprinted (and retranslated) from Clash #6, an anti-imperialist magazine from Europe. Ingrid Strobl is a German feminist journalist and activist. As a result of her activism against genetic engineering she was accused of being a member of the clandestine women's group Red Zora and was imprisoned for over a year. The editors of Breakthrough apologize for any errors in re-translation.

SPECIAL REPORT

BY HELEN ZIA • PHOTOGRAPHS BY ROBB KENDRICK

WOMEN IN

My first awareness of the Ku Klux Klan came when I was about nine years old, from a used paperback my father picked up at a flea market. I remember my horror at what "100 Years of Lynchings" described in graphic detail: systematic terror waged against "colored" people. I recall wondering how such acts could be performed by one human being against another—and feeling my own vulnerability as a young Asian American. Over the years, I heard more about white supremacist, neofascist ideologues—Klan members and neo-Nazis who joined forces to kill five anti-Klan demonstrators from the Communist Workers Party in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1979; white supremacists reviving Nazi ideology, from Germany and South Africa

to Britain and the Americas; Klan leader David Duke going mainstream with apparent success as a Louisiana legislator. But all the players seemed to be men. When I began my reporting for this story, I half-expected, half-hoped that the women in their lives would turn out to be meek and passive, forced into unwilling accession to an alien ideology. Instead I found women proud to be "white power activists" and organizing their own Aryan women's groups. Are these women misled by men who offer a false sense of self or safety? Or are they collaborators in their oppression, seeking privilege at the expense of others?

▼ *Rebellious teens have their own radical right fringe.*



HATE GROUPS

WHO ARE THEY? WHY ARE THEY THERE?

Darlene Carver is respected, outspoken—a role model for women, a leader of men—that is, women and men who wear white sheets and are proud to call themselves racists. She belongs to the Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. At age 42, Carver is Grand Secretary and wife of the Grand Dragon of the Georgia KKK. She's a grandmother, too, and one of her happiest moments was hearing her granddaughter's first word: "Nigger."

That some women actively embrace causes that are contrary to their interests as women is not a new phenomenon. For years the right wing has mobilized women against reproductive rights, even in support of terrorists who bomb abortion clinics. "Women are the best soldiers of the world, once you get that maternal instinct aroused," says white supremacist Ralph Forbes (who formed his own women's group, Blue Cross Mothers of America, with that purpose in mind).

Darlene Carver is no anomaly. She represents a small but growing number of women who accept neo-Nazi racial theories—from the violent radical right to the quasi-religious Christian Identity groups and the electoral efforts of white supremacists like David Duke. But within that context, the Grand Secretary of the Georgia KKK has some surprising views. Carver opposes abortion—a fundamental tenet is to save the white race—but she supports sex education and birth control, even for teenage girls. She even embraces her own concept of equity: "I don't see why a woman couldn't be a Grand Dragon. Women can be just as good leaders as men."

According to the people who keep watch—the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the Center for Democratic Renewal (CDR)—Carver's Klan is one of at least 67 hate organizations in the U.S., with a combined membership of about 20,000 and followings of perhaps 200,000. Whether they are Christian Identity church members, neo-Nazis, skinheads, "survivalists," or white supremacist tax protesters, their leadership, without exception, has been and still is male. The women—insiders suggest proportions of 25 to 33 percent—tend to be wives and girlfriends of male members.

An occasional woman might get named kligrapp (sec-

retary), but Carver moved beyond that when her husband was barred by court order from representing the Klan. She doesn't seem displeased with such power. "When Dan couldn't wear his robe, everybody followed me. Whatever I said, they'd do, men, women and all."

But the Klan is not the Kiwanis club. The oldest of the hate groups, it is a masculinist, paramilitary hierarchy that seeks to perpetuate the dominance of the white race, up to and including the elimination of Jews and people of color. Moreover, white supremacist organizations like the Klan are rabidly antifeminist, attacking the "Jew-dyke conspiracy against the White race." An oath taken upon joining the Klan is to "uphold the principles of White Supremacy and the purity of White Womanhood." Because she embodies the future of the white race, the Aryan woman is revered for, and enslaved by, the role of mother/wife/nurturer. By accepting this role in the race wars, she achieves a place in history—or so she is told.

Before the late 1970s, women couldn't join, though a klavern (chapter) might have a ladies' auxiliary to sew the robes and keep them neat. David Duke, Grand Wizard of the Knights of the KKK from 1975–80, then opened the ranks to women as part of an aggressive recruitment plan, and rival factions followed suit. Klanswomen could now attend den meetings and ritual cross burnings.

Darlene Carver has become a champion recruiter herself. She appeals to women by offering simple, racist solutions to real concerns. One of her first acts as Grand Secretary was to record a message on the Klan hotline, asking women to take up the cause of teenagers and drugs. Her *Klansman* article, "Wake Up, White Women," explained how she would tell women "it is their place to stand up for their children's future just as their husbands do; . . . the men were proud to see their women, girl friends, and children helping fight for our white race."

The same *Klansman* that carried Carver's wake-up call ran an invective against the 19th Amendment, blaming women's suffrage for threatening "the last vestage [sic] of the lawful sovereign body, the white male common law citizen." The real function of Carver's Klanswoman is to indoctrinate the family—turning it into a Klan cell.

IN THE KKK, AS IN THE MOB, WOMEN ARE NOT TO BE TRUSTED—THEY ARE SEEN AS THE DOWNFALL OF THE KLAN.

Yet even Carver can never become a full participant, according to Doug Seymour, who, as a police agent, infiltrated the California KKK, heading the Klan Bureau of Investigation from 1979 to 1981. "Women don't ask, they don't even try. A woman Grand Dragon? Never happen. Darlene Carver knows better," says Seymour.

Seymour likens the Klan's structure to another male secret society—organized crime. In both the Klan and the mob, women are not to be trusted. Each den of seven to 14 members must produce income for the state Grand Dragon's coffers. If more affluent members fail to provide funds, poor members may be forced into burglary or drug trafficking. "There are some functions you can bring your wife to," says Seymour, "but the criminal activity is conducted like a men's club. Women are seen as the downfall of the Klan—the women will betray you."

While it's the Klanswoman's job to indoctrinate her family, the family also keeps her in line. "It is easy to intimidate the women because they fear for their children," says Seymour. In a trial of North Carolina Klansmen convicted of the 1987 murder of three men they assumed to be gay, the wife of one of the defendants testified that the head of the state Klan showed up at her home asking, "Do you know what happens when people talk?" It also came out that the Klan leader had provided \$1,000 to each defendant for "beer and women," thoroughly damaging the Kluxers' "family man" defense.

"Joining the Klan is like joining the Catholic church," says Seymour. "You can leave but your family still belongs." He reports that when he was head of security, "Kids came to tell me that their mother went to the police, or Mom was talking to Grandmother about the Klan." The husband of a woman under suspicion, says Seymour, is checked for loyalty, then asked to "take care of the problem"—with domestic violence considered an acceptable method. The worst punishment for an errant wife, a threat Seymour heard but never witnessed, is to run the gauntlet, naked—other Klanswomen lined up with skillets and rolling pins to administer a flogging.

At its root, such intimidation is designed to control Klanswomen sexually. In their belief system of white supremacy, a white woman who "race-mixes" with a man of color, especially if she has a child, deserves death. A Klanswoman would be banished if she had an extramarital affair, while a Klansman's womanizing is commonplace. "Klansmen use their secret meetings to run around on their wives," says Morris Dees, director of the Southern Poverty Law Center. "They say, 'I can't tell you

where I'm going tonight, honey.'"

Why does a woman stay in the Klan? It offers her a sense of security, an extended family, as long as she goes along. That was what Kathy Ainsworth, a Mississippi schoolteacher in her mid-twenties, was doing riding in a car with Klansman Tommy Tarrants in 1970 as he prepared to bomb the home of a Jewish civil rights leader. Tarrants survived a police shootout, though he was reportedly castrated by a bullet. For her supporting role, Ainsworth died—the Klan's sole female martyr.

FOR CHRIST'S SAKE

While the Klan promotes the safety and shelter of the "traditional family," the Christian Identity movement uses pseudo-religion to justify white supremacy and anti-Semitism. "We emphasize the Gospel of the Kingdom, that is, the Israelite history and heritage of the Anglo-Saxon, Celtic, Germanic, Scandinavian, and kindred peoples, who are the literal progeny of 'lost' Israel," according to a clearinghouse called Christian Research, of Eureka Springs, Arkansas.

Decoded, this means that white Anglo-Saxon Christians are the true chosen people of the Bible. Jesus was a northern European. Jews are the children of Satan. The Zionist Occupation Government (ZOG) controls banks, the media, federal government, and just about every other major institution, and must be overthrown in cataclysmic race wars before the Second Coming. All people of color and southern and eastern Europeans are "mud people," on the spiritual level of animals; they have no souls. Homosexuality is "a perversion of the most pathological sort." A woman is the "weaker vessel," who must serve "the one man God has given to rule over her."

There may be up to 30,000 followers belonging to over 100 Christian Identity churches, according to CDR. Many are associated with such paramilitary white supremacist groups as the Aryan Nations, Idaho, and some KKK and neo-Nazi factions. Church teachings include armed warfare techniques, curricula for instructing children at home, and aid to tax protesters like the Posse Comitatus (who believe revenues go to the ZOG).

Women who infiltrated a Christian Identity meeting in Arkansas first thought they had found a church gathering like any other, with the preacher's wife as hostess. But once the sermon began, the mood turned ugly. One of the observers recalls: "His sermon was full of violence, in biblical terms like 'sword of the lord' and how God's chosen people would help 'smite down his enemies,' such



as blacks and whites who walk arm-in-arm in the malls." The preacher taught that Gorbachev is a Jew, that Hitler was great and so are the Aryan Nations and the Klan. Every so often the minister yelled "Hate Jews!" as a not-so-subliminal message. Besides the preacher's wife, the only woman present who seemed to have some stature was Gerda Koch, who heads Christian Research.

"Are you a Jew?" Koch asked me before considering an interview. Now 87, she began her political activism chasing suspected communists out of the schools. Koch will tell anyone who will listen that she has been to Germany and can prove that the Holocaust never happened. A single working woman all her life, she believes that women shouldn't have the right to vote, birth control is unhealthy (men should abstain); premarital sex is against God's word. Koch also hands out anti-ERA literature from Beverly LaHaye's comparatively mainstream Concerned Women for America, thus merging her Christian Identity/white supremacist message with the antifeminist ideology popularized by Phyllis Schlafly.

It's a combination that nearly trapped Gloria,* a Seventh Day Adventist, whose husband, Billy,* gradually became involved with a Christian Identity sect. Her own church was no comfort when Gloria sought help: "They say that a good woman turns the other cheek." Having suffered years of physical and mental abuse, Gloria left, went back to college, and filed for divorce after Billy became physically abusive to their daughter. His "minister" offered to help fight the divorce. "He told Billy, 'She's ruined—she's too far into women's lib.' He says that every year a girl goes to college she loses points."

▲ A Klan oath requires members to uphold white supremacy and "the purity of White Womanhood."

Cheri Peters is married to Pastor Pete Peters of the LaPorte Church of Christ, near Fort Collins, Colorado. The church is well known. It was attended by members of The Order, the neo-Nazi anti-Semites responsible for the 1984 assassination of Denver radio personality Alan Berg, the atrocity featured in the movies *Betrayed* and *Talk Radio*. Cheri Peters conducts workshops at an annual Bible retreat, where Robin Chotzinoff, a reporter for *Westword*, a local newspaper, picked up Christian Identity's version of household hints: "Iron every day. Before you go to bed at night, set the table for breakfast, put the laundry in the washer and sprinkle the powder over it so it'll be ready to go. That way you'll have the time to make that hot meal instead of the cold cereal."

Like other white supremacists, Peters believes she knows the key to a woman's happiness. "Probably more than anything else a woman not only desires but NEEDS to feel loved, cherished and honored by the one man God has given to rule over her," she wrote in her church newsletter column. "The task of being submissive to him becomes a joy." She wrote disapprovingly of women who spoke at a city council hearing: "God never intended . . . for anyone but a white Christian male to make decisions for our town." Or for the white Aryan revolution.

THE YOUNG AND THE RACIST

"My religion is the white race"—words spoken, cold as ice, by a 21-year-old activist with the Aryan Women's

Ku Klux Klan

Formed after the Civil War, the Klan has sustained a reign of terror against African Americans, Jews, and others, especially in the South.

National Association for the Advancement of White People
Promotes itself as "white rights" lobby group; founded in 1950 by David Duke after he quit as Grand Wizard of the Knights of the KKK.

John Birch Society
Organized to fight the "international communist plot" in 1966; many leaders of the far right were once members.

Christian Identity Church Movement
Adherents believe: Jesus Christ was northern European; Aryan whites, not Jews, are "God's chosen People"; and the Bible justifies use of violence.

Posse Comitatus
A loose Identity network of survivalists, armed vigilantes, and tax protesters; to them, all government above the county level is corrupted by Jews.

Aryan Nations
A paramilitary Identity group in Hayden Lake, Idaho, that aggressively builds ties with other white male supremacists nationally and internationally.

Populist Party

An independent political party founded in 1984; uses patriotic and populist platform to actively promote white male supremacist candidates like David Duke.

League. AWL is an offshoot of White Aryan Resistance, one of the most active recruiters among white supremacy groups. WAR's young supporters may adopt names like "Baxter the Pagan," aggressively rejecting the religiosity of the Identity groups as well as the homey-apple pieism of the Klan.

WAR was founded in 1983 by Tom Metzger, whose credentials include membership in the John Birch Society and a stint as Grand Dragon of the California KKK. From his home in Fallbrook, Metzger hosts "Race and Reason" on cable TV and records for phone message lines around the country. (Called "hatelines" by monitoring groups, several have been shut down in recent months—because of ZOG, WAR claims.) Metzger also edits a bimonthly newsletter with a warning on its cover: "To non-Whites, Jews, or White race traitors. Reading this material may cause Blindness, Insanity or even Zits! This newspaper is for Aryans—Mud stay clear!"

The sniggering tone is typical; the newsletter seems to target adolescent boys in particular. Its cartoons are especially nasty; one titled "Homeless or Worthless" by "A. Wyatt Mann" reads "Not so long ago . . . this repulsive, irresponsible creature was simply dismissed as a BUM. [Now] we are being asked to pamper, house and 'understand' the growing legions of scurvy scumbags."

Like other male supremacists, the men of WAR are preoccupied with the reproductive powers of Aryan women. In WAR's view, white men have become "demasculinized" by the "Jew-dyke feminists." Each Aryan woman is a "seed bearer and life giver" who "must produce 2.5 babies to maintain the current numbers of the Volk." She must decide between "a hedonistic lifestyle, wallowing in the gratification she receives from an interracial relationship" and "the virtues of Aryan duty and do her part in the preservation of her noble race."

"We are definitely not feminists. We work with our men totally," says Tom Metzger's daughter Lynn, who at 21 is a senior member of AWL. Monique Wolfing, 22, founded AWL in 1988 because she was "tired of seeing girls disbanded by petty jealousies and gossip."

A loose network of more than 400 women in a dozen states and several countries—including Canada, where Women for Aryan Unity is based—the AWL might conduct baby-clothes drives or raise money for "political

prisoners." Its literature can sound benign, almost progressive: "We aim to educate ourselves and others in first aid, self-defense, home gardening. . . . We are about the conservation of the environment and wildlife."

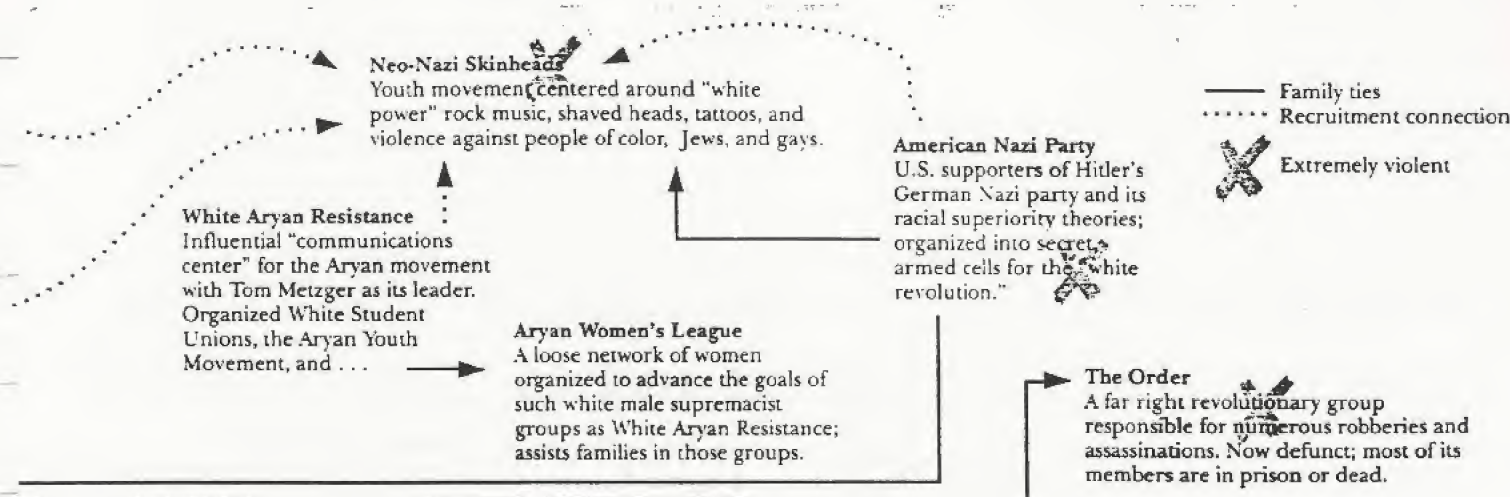
The formation of the AWL raised so many questions that Wolfing's husband (Baxter the Pagan) wrote a polemic in its defense. "The AWL isn't some Jew dyke/we hate White males type of deal. AWL is trying . . . to battle the Jew/mud/zombie/Mutant, degenerate, lesbos." Any man who feels threatened "might as well hang it up because he is no man at all, let alone a White Warrior!"

The AWL women agree. "The feminist movement was started by a Jewish woman to get women into the I-hate-men era, but I can't recall her name," says Metzger; Bella Abzug, Betty Friedan, and Gloria Steinem are cited in WAR literature as "Jew-dykes." "It was a conspiracy to take women out of the home and lower the white birth rate." Naturally, AWL opposes abortion for Aryan women. "We have no concern for other races," says Metzger.

It's a sad commentary on their level of self-confidence that AWL youth lack even Darlene Carver's sense of women's abilities. "The day a woman becomes president I'll leave the country," says 19-year-old Jill Rineman, whose ideal family comes from a 1950s TV program—"I try to live like the Cleavers." When the Aryan revolution comes, "the men will be on the front line in battle," says Rineman, who is raising a one-year-old son. Her husband, Jeremy, is already a casualty of "the race war"—he was paralyzed during a shooting at a supermarket. The two were married, neo-Nazi-style, at an Aryan music fest. A large swastika was burned, as were two "life" runes, encircled by about 20 roaring motorcycles.

"Aryan marriages are more than a piece of paper," says AWL member Julie, age 20. "We exchange words that mean something to us as Aryans racially." In grudging admiration, Julie describes her own mother as a liberal who started out on welfare and worked her way up the corporate ladder while raising two kids by herself. "That's why I have no respect for minorities who blame society," says Julie. Her unemotional assessment is that there will be a lot of killing in the revolution. "You have to think of the priority—race."

In *The Turner Diaries*, a novel by William Pierce that is viewed by many white supremacists as a blueprint for



revolution, most of the women are killed off; murders of women and mass lynchings of white women who "race-mix" fill this book. Two women, partners of male commandos, play active support roles, though not on the front lines. They die too, but as makers of history.

THE BLACK-LEATHER GANG

For rebellious, alienated teenagers, the skinhead movement has its own radical right. "I liked the skinhead culture," says Becky, 17, now an activist with Portland Anti-Racist Action. "It was a macho thing, a tough thing. It gave you power just to look that way."

For Becky, like many kids who become skinheads, life at home was rocky. After her parents separated, she stayed with various relatives around New York, then in foster care. She finally quit high school, moved to Oregon, and met some skinheads who turned out to be racist. "When I got into it I thought, 'These guys are cool. They're giving me beer—they're my friends.'"

Born out of the 1960s mods and rockers tradition of England's working class, skinhead culture today centers around the heavy metal music scene. Often several young skinheads, male and female, will join together as a household. They hang out, listen to music, get drunk. Not all skinheads are racist, but part of the point is to shock society by their appearance and actions. They may seek out people of color or gay men and lesbians to rob and assault. Symbols are important: hairstyle, tattoos, leather and chains, Doc Martin boots, makeup. In the Northeast, white shoelaces indicate a white power skin; yellow laces denote Asian bashers; pink laces, gay bashers; black shoelaces, however, mean that the wearer is antiracist. The violent behavior can seem mindless—several members of an antiracist skinhead gang in Washington, D.C., were convicted for brutally beating a gay man. (?)

"The girls don't just hang around racist skinhead groups—they play an integral part," says Jim Redden, formerly with Portland's *Willamette Week*. "The women are more committed to racial purity, more ferocious than the men. Perhaps they felt threatened by minorities as street kids. They definitely buy into the idea of racism."

The need to belong makes these youths particularly vulnerable to white supremacists who compete, like racist talent scouts, for new blood. Screenwriter Stephanie Liss

accompanied a Klan member making his recruitment "rounds" in a Chicago neighborhood. "He watched the school yard and would go after the boys—the ones unsupervised, whose parents have left, who fight."

Each April around Hitler's birthday, a "festival" for youth is sponsored by the Church of Jesus Christ Christian-Aryan Nations in Hayden Lake, Idaho. Founded in the mid-1970s by Reverend Richard Butler, the 20-acre compound hosts gatherings for neo-Nazis from around the world. The influence of older white supremacists on the youths they cultivate can be profound. Immediately following last year's gathering, racist skinheads launched a series of attacks throughout Portland and Seattle. Steven Nelson, a sometime musician, was convicted of conspiracy to bomb a lesbian and gay bar, a synagogue, and one African American and one Korean business. Nelson's ex-wife, Joan, says her husband was "a loser, he couldn't accomplish anything." But by reading *The Turner Diaries*, Steven finally found a focus for his young life.

The white supremacist, misogynist influence seems to reach other young people less directly. At the University of Washington in Seattle, a white male student with no known ties to hate groups signed up for "Psychology of Sex Differences" in the fall of 1989. He disrupted every class and finally left after he tried to take out an ad in the student newspaper, "Wanted: Someone with an AK-47 to help me take care of my teacher in Psych 257."

THE MAINSTREAMING OF HATE

If WAR represents the most naked expression of white supremacy, David Duke reflects its accommodation to the mainstream. He has had a much-publicized, lifelong association with numerous white supremacist groups including the American Nazi Party. With these credentials, he won a seat in the Louisiana state legislature in 1989; he lost a 1990 bid for the U.S. Senate but won 60 percent of the white vote. Many believe that he wins votes because of his views, not in spite of them. When Beth Rick-ey, a GOP state committeewoman and Duke's outspoken critic, spoke at a Women's Republican Club function, she was booed. "One person said, 'I don't care if Duke is a Nazi as long as he tells the niggers where to go.'"

Known as a media wizard, Duke will talk about almost any topic. He operates out of his low-slung, white frame

A LOUISIANA VOTER SAID, "I DON'T CARE IF DAVID DUKE IS A NAZI AS LONG AS HE TELLS THE NIGGERS WHERE TO GO."

house on the outskirts of Metairie, Louisiana: a sign in front says, "Please do not park on the grass." Duke is used to answering questions about his Nazi past. "I was an angry young man," he says. "I wanted to make the world a better place." He compares his own youthful radicalism to Jesse Jackson's.

By substituting code words for old rhetoric, Duke delivers a softer sell of the same arguments he's made for years. The "welfare underclass" must be eliminated by getting "the shirkers and the lazy off the rolls." He readily co-opts ideas he has consistently opposed, in slogans like "Equal Rights for All, Special Privileges for None."

His message isn't the only thing repackaged. Duke, who used to be a skinny, unimpressive guy when he was in his twenties, has transformed himself at 40 into an Aryan he-man—the result of body-building sessions, chin implants, and a nose job. "A lot of women think he's attractive," says Bess Carrick, executive producer of *Backlash*, a documentary on Duke. His base support, however, remains white men who feel victimized.

Duke has said little about his views on women. He's happy to oblige, but compared to practiced responses on other topics, he seems to make up these as he goes. "I'm against abortion—guess I'm not with you on that one," he told me, calling himself a "very devout Christian." ("It's only been in the last couple years that he's even mentioned the word Christ," says anti-Duke activist Lance Hill.) He admits this position is a "close call" for him. As a self-proclaimed libertarian, he'd rather leave it up to individual choice—at least for some women; he has been known to advocate abortion as a eugenics method.

Duke's enthusiasm for eugenics is still reflected in his birth control program. He would teach sex education in schools located in "certain problem areas" and give preferential housing for women in projects if they had no more children. As for economic equity, Duke's strategy is at best elementary. Where job discrimination and pay inequities exist, "they should be stopped."

"Women have a vital role to play," says Duke, pointing to three women who have worked on his own campaigns. He met Babs Wilson, 53, probably the most influential woman in his circle, at a John Birch Society gathering in the early 1970s. Wilson is a seasoned anti-ERA campaigner. "Men are the most discriminated against," she says. "Women's lib has caused the breakdown of the family." To her, the most important role for women is nurturer, but, she says, women belong everywhere, though apparently not on every job: "When a woman is on an oil

rig with men for weeks, it leads to immorality."

Virginia Thomas, 44, who runs Duke's phone banks, was a mainstream Republican who joined Duke because "he has a better message" for her. "I want white grandchildren. I want white great-grandchildren. We have a right to want white blood. I don't believe that's racist. I believe in White." Callie O'Pry, 23, went from Young Republican activities at Louisiana State University to become Duke's legislative aide. A year later, she left the staff because "funds were low," though concern about his past was also a factor. Today O'Pry works for a less controversial conservative. She worries about her association with Duke. "I do not want David's baggage passed on to the people I'm with now."

There are other women in Duke's life, very young ones, according to reports. "He's a ladies' man," Thomas offers in his defense. Womanizing reportedly led to his ex-wife Chloe's departure with their two daughters in 1979. Chloe also complained about his pornography collection, according to a former Klan lieutenant, the source for journalist Lucian K. Truscott IV's report that Duke had a "peculiar appetite" in pornography "dealing almost exclusively with white girls having oral sex with blacks." Undercover "KBI" chief Seymour reports a scene at a 1979 Klan leadership conference in New Orleans: he saw Duke go "on stage, strip down to bikini underwear and lift weights to show off his male physique."

Perhaps most bizarre is Duke's mildly clandestine publishing history. *Finderskeepers*, a sex manual written under a pseudonym, advocates the kind of behavior that his friend Babs Wilson blames on the women's movement. He teaches the advantages of loving a married man; why and how to perform fellatio; how "women's libbers" can use their careers to find men.

Written under another pseudonym (Mohammed X), *African Atto* is a street-fighting manual for blacks. He used to deny writing it, but now says it is satire at its best. Stylistically akin to the WAR newsletter, the book is filled with deliberate misspellings and advice such as "eat lots of soul food," and avoid "fatty, weakening 'white' milk."

David Duke's leap into the mainstream may serve as a springboard to advance other white supremacists. After his 1989 victory, at a Chicago meeting of the Populist Party, Duke reportedly shook hands with the head of the American Nazi Party and announced, "We did it, and I'm here to tell you how to duplicate it for the white majority movement." As one Klan hateline message cheered, a Duke victory is one for "the entire racist movement."



▲ *The Klanswoman's real function is to indoctrinate the family, turning it into a Klan cell.*

The open acceptance of white supremacist theories represented by Duke's success reflects a major step backward—a failure to consolidate a vision of a world where people with differences can live in harmony. Yet his stands on women and equity seem pretty much in line with mainstream conservative views. On abortion, he's less noxious than the Operation Rescue terrorists. He seems no more ignorant about issues of women's economic equity than the next politician. The GOP party platform supports him on affirmative action. As to his alleged womanizing and self-adulation, what else is new?

An oppressive image of women forms a common thread from the mainstream, through Duke, to the radical right; it is not only violently racist but misogynist—the consistent worldview of white male supremacy. The right's use of women has its analogy on the left, where totalitarian countries use women's groups for social control. Female subordination is hardly an invention of the right: witness the unfinished debates in the left on “the woman question,” the very framing of which makes women an afterthought to revolutionary change.

The concept of what constitutes a hate crime needs to be reexamined. Because the hate groups don't specifically target them, the male-led progressive forces don't consider women to be on the agenda of their antiviolence work. But the women of the Klan are intimidated into submission with threats of violence and kidnappings. Isn't this also hate crime?

Yes, some of them are true believers. For these women, the fantasy of a privileged life in a perfect white world is so tantalizing that they're willing to oppress others and

accept domination and violence by men. But one might ask, as Andrea Dworkin did in *Right-wing Women*, what is their alternative? Where in their world is a vision that addresses their hopes and also their oppression?

Women do escape white male supremacy. Gloria left her violent, paramilitant husband and is studying social work in order to help other women. Others seek help from groups like Fundamentalists Anonymous or are physically removed by deprogrammers sent in by families. These women have been so isolated they are shocked to learn, for example, that there are feminists opposed to pornography just as they are. They are in search of a safe place. That's a challenge to the women's movement, to more strongly promote an antiracist, feminist vision, and to male progressives to accept the politics of inclusion.

Leadership in this struggle can come from courageous women who are already organizing against white male supremacy. Their effort will effect a revolution in itself; as women of color, lesbians, and feminists of all kinds, they are the most at risk—and they are also precisely the ones that women and men of the radical right hate and fear the most. **Ms.**

Helen Zia is managing editor of “Ms.” In writing this story, she especially thanks several women activists against white male supremacy: Judith Lee Berg, Christine Davis-McCoy, Anne Braden, Jean Hardisty, Pat McGuire, Kelly Mitchell-Clark, Suzanne Pharr, Mab Segrest, Sharon Spurlin, Deni Yamauchi. For contacts and additional information, see page 93.

Every Heart A Time Bomb

Rote Zora is an autonomously organized feminist guerrilla organization that has been active in Germany since 1974. They have carried out a number of armed actions over the last 20 years concerning the exploitation of women in western industrialized countries and in the so-called "Third World". These actions have included attacks on pornography shops, corporations/research centres involved in reproductive technology, companies that exploit women in the "Third World", women-traders (so-called "marriage brokers") and more. The following article was published in 1981 and is basically representative of Rote Zora's political outlook.

Throughout time, women have struggled in armed groups, but for the most part the reality of the contribution has been suppressed. But the times are now different. The contribution of women in the guerrilla has become so large that this mechanism no longer functions. The division of labour has also been undermined: women assume the responsibility for the infrastructure, men do the actions. Subversive women's groups like Rote Zora are still few, but things are changing! We do not want only to carry out some actions, but also to describe the apparent reality of the ossified relationships we are forced to live with - even if we don't find this easy.

We want, above all, to provide clarity on two points.

First, how the mechanism of imperialist oppression of women here and in the countries of the 3rd World functions. Regarding this question, we must recognize that the analyses of imperialism for the most part restrict their investigation to the political, economic, and military power structure of imperialism, neglecting to analyze the strategy as regards women here and in the 3rd World.

For us, it is not sufficient to say: on the basis of the analysis of imperialism, it is clear that NATO is the target for attacks and in as far as women attack NATO, the women's struggle gains its pointed revolutionary direction. The liberation struggle remains, in this way, only an attack against the central power structures, leaving aside the daily contents of violence, through which destruction, oppression, and exploitation are experienced.

For us, it is also part of liberation, a sense of life and power, if we set a small fire under the ass of a piggish landlord or his handyman, of the Atomic mafia, etc. The problem we have with this is that we want to do more than we can in practice do, at this time.

However, that will also changell! As well, the actions against the daily violence are already understandable, not only for the majority, but for all those who have not allowed their brains to be ripped off. In this way, attacks against the central/State power structure have greater difficulty. They must be planned and thought through so that the political line is clear. Basically, we think that there are no "targets for attack" that can "overthrow" the State. The chance for a revolutionary movement lies much more in attacks against the unified, State organized living conditions. The attacks against the central/State institutions is only a part of this. It is also illusionary - better dogma, with all the revolutionary slogans in an action - to seize upon a single target of attack. The organization of continuity in an armed group is more clearly the way to open a perspective of hope and victory.

Another point which we have reflected on is the women's movement. We want to find out more clearly why the women's movement has lost its revolutionary explosiveness and taken the path of the "new inwardness".

"The one and only women's movement doesn't exist. There are many forms of women's struggle, and in each individual one there are even more elements in motion, apart from the gender question, the class position, nationality, and the concrete situation".

As well, if it has been lost in oblivion today, the view of U.S. racism helped the women to identify their oppression as sexism. Stokely Carmichael (1) once spoke about the meaning of the definition. He cited "Alice in Wonderland" in this regard. In this book there is a discussion between Humpty Dumpty and Alice about defini-

tions. "When I use the word", said Humpty Dumpty, from quite far above. "Then it has exactly the definition that I give it. No more and no less". "The question is", said Alice, "whether words can give definitions to so many different things". "The question is", said Humpty Dumpty, "who the man is. That is all".

This is actually the decisive question, who the man is. That it already appears impossible to say "who the woman is", indicates that it is the white men who define humans and things. It is as such that the history of Europe and America. They have defined what the coloured people and women of this world are. The definition that they gave women, as well as coloured people, was "uneducated and primitive". In this way the rule of white men was legitimized. Women and coloured people must be "civilized", which means nothing other than the destruction of all forms of independent consciousness expressed, for example, in individual histories and in culture, if they defend themselves, they will be mercilessly slaughtered. Thus, in Europe, the women during the witch-hunt and, today, the Indians in South America.

Understanding sexism and racism as integral components of the patriarchal ruling system often remains in the stage of "pious lip service". So, in the popular analyses of imperialism, sexism as a means for dividing and ruling is barely mentioned. If we now write about sexism and gender specific division of labour, it is not so as to also say a word about us women, but on the basis of the knowledge that without concrete investigation about sexism, the condition in the 3rd world and in the metropolises, as well as in the Women's Movement, cannot be understood. The oppression of women is older than capitalism, that isn't "new". One of the roots of this lies in the fact that the capacity of women to have children was and is seen as a function of her physiology, of her nature. To have or not to have children isn't understood as a conscious act - as an interaction with nature - but as nature itself. Only the activities of the head and the hands was seen as an interaction with nature - and, as such, as work. This was not so for the activities of the breast and uterus of a woman. Marxist theory did not abolish this perspective about work. Accordingly, this perspective treats the so-called biological nature of women as a natural resource. They are, thus, exploited according to varied economic needs. In the 3rd World women are forcibly sterilized, in the metropole they are made material promises to encourage them to have children. Abortion is described as mass murder. The economic element of the exploitation of women's capacity to give birth is expanded through racism. The whining and crying in the media about the sinking birth rate and the danger of the dying out of the "German people" indicates clearly what it's about. Only German women should bear children. Women from Turkey, Spain, Greece, etc., should be forbidden from bearing children and sterilization should be recommended or even decreed.

Even the ruling class still haven't achieved it, the research in the area of test-tube babies and gene manipulation signals the attempt to snatch from women their sole disposal over the capacity to bear children. The exploitative, non-reciprocal relationship with nature, according to which first women, and later other classes and peoples, we made part of nature is characteristic of all male styles of production - in particular capitalism. This exploitative relationship to nature has brought us today to the edge of ecological catastrophe. On this basis, they developed the



sexist and racist division of labour in which they consolidated production conditions in which cultivating sugar cane and rice isn't work for whites, housework isn't work for men, and if women and children are hit, that isn't violence. This division of labour is no superstructural phenomenon. It is not based on false ideas and false thinking the wo/man must only recognize, so as to change it, that it is the economic bases of the extreme exploitation under capitalism. In all serious analyses of imperialism, we've read that in the 3rd World backwards, pre-capitalist methods of production exist side by side with intense monopolization. On the one hand it is discovered that the concrete development, with growing Capitalist development doesn't cause these "backwards" methods of production to disappear. In reality, the opposite occurs, they are and will be constantly reproduced. For us, it is conspicuous that the problem of heterogeneity of methods of production are almost only examined in the 3rd world. In the metropolises, on the other hand, homogeneous methods of production are accepted.

"Those who see it from the other side wonder why the question of heterogeneity for the First World is not dealt with. Here, homogeneous methods of production ostensibly rule. This assertion is not only eurocentric and glorifying of capitalism (...) it is also sexist, because it covers up, in fact completely denies, that also at home labour power is extremely exploited, as such engaged at least that its reproduction cost, in fact half of all work hours - housework - is, in general, unpaid". (C. Von Weillhoff).

Here, who the non-capitalist producers are is discussed:

- they are the housewives of the entire world;
- the subsistence farmers of the 3rd world;
- male and female marginals, particularly in the 3rd World.

It's they who produce surplus value, as Rosa Luxemburg (2) wrote: "It is clear that surplus value is neither produced by workers nor by capitalists, but by social stratum who engage in non-capitalist production".

For us the following facts are clear, sexism and racism are not something of the mind, not a case of false consciousness, that clarification and good will will change. It is economic conditions, which produce sexism and racism ever anew. They are, above all, necessary so that imperialism can function. That they, on the other hand, are also political instruments that divide the oppressed doesn't speak against this. Imperialism is the stage of capitalism in which "the rationality" of capitalist methods of production - using people so as to exploit their labour power - has validity for very people in the 3rd

World. The majority are squeezed dry, without any perspective for health or an acceptable lifespan. And if there are too many people, the strategy is annihilation. Barbarism (3) is no vision of the future, we already find ourselves in it.

In the metropole the conditions of violence are veiled. The economic violent force of capitalism has already established itself as acceptable violence in the heads of the people. The direct physical violent force, through the State with its organs of repression wins, but, as such, makes the significance of social conflict apparent. It is clearly established that the extension of capitalism in the metropolises has not led to the replacement of direct forms of violence by something else, but has led directly to increased violence.

Women have been exposed to every level of violence, the indirect, structured forms of violence of this social system, that ossify all possibilities of life, and the brutal, direct, personal violent conditions at the hands of men. In the last year, a rise in crimes of violence against women was discovered in the provinces where a formal social and legal equality was represented.

Open use of violence of men against women have become clear in their proportions in the last year as a result of the work of women's shelters and emergency call lines. Women experience violence daily in different forms and qualities. They are embarrassed, humiliated, attacked, and raped. In the FRG (4), a woman is raped every 15 minutes! 50% of women are raped by men they know. Every year 4 million women in the FRG are abused by their husbands. The decisive factor of the structure of violence is the abuse of women in the family, rape, threats of rape, and aestheticization of violence against women in the media, advertising, and the cultural industry.

Violence against women, not as the exception, but understood as a universal ruling principal, has led to the knowledge that the struggle against the personal experience of sexist violence cannot be separated from the struggle against every form of violence of the system. The increase in physical violence is a general social reality, along with the increasing senselessness of life and the anonymity of relationships, and women find themselves in the role of the social sacrifice. The covering up of this violence by the police and the justice system clarifies the embedding of the violent relationships between a man and his wife through marriage and the family in protecting this system is indicated by the increase of open violence. The contradiction between the claim of the full equality of women and the necessity of their clear oppression for the security of the ruling class is for this system an irreconcilable contradiction.

Women live in "exile", because the socially organized institutions, like government, the economy, educa-

tion, culture, the media, the church, the police, and the military are shaped and ruled by men. They are characterized by the principle of hierarchy, power, and power struggles. Therefore, men are also affected by power, violence, and oppression. They must subordinate themselves to these principles of the predominance of "male rule" is to be preserved. Our oppression is based on this. Women will always and above all be oppressed and confronted with violence either open or veiled, in a patriarchal society.

Women must bow to this to avoid an open confrontation with power and violence, as long as this system exists - remaining in exile as a survival technique - but also remaining in a sacrificial posture. This sacrificial posture leads to an evasion of the responsibility for social conditions, therefore making them partially to blame. The fact that women experience violence is no excuse for passing on the violence to their children.

The internalization of this by women, as the most effective form of securing power, occurs through subtle forms of preventing the development of self-consciousness through education, morals, and love, to enforce the established norms and to enforce conformity. Power will certainly exert not open forms, so that, without the use of open violence, women will take on and tolerate their social functions, will identify with them. As such, the situation of women leads more quickly to the surrendering of one's identity, to self-destruction as the struggle against their oppression.

The women's movement made the personal oppressive situation of women into the starting point of their political practice. The division between private and political was abolished. The personal was political and the political was made personal. Explosive revolutionary force lied in the consciousness of the direct connection between the abolition of personal suffering and the necessity of a social transformation. The idea of radical social change - much more revolutionary in the change of the consciousness of people than all previous revolutions - producing a deep power among women. New forms and contents led to the separation from the general left movement, to the organizational autonomy of the women's movement. Autonomy introduced important processes, calling into question the value structures of male society, not looking for any perspective within the social power structure not wanting to participate in influencing power, not defining women's liberation through male roles. This led them to construct liberated space to escape patriarchal structures. That was and is important, because no movement has as much to struggle for a separate identity from the oppressor as the women's movement!

In the attacks against all oppressive structures lies the hope of not being integratable, and the hope of

producing and developing the core of revolutionary subversion. On the basis of the overemphasis of subjective experience, which was the consequences of the taboos in the left groups, and the difficulty of conveying the knowledge of personal oppression into direct acts of resistance, an "internalization" came out of the politics of subjectivity: personal change without social change.

The route into the new "internalization" was favoured by the class position of many of the women in the women's movement. For women with "good" vocational training, there were and are real possibilities of finding a niche in this society and of seeking a little subjective "happiness". The powerlessness with respect to social relationships wasn't raised. This approach proved to be a deadend. The yearning for happiness was pursued without ever being achieved.

After the campaign against Paragraph 218 (5), the resistance of the women's movement developed almost exclusively to the point of confrontation with the individual man. Women set up self-defense groups, rape crisis lines, and, above all, women's shelters. State repression was thoroughly analyzed and described, however their behaviour was hardly political. Both the women's congresses in 1978, "Women and Repression" in Frankfurt and "Violence Against Women" in Cologne, showed clearly the dilemma of the women's movement. The coinciding of two experiences, violence as a daily attack and violence as a specifically directed oppression by the State, were not connected to each other. Abdicating the necessity of establishing the connection between capitalism and social oppression, abdication of the necessity of establishing who the MAN is, led, as a result, to the development of a tendency in the "self-help projects" (women's shelters, crisis groups, women's centres) to only soothing women in crisis. At the point, when women limit themselves to remedying the distress of women, without taking up and attacking the social causes, when they let opposition to the State drop, there is no guarantee against corruption, the radicalism with regards to the male gender of the police forces is at an end. Negotiations with the cops and the justice apparatus to help a woman who has been attacked, to imprison the rapist can't replace the strength which is lacking and degenerates into complicity with the State. And clearly, at this point the massive State attempt at integration exhibits its effectiveness. The goal of this attempt at integration was and is to destroy the explosive revolutionary force of the women's movement, to turn women into badly paid administrators of misery.

A similar contradiction exists in the area of women's lesbian culture. The radicalism with which many lesbian women have broken with the male gender which expressed itself equally in a blossoming creativity in the areas of theatre, music, literature, and painting, which precipitated a new beginning for women's culture, did not prevent it from becoming part of a State-tolerated subculture. Lesbian dreams are very radical dreams, but here in the metropole, they find a place. A privileged minority, who had the will to engage in social bargaining, with the hope of thus setting all women free, transformed the autonomous women's project into an illusion of the achievement of personal happiness.

The autonomy of the women's movement today, organizationally and as regards content, is to be determined, and its social external boundary is to be established. There is no causal connection between autonomy and the external boundary. The autonomy of the movement can and must be developed, without reducing women's politics to woman-specific problems. For self-help projects, provocation, and not the avoidance of confrontation must be the goal, to break the social rules and not to be turned to a little functioning cog.

In the recent past, more and more women are expressing their unease about the political exile of the women's/lesbian movement, more and more women are breaking through the 'clones' covering the women's islands and are seeking to develop a feminist position and a practice regarding the questions of ecological destruc-



tion, for example, nuclear power, chemistry, etc., against militarization, and regarding the problem of internationalism/the 3rd World.

For us, it is clear that the women's project can't do without the organization of subversiveness and counter-violence. The women's movement has already written enough analyses about how women are educated to endure violence, but to not protect themselves. Women are trained to accept the powerlessness and psychological destruction, which this system uses her emotionality to bring about. The sympathy of women for the oppressed is strongly developed, but the hate for the oppressor, the enemy, is not developed. Hate has something to do with destruction and destruction scares women. To stop at describing these conditions, means nothing other than to accept the condition of powerlessness, to accept the role this society offers women. The myth of "peace-loving" women is the legitimization for remaining in the condition of sacrifice.

"Powerlessness Is The Magician's Hat Of Cowardice"

But every woman who has ever thrown a stone, who didn't retreat after being struck by a man, but attacked back, can comprehend the feeling of freedom we had when we destroyed sex shops or set off a bomb on the occasion of the Federal Supreme Court decision regarding Paragraph 218. In our society, freedom has something to do with destruction; destruction of the structures that want to chain us to women's roles. And these structures can only be destroyed if we attack the conditions that attempt to destroy us. Attacking in the most diverse forms, but always in connection with our unreconcilable hate for the society. The armed form of attacks is, for us, an unavoidable part of women's struggle. This position, as we have outlined is barely developed in the women's movement. Therefore, we have organized together with men in the guerilla. But here the contradiction between the struggle against sexism and class struggle can't be resolved either. Our status as an autonomous women's group in the RZ (6) is determined on the basis of the current political situation of women, which is characterized by a weakness of the women's movement as regards contents and the fact that the militant organization of women is only at its beginning. We are not a supplementary front of struggle, with which organizations can decorate themselves. We are not the solution to fundamental problems, only one way. Our feminist way bases itself on the perspectives of the women's movement and the international revolutionary struggles, and not only on our perspective.

Rote Zora



(published in "Revolutionären Zorn" (7) #9, Jan. '81)

Footnotes:

1. Stokely Carmichael - leading figure in the Pan-Africanist tendency of the Black Power Movement in the USA in the 60's.
2. Rosa Luxemburg - leading figure in the Spartacists, the far left, non-Leninist tendency which broke with the West German Social Democratic Party in the 1st World War period. Murdered along with Karl Liebknecht, following her arrest during a workers uprising in 1918, in which the Spartacists played a key role.
3. Refers to a quote from Leon Trotsky claiming the future held 2 options, Socialism or Barbarism.
4. FRG - Federal Republic of Germany, West Germany
5. Paragraph 218 - Legal Paragraph governing abortion in West Germany.
6. RZ - Revolutionary Cells, the sexually mixed autonomist guerilla group from which Rote Zora split, but with whom they continue to cooperate.
7. Revolutionären Zorn (Revolutionary Rage) is the illegal newspaper of the Revolutionary Cells and Rote Zora. It comes out roughly once a year.

FEMINISM & RACISM THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

BY BELL HOOKS

B

LACK WOMEN committed to the feminist movement learn early on to distinguish between that political choice and unequivocal bonding with white women in the name of sisterhood. Outsiders looking in forever question us about this uneasy, tense alliance, wanting to know

how we can remain engaged in feminist struggle when we must continually resist assault from those white women who see themselves as feminists even as they remain involved with the politics of white supremacy. Sincere commitment to the feminist movement is necessarily grounded in the conviction that a central agenda of that struggle is the formation of political solidarity between women. When individual women of color approached feminism from a standpoint that included recognition of the impact race and racism has on the formation of social identity, essentially calling for the deconstruction of the category "woman" and a revision of popular notions of common bonding based solely on gender—the intent was not to de-value or ridicule the importance of solidarity between women. Instead, it was a critique that sought a realistic understanding of the barriers to that goal. The hope was that women would begin to reconstruct feminist theory and practice to make "sisterhood" a logical outcome of shared engagement.

Responses to these critiques varied. Early on, accusations that the issue of race was raised to deflect attention away from feminism, thereby undermining the movement, were common. Many white women felt that they were being admonished so that they would examine personal expressions of racism, and fail to link that interrogation of self with an understanding of the way white supremacy works as an institutionalized structure of domination. This meant that changes in behavior within the private sphere of personal relationships did not necessarily lead to a transformation of public interactions. Positively, individual white women began to grapple with race in ways that enabled them to critically intervene in feminist settings and help create circumstances where black women could work in solidarity with them without fear that racist domination would prevail. Seeing these women, experiencing the power of a sisterhood that is based on a willingness to struggle and change makes it possible for individual black women to sustain our commitment to feminist solidarity.

Unfortunately, as the issue of race and racism gradually became a more acceptable topic for discussion within feminist circles, particularly among academics, it was no

longer fundamentally linked to a concern with building solidarity (i.e. sisterhood). It became more a subject for critical discourse, a way to shift and alter the critical foundations of feminist theory and debate, giving it a different slant and a new direction. Suddenly it seemed all the white women who had "resisted" discussing race and racism were writing about these subjects, "claiming the terrain," so to speak. It was as though they had viewed black women's insistence that feminism confront the question of race solely as a bid for attention, power, and control. Perhaps they began to think of feminist discourse as a little country ruled by elite white women. It then appeared that women of color had this ploy to take it over, that raising the question of race and racism was really meant to be a coup d'etat. To effectively block this insurrection, they responded by appropriating the analysis, establishing themselves as the hegemonic voice, now controlling the new feminist discourse on race. Women of color were once again relegated to the status of "help," supporting and servicing that feminist movement which was really seen as the "property" of white women. For elite, white women, our words, ideas, even our very images, were appropriated to legitimate and validate their work. Our presence (at feminist conferences, in women's studies programs, at pot-lucks) was acceptable only if we behaved in a manner that upheld their "right" to be the voice telling us what to say and how to say it.

This rather cynical portrait can be drawn only because so little has changed despite feminist inclusion of the question of race and racism. Talking with individual black women who remain committed to feminist movement, one hears again and again accounts of dreadful encounters with "elite" white feminists, writing about black women's history and literature, or focusing on the racialized content of particular works by white authors, who have in no way altered their behavior. In our encounters with this group we often find ourselves subjected to the crudest expressions of white supremacy and racist domination. Just imagine that you are in conversation with a leading white woman feminist theorist who focuses her work on the question of race. You are a black woman feminist theorist. Fearful that you are about to critique her work publicly she begins to verbally denounce you. As you pointedly call attention to her attempts to not only control black woman's speech but to punish what she perceives as disobedience, she begins to repeatedly scream: "I could care less about what black women think about my work. I don't owe black women anything."



Unfortunately, this is not a fantasy. It happened. Like many such encounters it was never fully dealt with by the parties involved. Witnessing such a violent display of contempt and hostility towards black women, the "sister" not only felt betrayed, she felt that she was now party to a terrible secret. Should her response be to publicly denounce this woman? Would she be believed? In the past she had told other black women that this white woman could be trusted as a friend, an ally; should she "warn" them? Ultimately she felt that this incident was not "personal"; it was intimately linked with the efforts of elite white women to gain power and prestige in the academy.

It is no mere coincidence that black women often face the most intense hostility from white women who are seeking to obtain or maintain power in hierarchical structures. Within feminist circles many of these women hold powerful prestigious positions in colleges and universities. They often chair women's studies programs. The politics of black women's interactions with this group of women is explored extensively in Johanna Butler's essay "Difficult Dialogues" (published in the February 1989 issue of *The Women's Review of Books*). Observing that "Women's Studies' relationship to the academy is bound up with the power inherent in white skin privilege," Butler emphasizes that "the tenacity of the feeling that whites ought by nature to be at the center and by nature define is tremendous." This aspect of white supremacy has determined much of the way white women in institutions interact with women of color. The fact that black women have so little power to determine policy in academia (there has been no significant increase in the number of black women heading women's studies programs) makes it easy for white women who are not about to surrender power gained through the perpetuation of white supremacy to ignore the concerns, thoughts, and attitudes of black women. Or if their exclusion of black women is noticed by those higher up there is always a non-threatening "other" to be found that will either do one's bidding or make demeaning compromises. (By critiquing the professional strategies of ambitious white women scholars who see themselves as feminists I do not mean to suggest that like-minded women of color behave differently.)

Given the way in which an ethic of white supremacy continues to inform relations between white women and women of color who profess commitment to feminist movement, individual black women have reason to doubt that feminist solidarity is an attainable goal. Understandably, some sisters have decided to completely disengage themselves from any involvement with white women and doggedly refuse to be drawn into discussions of race or racism for fear that their ideas will be appropriated to enhance and legitimate white feminist thought. Those of us who teach in women's studies programs, whose classrooms are filled with young white women, continue to work at building solidarity, continue to engage in (to use Butler's term) "difficult dialogues."

All that I have written so far has been difficult to say. I would rather not think about



white female racism, or ponder the ways it impedes and undermines feminist movement—it is so fundamentally disheartening. Again and again I ask myself why the progressive actions of white women with whom I and other black women bond have so little impact. A possible explanation is that these women, who daringly take risks and make courageous stands against racism and patriarchy are often not in positions of power. Their efforts are rarely documented. Hence they do not become the role models for large numbers of young women and men who are learning about feminism. At times some of these individuals seem to choose to express solidarity privately, even secretly, so that they do not risk being victimized by more powerful white women who think differently. Even though many white women "overheard" most of the conversation described earlier between the "elite" white woman scholar and the black female scholar, they did not intervene. After the incident they did not confront their colleague and peer to impress on her a sense of "accountability." If our difficult dialogues are to continue then white women who have divested of their white supremacy must assume a leadership role, documenting their actions, and speaking out.

Recently, I suggested to Mary Childers, a white woman colleague and a feminist thinker whose work and actions I respect, that we have a long conversation where we would talk about issues of race and class (we felt bonded to one another because of shared class background), and ways we disagree, while still maintaining a sense of solidarity. We transcribed our discussion and it will be published in an anthology of new feminist writing. For us, it is important to document the way we interacted with one another so that our experience could stand as testimony that feminist solidarity is possible. Mary and I are both wary of the idea that solidarity is best built in the context of friendships constructed on the premise of (as Mary puts it) "seamless harmony." We both agreed that one of the major barriers preventing dialogue between black and white women is fear of conflict. Mary suggested that "the only way we are going to handle all this conflict in feminism is if we have pleasure together." I responded by suggesting that we have different notions of pleasure, that I can be having fun, enjoying myself, in a situation where there is also conflict and confrontation adding: "In most encounters between white women and black women or other women of color, if there is confrontation, all pleasure ends and total disintegration takes place. So that we also have to conceptualize how we deal with difference in a way that allows for the experience in a given setting of both pain and pleasure. It is possible to

remember what provides a connection even as you deal with what makes you different, with what you vehemently don't agree about." Feminist solidarity between women cannot emerge if we are unable to cope with conflict and disagreement. To continue our "difficult dialogues" we must develop strategies for constructive confrontation.

The primary condition that many black women felt needed to exist before there could be constructive exchange was for white women to divest themselves of white supremacy. Indeed, it was Mary Childers'

commitment to anti-racist struggle that made it possible for me to "trust" her. One of the conditions of trust has to be that no threat of domination or coercive exploitation exists. Despite the growing body of work wherein white feminists talk and write about race, we need to know more about how and why white women develop anti-racist consciousness. We need to hear white women talk about what happens when they challenge white supremacy. How does this challenge transform their feminist practice?

Placing theoretical inclusion of an understanding of race and a commitment to ending racism on the feminist agenda has not led to the formation of political strategies that will transform and renew feminist movement. As long as feminist thinking on race remains more an internal dialogue among privileged academics and/or writers, there is little chance we will cease to engage in oppressive competitive power struggles. Since the academy is structured along those lines, it cannot be the only location for the making of feminist solidarity. All too often it pits women against one another, reinscribing structures of racial domination. Let me offer an example: Recently, a major state university had a junior level position in women's studies. The women's studies program was all white—it's a small program; a majority of professors have tenure. The program decided that this junior level slot (one that requires doing much of the least desirable work in the program) will be awarded to a woman of color, preferably a black woman. Now it does not take any particular genius to see how this structure reproduces not only a racial hierarchy where the majority group (white women) have the greater power and authority than the minority group (one lone woman of color), but also a setting where the historical relationship between black women and white women, that of servant/served can be reenacted. Now this would not be the case if all the white women participants divest themselves of white supremacist attitudes and beliefs (which seems unlikely). Imagine further that a black male scholar committed to pushing the campus to hire more tenured black faculty suggests to this small group of white women that they go to the administration and request that this position be changed so that it could allow them to hire a senior candidate with tenure. With great reluctance, the chair of women's studies follows his advice and is successful. Yet she insists that the program's needs can best be met by a junior candidate. Even though she contacts a senior woman of color who might be interested in joining her women's studies program, she does so without enthusiasm, communicating in every conversation with the candidate her "strong" sense that the person who takes this position must be willing to meet the needs of the program (i.e. do the less desirable work). This struggle becomes a question of power and control. There may have been fear on the part of the program that the "woman of color" hired on a senior level would not "obey" or "follow orders." Yolanda Moses has compiled an excellent report on black women in academia which addresses the difficulties faced by black women in building collegiality, particularly if our ways of doing things differ from those in power. This has been a major problem in feminist or-



ganizing and in all work spaces where black women and white women are together. We need to talk about the ways these settings can be transformed so that "difference" does not become the occasion for greater divisiveness and hostility, for white women to assert racist power and control.

If feminist solidarity between women is to emerge, then feminist struggle must be reclaimed, revitalized. And it must no longer take place solely in the academy or in the realm of discourse. As has already been stated the competitive hierarchical nature of the academy militates against the formation of solidarity and sisterhood. While we know that individual women manage to transcend structural barriers and promote sisterhood, this is not a collective experience. If women can construct political strategies that will promote anew a concern and a commitment to feminist solidarity, then we can choose/create diverse sites of struggle and engagement that maximize our power to determine structure. Knowledge gained in these settings will enable women to resist participation in systems of domination more effectively.

If our difficult dialogues are to continue and be constructive then we must critically examine why women have been so willing to abandon the concept of sisterhood, of feminist solidarity. Promoting that concern helped us remain focused on building a mass-based feminist movement. Are women who are committed to feminist thinking and practice ready to focus attention on renewing collective participation in feminist movement? Until this question is answered, future feminist movement will have no direction and no real leadership. When and where will women of color and white women meet to talk about strategies for change? One way to take our words out of the academy is to talk with one another, woman to woman, wherever we might meet. How many of us only talk about feminism with other feminists, with folks who share our lifestyles? The promise of sisterhood was that two women might be able to meet as strangers, any place, anywhere and give expression to the commitment to understand, help, and serve one another. It was this mutual exchange that promised to unravel the chains of sexist same-sex violence and domination. That gesture of solidarity freely given was to be the foundation of a liberatory movement that would have as its fundamental goal eradicating sexism and sexist oppression. Before we asked others to change we would ourselves bear witness to change and transformation.

LET US CONFESS: Feminist belief that solidarity between women was possible waned in the wake of tensions around "difference" with the growing understanding that the concrete forces separating us could not be overcome by romantic evocations of woman bonding. Most women were not prepared to struggle for sisterhood, to work at it ardently and patiently. Now that we know better, we have the opportunity to start anew. We no longer have to continually do the difficult work of forcing one another to acknowledge the reality of racial difference and domination. Now we must speak of how that domination can be challenged and resisted. Now we can talk.

RISE UP AGAINST FASCISM

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING

50 YEARS ♦ April 19, 1943 – April 19, 1993

On April 19th, 1943, in Nazi-occupied Poland, Jews who were forced to live in the Warsaw Ghetto began the first major civilian revolt against the Nazi extermination machine. Despite starvation, disease, and lack of weapons, the uprising lasted 43 days. This active resistance was a signal for other groups to fight back.

HISTORY IS IN DANGER of being repeated. Right-wing violence and neo-Nazi attacks are escalating in Canada and around the world against Jews, lesbians and gays, Blacks, Asians, Gypsies, people of the First Nations, immigrants, refugees, homeless people, people with disabilities and psychiatric survivors, among others. All of our communities are under attack.

We commemorate the resistance of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising 50 years ago and we continue the struggle against racism and fascism today.

Join us • Our voices will not be silenced!

INFO RALLY & MARCH
Monday April 19, 1993 ♦ 5:30 pm
 519 Church Street Community Centre (Church St. North of Wellesley)

Organized by the Jewish Feminist Anti-Fascist League
 with the support of Anti-Racist Action and its Jewish caucus

WHEELCHAIR ACCESSIBLE AT 511 O-LINCH ST. CARS PROVIDED ON THE MARCH FOR THOSE WHO NEED THEM.
 HIGH LANGUAGE INTERPRETED. CHILD CARE AVAILABLE AT THE 519.

Fargest Nisht! NEVER FORGET!

Fargest Nisht! NEVER FORGET!
NEVER AGAIN! Mer Keyn Moi Nisht!

Peter Silverman, a Survivor, recounts his story of beginning the armed resistance movement in the village of Jody, Poland.

Forty-eight years ago next month on May the eighth, 1945, the guns of World War II became silent in Europe. Most capitals of the free world (and some not so free) were ecstatic. Millions of servicemen returned home to their countries to be reunited with, and embraced by, their loved ones.

We survivors had no country and no homes to return to, and most of our loved ones were annihilated by the Nazis. Hoping against hope, we searched for remnants of our families but found sometimes only graves.

As the entire free world rejoiced, we sat and wept. For us this was not a victory. Liberation yes, victory no. For six million, liberation came too late.

A vow was made by those of us who survived, to those who perished—to remember and not to forget. "Do not forget us" were usually the last words of our dying brothers and sisters.

In these days of Holocaust denials, we must go one step further. We must demand, not just "do not forget" but "bear witness and do not allow us to be forgotten."

It is extremely heartwarming to see young people here tonight who are remembering and not forgetting.

Fifty years ago next month, other guns were silenced—the guns of the Warsaw Ghetto fighters. On May the eighth, 1943, the headquarter bunker on 18 Mila Street fell and with it also Mordechai Anielewicz and a large group of fighters and commanders. The fighting in the Ghetto lasted over a month. With very few weapons and even less ammunition, with no food or water, they held out against an enemy with inexhaustible supplies of sophisticated weapons, ammunition, etc. They never surrendered.

I stand here tonight, look you in your eyes, and state: This was victory, not only for the Warsaw Ghetto fighters but for the *entire Jewish people* and for all future generations of Jews and non-Jews alike. Their bravery and heroism, endurance and suffering has no equal in the history of mankind. They were a people without a state in a hostile environment. They stood *alone*, facing the Nazi menace of genocide, facing the most cruel and brutal of the enemies of the Jewish people. They were burned alive together with the structures and pavement.



Mira Fuchrer, fighter in Central Ghetto.

Wherever there was resistance in Nazi-occupied Europe, the Jews were among the first to organize it. As you may know, I just published a book [*From Victims to Victors* (Canadian Society for Yad Vashem, 1992)]. Here are the reasons why, and why fifty years later, and also why the title *Victors* if, as I said before, there was no victory.

First why did it take me fifty years? When we survivors arrived at these blessed shores, we were told to forget the horrible past and start a new life. Anyway, we were convinced that if we really told the truth, it was too terrible to be believed, and no one would believe us. So, we worked hard to support and raise our young families, sel-



Regina Fuden, fighter
in Productive Ghetto.

reunion of all the Partisans from our forest. We realized that many of the survivors are not with us any more. That is when we decided to record some of our memories.

Reason number two: We were encouraged by other books slowly published everywhere.

Reason number three: Holocaust deniers whose purpose it is to whitewash the Nazis by saying there was no Holocaust and hence, no victims, and if there are no victims, then there are no criminals. They are rewriting history while we survivors, or better yet, we witnesses, are still alive. But we know that we do not belong to an endangered species but we *do* belong to a species that is going to be extinct. So it is our duty to document the horrendous crimes against the Jewish people and against humanity. I have no words to describe the pain inflicted on the survivors by these revisionists, and it is my opinion that **ALL JEWS ARE SURVIVORS**.

Reason number four: The Righteous Among The Nations, the people that saved our lives and helped us obtain the very first weapons. It is our sacred duty to document the heroic deeds of these non-Jews to whom we owe our lives.

Reason number five: One of the most extraordinary and incredible chapters in the history of World War II is the story of the Jewish Partisans in the forests of Eastern Europe, particularly Eastern Poland, Byelorussia and Eastern Lithuania. Other than the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, the world knows little or nothing about the other side of the Holocaust picture: Jewish war resistance

and heroism.

We, the Jewish Partisans in the Byelorussian and Eastern Lithuanian and Polish forests, numbered in the thousands. Almost all of us were escapees from massacres and/or ghettos. Our legendary resistance movement made a significant contribution towards the Allied victory over Nazi Germany, and yet this story is almost completely unknown. This is one more reason for writing our book.

The main reason that I'm alive and here tonight is the fact that in the Spring of 1942 a group of about two dozen young Jewish boys and girls from our town of Jody and vicinity, believed that our lives were worth more than one kilogram of salt. I'm here to tell you about our resistance to the might of the Nazi war machine.

Jody was a small Polish town, 200 kilometres north of the city of Vilna with a Jewish community of about 600 people.

From September of 1939 to June of 1941 our region was taken over by the USSR as a result of the Stalin-Hitler Treaty. I was 14 years old, spoke five languages and had to learn a fifth—Russian—in a couple of weeks.

During the week of June 22, 1941 when Germany invaded the USSR, many thousands of Red Army soldiers and officers had retreated through Jody on their way east. Some of them dropped their weapons in the fields.

On the last day of June 1941, the first German soldiers arrived in Jody. Immediately our situation changed drasti-

cally. We were struck with immense fear. We were isolated, alone and helpless. During the first five months of Nazi rule, Jody Jews suffered pogroms, brutal torture, beatings, starvation and other atrocities at the hands of the local population who formed the Collaborator Police Department under German supervision.

On December 17, 1941, on the fifth day



Masha Glytman, fighter
in Central Ghetto.

of Chanukah, the town was surrounded by Byelorussian, Polish and Russian collaborator police and also by SS and Gestapo units. All the Jews that did not run away were taken to the public school and from there escorted, 20 at a time, to a gravel pit outside of town, and shot. Infants and children were not shot. To save bullets they were hit on the head with rifle butts and thrown alive into the pit. Almost all the killings were carried out by collaborators. The Germans just supervised. The screams of the mothers and children could be heard everywhere. Mothers had to watch their children murdered before *they* had the luxury to be killed. This horrendous tragedy is impossible to describe. All the Jews from several

villages in the vicinity of Jody were rounded up, brought to the gravel pit and murdered.

We had about two hours warning from a Righteous Gentile connected with the police. A little less than half of the Jewish population escaped.

Why did only half escape when everyone knew about the danger? The most important reason is Jewish family ties. The Jewish mother was always attached to her children at birth with an invisible iron chain. There was no way anyone would hide you with children. Children need food, milk, warmth, and they also cry. The family that stayed together, perished together. If the family would only split, someone would survive.



Dvora Baron, fighter in Brushmakers' District.

The Nazis put a bounty on the heads of the Jews who had escaped. One kilogram of salt to anyone who brought a Jew to the gravel pit. Only the local population could identify the Jews. In the next ten days about 250 Jews were captured, brutally tortured (for having the audacity to escape) and killed.

Those that escaped were desperately trying to find a hiding place with Gentiles,

some succeeded and the rest were just wandering and moving from place to place when they were captured. I was hidden by a Polish family who were either angels or superhumans who risked their lives and the lives of their families to save me. They restored our faith in humanity during our darkest hours.

Three weeks after the original massacre there were only about 100 Jody Jews left alive. Some were hidden by Righteous Gentiles, others managed to sneak into nearby ghettos in other towns which were not yet liquidated. At this point in time some of us made the decision that we were worth more than one kilogram of salt and we vowed that we would never surrender, nor be captured alive.

In order to keep this promise we knew we must obtain weapons. In March of 1942, my cousin Dave Smuschkowitz and I, both 17 years old, were able to obtain the very first weapons in our area—one pistol with three and one rifle with six bullets.

On April 7, 1942, Dave and I were stopped by a German policeman and three collaborators. While we were being taken to the gravel pit to be shot, we killed the policeman and escaped. This was the first known and documented act of armed Jewish resistance in our vicinity (I repeat, in our vicinity).

In late Spring, the majority of the Jody Jews that were still alive, about 75 men, women and a few children, moved into the Koziany Forest and established a Jewish Family Base Camp. The forest was about

ten kilometres south of Jody. In early Summer of 1942, shortly after we moved into the forest, former Red Army soldiers and officers who either escaped from POW camps, or were hiding out through the winter on farms, also came into the forest. A number of our Jewish boys and girls were killed by some of these former Red Army members. We now started to take advantage of the formerly abandoned Red Army weapons that had been picked up by the farmers. We bought some, stole some and a number were given to us by Righteous Gentiles.

Our priorities at this point in time were: To obtain more weapons and ammunition, obtain and bring food into the forest and to take care of those people who either killed or betrayed Jews.

What did a rifle or a gun mean to us, 50 years ago?

A rifle meant food.

It meant we would not be captured alive.

It meant we could hide almost anywhere.

We could take care of collaborators and betrayers of Jews.

We could stand up to former Red Army soldiers arriving in the forest.

It meant we could overpower our enemies and thus obtain more and better weapons and ammunition.

Most important of all, we made this amazing discovery: That the great Nazi "heroes" and their collaborators, who were extremely brave when it came to killing and torturing innocent Jewish children and starving or sick, unarmed, defenceless Jewish

men and women, became cowards when faced by armed Jews.

The forest became the most feared place on earth for them. They were terrified at the thought of entering the forest, while for us, the forest was like our mother. I wish we had had video at the time so you could see and listen to captured Nazis crying and pleading for their lives.



Tosia Altman, fighter in Central Ghetto.

In June, July and August of 1942, the Nazis liquidated almost all of the ghettos in our vicinity, by slaughtering all Jews in each city and town. A few hundred survivors started filtering into our forest from about one dozen different ghettos. Some of them came with weapons, some of them wounded, and almost all of them were young boys and girls—very young.

The first organized Partisan unit in our Koziany Forest was formed in July 1942. It was a merger of our Jewish group with the former Red Army group. This was now formal organized resistance. Many raids against the enemy were carried out and more and better weapons obtained. Now came our second source of weapon, the

Nazis themselves—but we had to kill them before we could take their weapons.

The open season against Jews came to an end for the time being.

We organized a Partisan brigade and named it Spartak. All able-bodied Jewish boys, and many girls, joined the brigade. Jews had to bring their own weapons, or else they were not admitted.

Older people, middle-aged, some women and a few children stayed in the Jewish Family Camp on the fringes of the forest. Our Partisan Base Camp was in the centre of the forest. As the strength of the brigade grew, so did the quality of life in the Jewish Family Camp.



Zofia Zatorska (1920-1940), courier between the organizations of the Resistance Movement. Killed by the Gestapo.

In November of 1942 and almost one year later, in October of 1943 two blockades took place. Each time the forest was surrounded by an army of German soldiers and collaborators. They used tanks, artillery, aircraft, dogs and other modern weapons. On both occasions the brigade broke out of the forest and went 150 kilometres east into the USSR, to the Ushatze region, where the Partisan movement was extremely strong.

As the brigade fought its way out of the forest, it suffered casualties. Some of our best Jewish boys and girls fell in battle. Each time, the blockade lasted several weeks and when the German Army withdrew they left collaborators in the forest. Now they were Ukrainian, Lithuanian and Latvian Vlasovioks. The Jewish Family Camp took devastating losses, many of them were obliterated in the most tragic way.

In the early Spring of 1943, when we returned from the east, with the help of a Jewish girl named Katia, who had been parachuted into the forest with a radio transmitter and generator, we received parachute drops from behind the front sent to us by the USSR. We obtained badly needed automatic weapons, ammunition and most important, explosives. We became a very effective fighting force. A Lithuanian Partisan brigade was organized alongside Spartak and was predominantly Jewish.

During the Summer and Fall of 1943, Winter, Spring and Summer of 1944, we executed many raids, killed many Nazis and collaborators. We captured and destroyed vital German communication and transportation centres, Nazi garrisons, police stations, trains, many miles of railroad tracks and bridges, and carried out many ambushes and raids. We made life generally miserable for the Nazis. We tied up many divisions of German troops who would otherwise be at the fronts, fighting various Allied armies. We, the *hunted*, now became the *hunters*.

Two major railway lines were located near our area of operations: the Leningrad-

Warsaw railway and the Smolensk-Warsaw railway.

In the Fall of 1943, two new Partisan brigades were organized in our forest. A second Jewish Family Camp was established—mostly survivors from other forests who escaped blockades.

Several attempts were made by us to organize a strictly Jewish Partisan brigade. Each time we were forced to abandon our plans by the Communist District Command who by now had a say in our operations. The best we could do was to form a Jewish platoon in our third detachment and that was not all Jewish.

At liberation our brigade numbered close to 1,000 men and women—about 15 per cent Jewish.

We, the Jewish men and women, boys and girls, were the backbone of the brigade. Why?

Rather than surrender when surrounded or helplessly outnumbered or mortally wounded, Jewish Partisans committed suicide.

We knew the territory, bridges, highways, railways and most important, many of the people.

There were never spies among the Jewish Partisans.

We brought our own weapons and all of us were volunteers.

Each of us had faced and escaped death many times *before* we joined the Partisans, and became *fearless*. We had *nothing* left to lose; *most* of us had already lost everything.

All specialised units, for instance, reconnaissance, demolitions squads, liaison and

communication groups, strike groups, and others, were predominantly Jewish.

We were the first to volunteer for the most dangerous missions. We joined the Partisans, not to survive the war, but to fight, and get revenge.

Starting in May of 1944, a few of our units came out of the forests and were stationed in villages. During the first week of



Gola Mire (1908-1943), organizer of the resistance movement in the Cracow Ghetto. Murdered by the Gestapo.

June 1944 we received an extremely large parachute drop of explosives. On June 23, 1944 the Red Army started a major offensive, and broke through the German lines on the Vitebsk front. All Partisan brigades were ordered to go out simultaneously during daytime and destroy long stretches of railroad tracks, cutting not only the vital German supply lines, but also their line of retreat—twofold victory.

Our morale at this point in time, was at an all-time high. Byelorussia and Eastern Lithuania, from where we operated, by this time had over 250 Partisan brigades totalling about 200,000 men and women, ten to 15 per cent were Jews and some brigades were almost 100 per cent Jewish.

like the Bielski or Diadia Misha brigades and others. One and a half million Jews fought the Nazis in various Allied armies. It is estimated that the Jewish underground, in occupied Europe, numbered 100,000 men and women. We'll never know their exact number, because many of them, for obvious reasons, fought under assumed names.

On July 2nd of 1944, at the time of our liberation, Spartak captured several towns and cities. Those were important road junctions needed by the German army for retreat. We held them in spite of a numerical disadvantage and we suffered many casualties. The same day, July 2nd, 1944, we met the first unit of the Red Army, a forward



Muta Tajtelbaum, "Wanda" (1917-1943), commander of a women's detachment of the People's Guard.

reconnaissance with combat unit, of about 250 men of a guard division.

Although many of our Jewish boys and girls fell in battle from the day that we obtained our first weapons, not one Jew from our vicinity was captured alive by the Nazis or collaborators.

From that day forth, we were not sold for one kilogram of salt, or for any price. We kept our vow never to surrender.

At the time of liberation a new vow was made by the few of us that survived, to the many that perished: To remember and not to forget.

When we were faced with the Nazi policy of total extermination we declared a fight for life, a fight for survival. Today, when we are faced with Holocaust denial we must update and change this vow to: Do not allow the Holocaust to be forgotten. And do not allow history to be rewritten. My presence here tonight, I hope and pray, will serve as a reminder of that vow.

Now I would like to answer the question, Why is the title of our book *Victors* if there was no victory?

My appearing here tonight in front of you is my victory. We, the Jewish people, survived Nazism and were able to establish different Jewish institutions of learning, schools, libraries, synagogues, yeshivas, organizations, hospitals, etc. This is our victory.

When I pass a Jewish elementary school at recess and see and hear Jewish children playing, this is my victory. The Nazis' prime objective was to annihilate Jewish children.

My grandchildren are my victory.

When I go to Israel and walk the streets of Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Negev or Galil, this is my victory.

Three key words of the Jewish Partisan song written in the Vilna Ghetto are: WE ARE HERE. We, the Jewish people, are here, and we will always be here. This is my victory.

Thank you.



False identification card of Felgele Peltel, agent on Aryan side.

My task here is to outline and analyze the development of the Holocaust. This is a sombre and daunting task, and I apologize in advance for both the unavoidable brevity and simplicity of what I am about to present, as well as for many historical gaps and possible errors it no doubt contains. This talk, indeed this entire event, is just the beginning of what JFAFL hopes will be a process of understanding and analyzing the Holocaust and applying its lessons to the present day. Part of our commitment in doing this work is to present information about all of the groups who were affected by the Holocaust. The rise of Hitler to power in 1933 was almost immediately followed by the declaration of a law requiring sterilization of those with hereditary diseases, the purpose of which was to prevent the birth of persons with disabilities who were considered by the Nazis to be "life unworthy of life." The philosophical basis was the eugenics movement: a refined form of social Darwinism meant by the Nazis to purify the folk, what they conceived of as the collective body of the German people. They began an extensive program of propaganda in the arts, schools and popular culture designed to convince Germans that they would benefit from this quest for racial purity.

Also in 1933, the Nazi regime began to isolate Jews. Exploiting the long and bloody history of European anti-Semitism, a mass campaign to boycott

Jewish businesses and professionals was initiated, and all Jewish civil servant and teachers were fired. In addition, 150,000 political opponents to the regime were rounded up and sent to concentration camps for so-called re-education. The Nazis took control of the labour movement, prohibiting strikes, and youth and women's organizations. The round-up of the Romani peoples, popularly but incorrectly known as the Gypsies, commenced in 1933. Gay men, and so-called "asocials," who included prostitutes, lesbians, "habitual criminals" and cultural non-conformists, were also sent to the camps.

The first killing centre for people with disabilities was opened in 1936. Forced



Dorka Goldkorn (1922-1947), fought in the Uprising, courier of the Supreme command of the JFO, member of the Polish Workers' Party.

euthanasia became increasingly prevalent from 1936 to 1939. Physicians were required to register adults and children with disabilities. Many who avoided registration died in hiding for lack of medical treatment, or simply of cold and hunger. In 1939, shortly after the invasion of Poland, the Nazis began to openly murder people with disabilities. Six killing centres with gas chambers and crematoria were set up in German hospitals in

1940. This is where the Nazi mass death technology was pioneered.

On November 9-11, 1938, scores of synagogues and thousands of Jewish-owned shops all over Germany and Austria were ransacked and burned. This is known as Kristallnacht, after the shattered glass windows that resulted from the rampage. The first mass deportations of Jews began on November 12, 1938.

The Nazis implemented deportations, repressions and mass murder in all of the countries they occupied between 1939 and 1945. Many people are aware of the decimation of European Jewry that resulted. Fewer are aware of the history of Nazism in North Africa, a piece of Jewish history that is often neglected.

During the Nazi era, many North African countries were under European colonial control. Libya was an Italian colony, and the fascists who controlled Italy in the 1930s implemented Hitler's anti-Semitic laws there. There were deportations from Libya to the death camps in Europe, and there were also concentration camps in both Libya and Tunisia, which was a French colony and thus controlled by the Nazi occupation government.

The Holocaust was the systematized murder of many peoples. Six million Jews and at least 220,000 Romani were murdered—80 per cent of the population of each of those peoples who were living in areas under Nazi occupation. Two hundred thousand people with disabilities or so-called mental illnesses were murdered or perished. Between 50,000

and 63,000 gay men and many, many thousands of lesbians, political dissidents, prostitutes, non-conformists and Soviet prisoners of war were killed. In addition, millions of European civilians died under the Nazi occupation. All were casualties of the Nazi quest for racial purity and an expanded territory for those who were "racially pure" to inhabit.

What are some of the lessons of the Holocaust? The Holocaust began in part because persons with disabilities were seen as persons without value by a significant portion of society, and no one protested when they were targeted.

We must therefore learn the necessity to defend the rights of all vulnerable people. We must extrapolate an understanding of Nazi elements existing today in our own society. Persons with quadriplegia and/or Down's Syndrome and people living with AIDS often have "do not resuscitate" marked on their medical charts in hospital. Gays and lesbians, Jews, immigrants, aboriginal peoples, people of African descent and all peoples of colour are seen as an opportune focus by right-wing elements in North America. Ethnic cleansing is occurring in the former Yugoslavia. Blacks in South Africa, Palestinians in Israel, aboriginal peoples in East Timor and Guatemala are subjected to systematized legislated violence. Let us remember that there is never an acceptable target for brutality.

There was resistance to Nazism within Europe. This included acts large and small committed by civilians, as well as resistance in every one of the camps. Some of these

were dramatically effective, such as blowing up one of the crematoria at Auschwitz. Many were small everyday acts of solidarity and humanity. Yet the organized resistance suffered because of political and national splits: the communists and socialists wouldn't work together and most groups wouldn't work with the Jews. Let us remember as we build our movements that, despite our many and



Zivia Lubetkin, a commander.

important differences, we do have a common enemy and that enemy is ever on the march.

When we as Jews state NEVER AGAIN, we must include not only ourselves, but everyone. When we speak of the uprising of the Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto, we must also remember other uprisings against oppression: Soweto, the Intifada, Kahnesatake and Kahnawake, Tienanmen Square, the Philippines, Nicaragua, Burma, Viet Nam, El Salvador. Some were lost, some were victorious and many are happening as we speak. The struggle continues.

To Be a Radical Jew in the Late 20th Century

Melanie Kaye/Kantrowitz

1980. I recognized in Reagan's election that the liberalism I had for years seen as the real danger was being superseded, that the right was gaining power, with all its Jew-hating, racist, sexist, homophobic capitalist thrust. At the same time the anti-Semitism I was encountering in the women's movement and on the left hit me more, not because it was more threatening but because the feminist left was where I needed to be: this added to my sense of isolation as a Jew.

I was also reading analyses of racism and discussions of identity, mostly by Black women, and my proximity to Chicana and Native American cultures allowed me tangible lessons in diversity and in non-mainstream survival. Cultures, people were being defined as Third World or white; where I lived it was Chicana, Indian or Anglo. But none of these categories, none of the descriptive analyses fit me or my culture. I was an English-speaker, my people came from Europe, but we were not Anglo and neither was our culture.

There are many more details, scenes, some I remember and some which still elude me. What is clear to me is this: the more outside of a Jewish ambience I was, the more conscious I became of Jewishness. For me, it was like Marshall McLuhan's perhaps apocryphal remark: I don't know who discovered water, but I'm sure it wasn't a fish. Inside a Jewish environment, where I could take for granted a somewhat shared culture, an expectation about Jewish survival, where my body type and appearance were familiar, my voice ordinary, my laughter not too loud but hearty and normal, above all, normal. . . in this environment, I did not know what it meant to be a Jew, only what it meant to be a *mentsh*. I did not know that *mentsh* was a Jewish word in a Jewish language.

As I lived longer outside Jewish culture, as I became more fully aware of anti-Semitism, internal as well as external, as I understood my own hunger for home, kin, for my people, I was walking further and further along a mostly unconscious, gradual, zig-zag and retrospectively inevitable path.

I. If I am not for myself. . .

There were many of us on distinct but similarly inevitable paths. What happened as Jewish women began raising Jewish issues inside the women's movement?

Even at the beginning, some of the issues we were raising seemed almost mundane, obvious: issues of direct insult, stereotypes, omission, exclusion, indifference, discrimination, assumptions of sameness, passing, invisibility, cultural difference, concern for cultural survival. . . I—and I think many of us—expected that the groundwork on these issues had been laid, that the heroic and tedious labor undertaken by women of color, with some white and Jewish support, to raise everyone's consciousness about racism would carry over somewhat to inform response to Jewish women.

Not that I thought white—or Jewish—women had always been adequate in their commitment to fight racism. Not that I assumed experience and issues for Jewish women and for gentile women of color were the same; nor did I expect identical experience and issues for all women of color, including Jewish women of color. But I did expect some analogy to be apprehended. I expected that the movement would continue building on general principles, as well as differentiate what was unique.

And this did not happen. I saw resistance, overt rejection, ridicule, a willful ignorance. Not from everyone. From some I saw respect, support and desire to extend themselves. From many I saw hypocritical silence masquerading as respect. From some, hostility. And—most often—I saw a bewilderment, an inability to grasp what was being said about anti-Semitism or Jewish identity, an incapacity to recognize why it mattered. And, of course, the too-polite silence, the bewilderment, the hostility intensified my self-consciousness as a Jew.

Examples are not hard to find. The policy statement that doesn't mention opposition to anti-Semitism.³ The many courses that include readings by women from a variety of cultures but, somehow, no Jews. The decision that to have a Jew as keynote speaker is too particular, too specialized.⁴ The 1984 Women & the Law conference, with its theme *Bread and Roses*, which offered, out of nearly 200 workshops, none on Jews or Jewish issues. (Let me honor those Jewish women who ensured that the 1985 conference would have several Jewish workshops and events.)⁵ The flyer for an anti-militarist protest which voiced opposition to misogyny, racism, homophobia, ableism, a number of other -isms, but not anti-Semitism; named a string of identities including "Black, Latina, Asian, Palestinian. . ." but not Jewish.⁶ A flyer soliciting material for a feminist journal on issues such as:

Imperialist Intervention
Racism, Sexism, Heterosexism, Ageism.
Hunger Education Reproductive Rights
Disarmament Health Self-Determination Housing⁷

I guess the ". . ." after "Ageism" is supposed to leave room for the inclusion of anti-Semitism, but the general effect is to make Jews feel invisible, unwelcome, or worse.

Why? Why have the basic points been so hard to get? Why have so many radicals been impermeable to a pro-Jewish analysis and activity? Why are we getting the message that many of our erstwhile political comrades and sisters—including some Jews—think it contradictory to be a radical Jew?

The explanation, as I have tried to track it down, is as tangled as the nature of anti-Semitism; as unconscious, as willfully ignorant as an ordinary American's relationship to the rest of the world; as inadequately grasped and developed as the women's movement understanding of race and class and why the movement should oppose racism and class hierarchy.

Anti-Semitism, Race and Class

I am not one who believes anti-Semitism is inevitable, yet I confess my heart sinks when I consider how resilient this hatred is: Jew as anti-Christ, embodying materialism, money, Shylock's pound of flesh; Marx's analysis of the Jew as irrelevant parasite; shameful victims, who went like sheep to the slaughter; the UN General Assembly's proclamations on Zionism; killer Israelis.

Nor does Jewish oppression fit into previously established analyses. If capitalism is your primary contradiction, the Jewish people is not a class category. If racism, many Jews have light skin, pass as gentile if they wish. If sexism, why should Jewish women identify with Jewish men? If Jewish is an ethnicity, a peoplehood, why don't you live in Israel, or call yourself Israeli? If it's a religion, how are you Jewish if you don't observe?

But not only does Jewish oppression elude conventional categories, Jewish stereotypes prove that anti-Semitism does not exist. Jews are rich, powerful, privileged, control the media, the schools, the business world, international banking: the Zionist conspiracy rides again. How could such powerhouses ever be in trouble? These stereotypes, I've realized, prevent recognition of how we are threatened or demeaned as Jews.

By speaking about anti-Semitism, Jewish women unsettle an unspoken equation in the radical women's movement: in a society like ours, deeply racist and absurdly pretending to classlessness, class comes to be seen as identical to race. People of color are considered the same as working and poor people. Other aspects of racism—cultural erasure, assimilation, self-hate, just to name a few—are simply not heeded, nor are—god forbid—strengths of ethnic or racial minorities acknowledged unless—in a wash of white self-hate—people of color are romanticized as stronger, more authentic, somehow better than whites; but better because they are seen as such victims that mere survival is a miracle.

Meanwhile, these same analyses which ignore class as an independent category, related to but separate from race, ignore the variety of class experience and location of Jews: Jews, you remember, are all rich or at least middle class. Why, then, are we complaining?

Such a non-analysis not only belies the experience of middle-class people of color—the upper middle-class Black families,* for example, whose L.A. neighborhood was firebombed in June, 1985; the middle-class Japanese home-land-and-business-owners on the West Coast who had everything confiscated and were imprisoned in camps during the second World War. This perspective also erases the existence of Jews of color and working-class Jews, and the entire white poor and working class; a very substantial group of women.

Related to this unspoken equation: analyses of racism—both on the left and in the feminist movement—have been spearheaded by Black people, and to some extent the experience of Black people in the US provides the model by which we understand racism. And despite the existence and even growth of a Black middle class, the continued grinding poverty of most Black people in this country also suggests an equation of race and class.

And it's true: most immigrant groups have moved up the class ladder, at least to lower middle class or trade union status (which—for men—means pretty good pay), usually pushed up in what has been called "the queuing effect" by a newer group of immigrants against whom prejudice is fresher and stronger.⁸ But American Blacks, in their forced passage to this country, in the destruction of many elements of African

culture by slavery, in their confrontation with classic American racism against the darkest skin, and in the exploitation of this racism by capitalists to "explain" inequality, have been painfully excluded from the process of queuing. This is evident from the progress of Puerto Ricans and Koreans in NYC, for example, or Cubans in Miami; though more recently arrived than Blacks, these groups have, in effect, cut in ahead of Blacks economically.

But there's another kind of distortion. I have lived outside of NYC for half my 40 years now, and have come to think that the usual explanations of racism and anti-Semitism focus unduly on New York, a focus which has everything to do with location of media and ambitious intellectuals, not to mention a huge Jewish and a huge Black community, each deeply rooted in the city, each a cultural center for their people. And these two communities have often, in the past 20 years, been at odds, not utterly, but noticeably: on community control of schools, in the struggle for the city's limited resources, on affirmative action and quotas. . . . And the contrast—between a visible relatively secure Jewish community, mostly (except for the old) employed, and a continuing impoverished Black community with an unequal share of the city's resources, unequally protected and unequally harassed by the police, with an astronomical rate of unemployment among Black teenage males and not much prospect of improvement—the contrast has got to seem stark.

It is this sense of contrast that is drawn upon again and again in people's discussion of anti-Semitism as opposed to racism. But when I look more closely at places other than New York—at Boston, where working class Italians and Blacks have been at odds over school busing; at Detroit, where Iraqi small merchants and Blacks have had racial tension reminiscent of the "Jewish shopkeeper in Harlem"; at northern New Mexico where Chicana/o and Native American communities may have differences, and where Anglos moving to the area are wrestling political control from the Chicanas/os; at Miami, where non-Spanish speakers may resent the bilingualism requirement for civil service jobs dealing with the public—my grasp of the complexities of race, Jewishness, ethnicity, class, and culture is greatly enhanced. Instead of being characterized by polarization, in which anti-Semitism is treated as a phenomenon different in nature from racism, anti-Semitism can be clearly seen as a form of racism.

The World According to America

There are other factors blocking recognition of the weight of anti-Semitism on Jews. Jewish experience in the US, isolated from the experience of Jews around the world, seems fairly rosy. But Jews are an international people, and the nature of Jewish identity, oppression, fear and danger derive from and connect to experiences outside this country.

From this vantage point, Jews seem ridiculous when we talk about Jewish danger. We are up against a failure of Americans to take seriously the pitch Jewhating attained so quickly in Europe in the thirties, for example, because Americans think Europe and the thirties so far away. They know about evil Germans, sheeplike Jews, and heroic Americans, but are not taught to see the war against the Jews as a culmination to centuries of Jewhating. Americans are told lies about the base of Nazism, so that we imagine Jewhating goes with a lack of education: working-class people are—as with white racism in this country—blamed. We are not told of the doctors and doctorates trained in Europe's finest universities. For most Americans the Holocaust blurs safely, almost pleasantly, with other terrible events of the past, like Bubonic Plague in the Middle Ages.

Nor have most Americans paid much attention to the persecution of Jews in the Soviet Union, or Argentina, or Ethiopia, unless an ideological point is to be scored against these nations. As for the fact that Jews are not in danger in some communities around the world because Jews have been exiled or violently excised from those communities—this is not recognized as a legitimate source of grief and suspicion for Jews to reckon with, a loss—of our people, our culture. Women in the feminist movement, not necessarily educated on these issues, respond pretty much like other Americans.

The Scarcity Assumption

Then, too, an assumption deeply integral to capitalism has been absorbed by all of us, since it is reflected in so much of what we see. I have called this the Scarcity Theory,⁸ not enough to go around: not enough love, not enough time, not enough appointments at the foodstamps office, not enough food stamps, not enough money, not enough seats on the subway. It's pervasive. We learn mistrust of each other, bone deep: everything is skin off somebody's nose.

Few of us have learned to trust our own rhetoric, that people will fight harder as they also fight for themselves. So when Jews begin talking about anti-Semitism, it's only "natural" that even the left, which should welcome a people's coming to consciousness, responds as if we're asking for handouts—and whose pocket will they come out of? Ignoring how much political energy can be generated as groups develop a cohesive identity and analysis, the left accuses Jews of draining the movement, of competing for status as victims, of ignoring advantages and options open to us.

Identity politics of all kinds do contain an inherent potential not only for victim-competition but for splintering movements into 1000 groups whose members at last feel sufficiently the same: comfy but not a powerful resource.¹⁰ But while the focus of some Jewish women on identity as a source of personal discovery and support is hardly unique, criticism of identity politics has been aimed disproportionately at Jews, sometimes by Jews. I'll put this another way: anti-Semitism has sometimes masqueraded as a disdain for identity politics.¹¹

II. Jewish Diversity, Assimilation and Identity

To observant Jews, a persistent reluctance by others to take Jewish holidays, *shabes*, dietary customs into account means that they—observant Jews—are not welcome;¹² to others, ignoring these traditions embodies anti-patriarchal struggle. Some Jews are passionately attached to Yiddish culture and want to preserve this; others feel alienated by a Yiddish emphasis: they grew up with Ladino or Arabic, and resent the assumption that Jewish means Ashkenazi roots; some share the rejection of much of the New Left for European anything, and, seeing the future in the Third World and only a moribund or embarrassing past in the remnants of European Jewry, feel no desire to preserve Ashkenazi culture. (Though one might question this last position as self-hating, the people who feel this way do not perceive what they hate as their selves.)

Some Jews identify deeply with other Jews; others identify only with white middle-class privilege; some consider themselves people of color. Some invalidate, trivialize or otherwise deny Jewish experience, oppression, and values, say "I'm a Jew" only as a label or a credential, not a perspective. With the diversity of our experience unarticulated in a way that supports all of it, even Jews tend to perceive the needs, complaints, experience of other Jews as extreme, atypical, threatening, not really or not necessarily Jewish.¹³ Given this lack of agreement about even such basics as the nature of Jewish experience and identity, the parameters of anti-Semitism, how are Jews supposed to work politically as Jews?

These questions need to be answered by Jews talking with one another, developing political and emotional clarity and cohesion. And this requires Jewish space in which to piece together a deeply felt Jewish identity and perspective inch by inch from the various threads of tradition, literature, ritual, religion, culture, values, politics, language. Some of us will spend our lives building Jewish identity; others will draw on this work as a strong foundation from which to live our politics. Particularly for those of us who are not religiously observant, much confusion attends our grasping — through anti-Semitism and often prodded by anti-Semitism — for something beyond common danger. We need to figure out how to undo assimilation without being nostalgic or xenophobic: how to reach in and out at the same time.

III. Guilt vs. Solidarity

Most feminist theory on identity was developed by women of color and focused on fighting racism.¹⁴ I have come to think that had white women fully grasped the nature of this fight and *their own reasons for joining it*, they would now be grasping what Jewish women are trying to do. For the suspicion which greets a developing Jewish identity—from some Jews as well as gentiles—is only partly explained by anti-Semitism (the sense that Jewish identity *in particular* has no value) and by scarcity (the fear that focus on Jews will detract from other pressing issues). The way Jews have been met with "not you too," the way anti-Semitism becomes the one issue too many, suggest that many white women are angry and resistant to dealing with racism but are too frightened to express that anger openly;¹⁷ suggest further how little our movement has taught us to see struggles against racism as life-giving, nourishing; as our own.

But guilt itself, as a motivating factor, is rooted in a way of thinking which does not promote change. Guilt asks: am I bad or am I good? guilty or innocent? racist or not? Very different from asking "is this a racist act?" which allows me not to commit it, or to do the work that ensures I never commit it again. For in order to change you have to be willing to expose yourself—at least to yourself—and observe and examine and understand. This takes time, patience, and a respect for process. Guilt prompts a longing to purge all impure impulses quickly, get it over and done with once and for all.

Impulses which seem impure are not examined or transformed; they are stifled while you keep busy trying to act as though you have the right impulses.

We've all seen white women act like corpses around women of color, so afraid of doing the wrong thing: meaning, anything natural, treating a person like a person. For guilt is a freeze emotion: you can't think, you can't feel, you can only knee jerk. This is the infantilizing function of guilt: you lose faith in your own responses because the risk of their being wrong is more than you can handle.

In addition to militating against real change, guilt exercises an uneasy influence over the real difference in resources and options which women may enjoy, leading to downward mobility, pretending to have less, gleefully selecting the most oppressed possible identity: *office worker, not daughter of a lawyer and dropout from a prestigious college most office workers never get near (as students).*

And why does someone embrace an identity of oppression? Because it's groovy? The insult of this must be apparent. Because she feels guilty about what she's got? Are money, power, privilege worthless resources to ignore, bury, pretend away? The insult of this ought to be apparent too.

And besides: behind the guilt, the desire to belong, be one with the people, etc., the resources remain, quietly drawn on or untouched by anyone, but ready to be picked up and used at some future date. So guilt helps people hoard what they've got, because they never come to terms with how to use resources productively.

The thing is: anyone who really wants to hoard her money, power and privilege sooner or later will. She can be targeted for guilt trips—to let go of some of what she wishes no one knew she had—but beneath the guilt had better be fear: fear of exposure, fear of conflict, so she'll stay in line and act right. And how does any sane person react after a while to fear, guilt? Is this a way to build a movement?

Nor can guilt mobilize those who don't feel guilty. Try telling a white working-class woman, for example, to fight racism because of how privileged she is. She may think racism is wrong and may be committed to fight it; she may also think that movement analyses of racism are ridiculous because she is not living the easy life her white skin is supposed to guarantee her. Whatever privilege she may have, she clings to—things are tough—but she hardly feels guilty. Only recognition of a common goal, the possibilities and—I want to say—the joys of solidarity will inspire women who don't feel guilty to join another struggle as their own.

Solidarity: How To Build a Movement

Solidarity requires the bonding together of a people engaged in common struggle. But solidarity also means standing alongside another struggle, not because you feel guilty but because you recognize it as your own; it means using what you have on behalf of the struggle.

Angela Davis notes, for example, Prudence Crandall, a white woman who risked her life in defense of education for Black girls.¹⁹ Or the strategy suggested by Maria Chapman Weston, a white leader of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society; when a white pro-slavery mob burst into a meeting chaired by Weston, she realized that the mob sought to isolate and perhaps violently attack the Black women in attendance, and thus insisted that each white woman leave the building with a Black woman at her side.²⁰ Or, at the world anti-slavery convention in London, at which the notorious decision was made to bar women from the floor, there were a few men who refused to join the floor but stood with the women in the gallery, silent. Among them was the Black abolitionist Charles Remond, and the white abolitionists William Lloyd Garrison and Nathaniel Rogers.²¹ Black leader Frederick A. Douglass, too, at least initially supported the then-radical demand of women's suffrage and used his male privilege on behalf of the emerging women's rights movement.²² Or, the women workers in the stockyards (mostly Irish and Poles) and in the garment industry (mostly Jews and Italians) who deliberately—and contrary to the practice of the AFL and most of their peers—sought to include and organize with Black women.²³ Or the Women's Trade Union League, upper middle-class college-educated white suffragists who worked in support of immigrant women's unions.²⁴ Or the Black and white college students—including many Jews—who went south to challenge segregation.

All these actions are examples of informed coalition work. None is a passive giving something up; they are all an aggressive wrapping of two peoples in a cloak only one has. These are acts which build trust between peoples.

IV. Some Strategies for Action

As we come into our Jewish identity, we feel somehow that to be justified in asserting it, in opposing anti-Semitism, we must be innocent victims, trying to make our oppression palpable to those who don't understand it. My beginning search for Jewish identity focused on the Holocaust and on the immigrant experience only partly because such a search must. So did a number of poems we received for this anthology—not because of direct knowledge, but for some other reason. The only other subjects which appeared in such profusion were "grandmothers" and the "Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire."

We need our history/herstory, and these are our handles, what we know. These are also all images of greater persecution than most American Jews are subject to today. As Jews, afraid of the myth of Jewish power; as (white?) feminists, guilty about our skin privilege, we are so hungry for innocence that images of oppression come almost as a relief. Innocence, even suffering, seems the only alternative to guilt.

But innocence has its price: while it relieves us of responsibility, it also denies us our strength. The assumption is: since we have been victims, we cannot ever be anything else. Witness Begin, invoking the Holocaust to justify the invasion of Lebanon. *How could Jews be oppressive after all we've suffered?* From this perspective, class hostility, for example, has no basis in class distinctions but is only a front for Jewhating. We have to recognize that Jews are relatively well-off economically compared with most people of color in this country, as with the rural white poor; and that Jews endure about the same level of poverty as other ethnic groups who immigrated around the same time. Our job is to untangle class hostility from anti-Semitism, not to pretend the Jewish people still works in the sweatshop.

How this need for innocence translates politically is a disaster. The attitude that claims we—of any group—are essentially victims and so can't be charged with our behavior is destructive to all of us. If we can't do anything wrong, the fact is we can't do *anything* at all — and how in that state of powerlessness are we to build a vast movement sufficient to transform the exceedingly powerful state we live in? Defensive, protective of that dubious privilege of having our suffering acknowledged, we are at something of a standstill. Can't we look at each other and begin to see what we might build? Can't we extend towards each other so that we can draw on each other's strengths, learn to trust that we can use our power in positive ways?

Working Alone/Working Together

True coalition is not a smattering of tokens. True coalition forms between groups; the premise is that each group has a strong base in a larger community. Thus Jews who want to work in coalition need not only to know who we are but to be bonded with other Jews.

Those of us who choose to work in coalitions can assert that identity and consciousness to others. I know many Jewish women, myself among them, have participated in anti-racist, anti-apartheid, anti-intervention work, but not visibly as Jews. It is time we became visible as Jews, as some are doing.

Yet we need at the same time strategies for combatting anti-Semitism, for Jewish visibility fans the coals of indifference and passive contempt. An individual visible as a Jew simply attracts, like a magnet, all available anti-Jewish prejudice, or gets written off as an exception. And sometimes we even need strategies to ensure visibility. A Jew who travelled to Nicaragua recently tells of her attempts to be visible as a Jew to the Nicaraguan Press, attempts frustrated by her travel group's leader, whose job it was to inform the press about the group members and who kept "forgetting" to mention the Jewish member. Just as women, as lesbians, need our own groups—for support and as bases for coalitions, a Jewish group travelling to Nicaragua might have had the desired impact, built Jewish pride and Jewish-Nicaraguan solidarity. To reach in and out at the same time.

Fears

But there are fears. Mine are that non-Jews won't care about working with us. Who are we that they should bother? Our numbers so small, we are so disposable, a liability almost; dislike of us a point of unity among everyone else. And as women, as lesbians, as underemployed professionals or workers at traditional women's jobs, most of us

don't even have money to contribute. Sometimes I am simply afraid that radical Jews are on the wrong side of history, trapped between self-respect, love for our people and culture and what we, politically, ideologically would support were it not tangled with Jewhating. I know I am not the only radical Jew whose stomach ties in knots reading the radical press or attending a rally.

James Baldwin, in 1967, wrote: "A genuinely candid confrontation between Negroes and American Jews would certainly prove of inestimable value. But the aspirations of the country are wretchedly middle-class and the middle class can never afford candor."¹¹ A genuinely candid confrontation amongst all of us—a genuinely specific and candid confrontation — is much needed; and Baldwin is precise, as ever, in indicating that we must be prepared to go further than liberal acceptance, further than maneuvering for our own (larger) slice of the pie. The theme re-emerges: we must want equality, and we must grasp that equality does not coexist with class structure.

As a feminist and a Jew, I am asking women of color not to abandon us as we assert our Jewishness, not to hear this assertion as a lowered vigilance against racism.

And I am asking Jews not to withdraw into self-righteousness, not to insist that gentiles understand everything immediately, yesterday. We are not without dignity if we explain our issues. I am also asking Jews not to be so afraid of being trapped with other Jews—including, perhaps, some whose politics or attitudes offend us—that we forget that people can change, including our own people; including ourselves.

If we could start working together *before* we trust, understand, or like each other, we might learn to. Black activist and performer Bernice Reagon says we are stumbling because we have to take the next step.¹² We have gotten entirely too theoretical about these issues, expecting that with words, with ideas, we can work it all out in advance. Perhaps we need to engage, even in uncertainty, and work out issues as they arise. Maulana Karenga, a theorist for the Black movement, has pointed out that a coalition on a specific issue does not create reliable allies: he is critical of what he calls the reliance of middle-class Black movement leaders on alliances with Jews.¹³

But the positive side to Karenga's depressing analysis is that you don't need to be reliable allies to form a coalition. Having formed one, it may be possible to overcome mistrust and establish a larger common ground. It is impossible to do this without some concrete basis of unity, and focusing on the task at hand can help reveal commonality.

The problem is not a lack of common issues, not a lack of desperate need. The problem for us, as Jews, is that we are often afraid, afraid to gather with other Jews, afraid to be visibly Jewish, afraid—too often with reason—to know the extent of anti-Semitism in our comrades, neighbors, co-workers, friends. We are afraid of being or of seeming racist; afraid of our own ignorance of Jewish culture and tradition.

And because, as radicals, we have been taught to see dignity in resistance, in the struggle against oppression, we must remember not to idealize oppression, but to respect the struggles Jews have waged on behalf of their children, who are, sometimes, us. We must remember: what is beautiful is the resistance, and that people can—and must—resist from their own authentic place in the world.

Newton's Law

Historic Black Panther letter tries for coalition with black lesbians and gay men

By Alycee J. Lane

“We want the right of self-determination for all third world and gay people, as well as control of the destinies of our own communities.”

This demand was the first of 12 published anonymously in the Nov. 13-20, 1970 issue of the underground newspaper *The Berkeley Tribe*. Under the title “Third World Gay Revolution: What We Want,” the demands, which in substance comprised a Third World Gay manifesto¹, were almost an exact duplicate of those in the Black Panther Party’s Ten-Point Platform and Program. Some of them, in fact, deviated from the Party’s demands only when such words as “black community” were substituted with “third world and gay people.”

HISTORY

The authors of “Third World Gay Revolution” were not the only group to model their manifesto after the Panther Platform. So also did the Young Lords, a revolutionary Puerto Rican liberation party, as well as several Black Student Unions across the country. Yet, the authors were not simply using the Panther Platform for a mere model. The authors were, more importantly, signifying on their *exclusion* from the dialogue that was occurring between the Black Panther Party (BPP) and the whites involved in the lesbian and gay liberation movement. This dialogue was opened by Huey Newton himself—co-founder and Minister of Defense of the BPP—who, on Aug. 15, 1970 published in the Party’s newspaper *The Black Panther* an open letter “to the revolutionary brothers and sisters about the women’s liberation and gay liberation movements.” In this letter, Newton called for Panther support of and coalition with these struggles.

Both Newton’s letter and the responses it received from many white lesbian and gay liberationists were marked by a complete lack of awareness regarding the fact that Third World lesbians and gay men not only *existed*, but also that they comprised an essential link between the Third World and the lesbian and gay liberation movements. Because this connection was not recognized, the attempts at coalition were shaky, at best. The authors of the manifesto, then, ultimately provided the missing link by outlining their specific struggle and its connection to—as well as differences with—both liberation movements.

THE NEWTON LETTER. The historical significance of Huey Newton’s letter should not be underestimated. It was the first time any non-gay black organization—whether mainstream, like the NAACP, or radical, like Ron Karenga’s US—recognized the oppression of homophobia; connected that oppression to the plight of black people; and attempted—based on that connection—to build coalitions openly with

lesbians and gay men. The community context out of which Newton wrote the letter further underscores its significance: not only were several black nationalists loudly proclaiming that homosexuality was a white man’s disease and that its manifestation within black communities was a result of white colonial rule, but Newton’s own Minister of Information and Chairman—Eldridge Cleaver and Bobby Seale, respectively—had themselves often freely expressed their homophobia. In *Soul On Ice*, Cleaver connected homosexuality with capitalism and spiritual decadence; in *Seize the Time*, Seale simply concurred with Cleaver’s assumptions. Apparently signifying on both officers, Newton wrote, “some people say that [homosexuality is a result of] the decadence of capitalism. I don’t know whether this is the case; I rather doubt it. But whatever the case is, we know that homosexuality is a fact that exists, and we must understand it in its purest form: That is, a person should have freedom to use his body in whatever way he wants to.” Considering the context, Newton took a serious risk; he could have experienced substantial fall-out from black communities and from his own ranks as well.²

The letter is not without its problems, however. Not only is it riddled with Newton’s own homophobia (which he acknowledges throughout), but its tone is sexist. While supposedly addressing both “brothers” and “sisters,” Newton easily fell into a dialogue with brothers only. For instance, Newton wrote, “we should be willing to discuss the insecurities that many people have about homosexuality. When I say ‘insecurities,’ I mean the fear that they’re some kind of threat to our *manhood*” (my emphasis). Also, his primary focus was on *male* homosexuals; he referred only briefly to lesbians, and didn’t even broach the fears “sisters” may have had regarding homosexuality.

The distance with which Newton discussed gay liberation suggests that he was unable to recognize or grapple with the existence of black lesbians and gay men. As a result, the letter reveals his “them” versus “us” position:

We must always handle social forces in the most appropriate manner. And this is really a significant part of the population both women, and the growing number of homosexuals that we have to deal with (my emphasis).

Newton’s “we” is empty of lesbians and gay men. Our inclusion would have, I think, required a totally different kind of letter from Newton, one grounded very much in home territory; meaning, he would have needed to address the fact that homosexuals were a “significant part” of the black population. The “them-us” dichotomy is emphasized further by the picture accompanying the letter, which shows white lesbians and gay men walking a picket line.

Finally, Newton assumed that lesbians and gay men were not within the ranks of the Panthers themselves. One has to wonder what his conceptualization of coalition would have been had he made this assumption. I think it is safe to claim that Newton was specifically addressing white lesbians and

gay men who were, undoubtedly, much more visible in the liberation movement.

NEWTON'S LETTER: THE RECEPTION. The publication of Newton's letter was met with silence in black newspapers and magazines. Though the Panthers were at their peak in popularity (an April 13, 1970 public opinion poll of black communities revealed that 62 percent of those polled expressed great admiration for the Party and their programs) and were the subject of much debate regarding their activities, ideology, and coalitions, the letter nevertheless did not receive any attention.

The lesbian and gay underground press responded much differently. Many chose to simply reprint the letter, without any accompanying editorial. Others, however, used the opportunity to either distance the lesbian and gay liberation movement from the black liberation movement or used the opportunity to affirm—while simultaneously qualifying—connections between the struggles. In the *Advocate*, for example, under the title "Sorry, Huey" (Oct. 14-27, 1970), the editors wrote that "we suspect that your newfound friendliness is not so much for our own good as it is to strengthen your own group through alliances—no matter that these alliances may be very distasteful to your followers (ask Eldridge Cleaver)." Compelled to clearly delineate the position of white gay men (which, to me, is implicit in the very language of the statement), the editors further asserted that the "overwhelming majority of gays, we believe, do not want to destroy this nation and replace it with—well, what are you going to replace it with?"

The Great Speckled Bird (Oct. 4, 1970), on the other hand, reprinted the letter with a response from Jerry Dreva of the Milwaukee Gay Liberation Front in support of the Panther's "first step." The Dreva letter was also an attempt to clear up Newton's "lack of deep understanding of the Gay Liberation Movement," for Dreva outlined specifically the public (as well as Newton's) misperceptions of homosexuality and also the particular oppression homosexuals face.

THE COALITION. Women's and gay liberation groups were hopeful that the new alliance would work, and the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention (Nov. 1970)—called by the Panthers—was to become its testing ground.

The Convention itself was planned as a gathering of revolutionaries from around the country to create an alternative to the U.S. Constitution, an alternative which would, according to Newton, "guarantee that within the socialist framework all groups will be adequately represented in the decision-making and administration which affects their lives." At the plenary session held on Sept. 5, 1970, gay and feminist groups participated in large numbers. Yet, the enthusiasm that they brought to the session was quickly marred by their realization that the Panthers, in fact, had not changed their attitudes toward women in general and lesbians and gay men in particular. The experiences of the New York Radical Lesbians is a case in point. Comprised of white women, the group in an open letter published in *The Berkeley Tribe* (Oct. 30-Nov. 6, 1970) detailed the roadblocks Panther men and women erected to prevent them from not only meeting in workshop sessions but from including their specific needs within the People's Constitution. They wrote, "speaking from our guts, from the depth of our oppression, we say that the Black Panthers are sexist; that the Black Panther Party, supposedly our brothers in revolution, oppresses us in a doubly painful thing. But we will take no one's shit." The

N.Y. Radical Lesbians' open letter inspired other women also share their negative experiences and, as a result, on hopeful organizations immediately withdrew their support of the Panthers. Angela Douglas of the Transvestite-Transsexual Action Organization in Tallahassee, Fla., for example, wrote to the *Advocate* that "as a result of the refusal of the Black Panther Party to accept the demands of gay women, withdraw all support previously given to the Black Panther Party and declare myself to be an enemy of the Black Panther Party" (Nov. 11-24, 1970). The Gay Liberation Front (GLF), however, maintained—but cautiously—its alliance with the Panthers.

Just as Newton failed to address the existence of black lesbians and gay men or, more broadly, lesbians and gay men of the Third World, so also did white gay liberationists. As a result, each side maintained a homogeneous vision of the respective movements—black liberation was distinctly heterosexual; gay liberation was distinctly white. Neither challenged each other's vision. In the absence of this challenge, the Panthers easily dismissed many lesbian and gay concerns, and whites themselves—whose expectations of an immediate change in Panther sexist and homophobic attitudes was, at best, unrealistic (only the GLF recognized Newton's letter as a "first step")—could confidently assert that the Panthers were not at all sincere.

"Unless Huey P. Newton does more than make self-serving statements about the oppression of gay people and women," Angela Douglas wrote the *Advocate*, "your editorial ['Sorry, Huey'] must be recognized as completely correct as valid."

Neither side realized, ultimately, that the coalition was indeed dependent upon the recognition of black lesbians and gay men, whose investment in black and gay liberation connected the struggles and posed a challenge to the hegemonic assumptions of both movements. Yet, the burden of responsibility also fell on other shoulders. Black, or more generally Third World lesbians and gay men were strangely silent: the dialogue and attempts at coalition faded. Finally, two months following the Plenary Session and one week prior to the Constitutional Convention itself, they broke their silence but by this time, the Panthers had already experienced fallout from various gay and women's groups, and the fragile coalition was rapidly deteriorating.

THIRD WORLD GAY REVOLUTION. The publication of the Third World Gay Revolution manifesto was, in spite of its late arrival, an important and powerful entry into the Panther-gay liberation dialogue. And while the authors detailed the particular oppression, demands and beliefs of Third World lesbians, they simultaneously signified on the Panthers and white gay liberationists—"read" them, so speak, for their narrow focus and agenda.

In the accompanying preface, for instance, the authors addressed the manifesto to "the sisters and brothers of the Third World, you who call yourselves revolutionaries clearly mimicking the address of Newton's letter, itself written to 'revolutionary brothers and sisters.'" Through this gesture, they were questioning that revolutionary status, and quickly pointed out that "male supremacy" and homophobia continued to be embraced by Third World liberation groups. The authors concluded the preface with a charge that defined the relationship between these groups and Third World gay and lesbians, one which ultimately positioned the liberation groups as counterrevolutionary:

By the actions you have taken against your gay brothers and sisters of the Third World, you...have now placed yourself in the role of oppressor.

As was mentioned previously, the authors also modeled their manifesto after the BPP Platform and Program, and did so in a way that broadened the Platform's scope. Not only were the issues of gays and lesbians added, but other People of Color were incorporated as well through the use of the term "Third World." And, specific demands calling for women's liberation and an end to sexism were crucial aspects of this new manifesto. Such additions signaled to the Panthers that if they were going to embrace women's and gay liberation, then they needed to reflect this not only in their rhetoric but in their organizational structure as well.

Yet, there was a flip-side to reframing the Panther Platform. The maneuver signaled—or should have signaled—to white lesbians and gays that those of the Third World were completely invested in the struggles of their communities, and invested in the very issues that the Panthers were raising. This is evident by the fact that, fundamentally, none of the Panther demands were eliminated. If anything, they were modified to reflect a Third World gay and lesbian perspective. Thus, any easy dismissal of the Panthers was not only a cop-out from the hard work of coalition, but it was, more significantly, an indication of the racial hegemony that many white gays and lesbians wished to maintain. That wish, as I pointed out, was clearly spoken in the *Advocate* editorial "Sorry, Huey." The editors just could not imagine the society the Panthers called for—one where blacks could be free from police brutality, be fully employed, adequately housed, etc. Such imaginings required a different perception of power between whites and People of Color, and, frankly, many white gay liberationists were not interested at all in changing the status quo.

The most important aspect of the Third World Gay manifesto, however, was not the fact that it signified, but instead that it was the articulation of a distinct movement. In other words, it was a call to Third World lesbians and gays to begin their own organizing around the issues of racism, sexism, classism, and homophobia.

Unlike the BPP Platform, the Gay manifesto located the self and the home as places of radical transformation:

We want the right of self-determination over the use of our bodies....

We want full protection of law and social sanction for all modes of human sexual self-expression....

We want the abolition of the nuclear bourgeois family....

Though the Panthers expressed at the plenary session of the Constitutional Convention that these represented "bourgeois concerns" (white gays and lesbians brought up similar demands), the authors of the manifesto on the contrary felt that the home was the place where societal ills were perpetually reinforced. Regarding the "nuclear bourgeois family," for instance, the authors charged that "it perpetuates the false categories of homosexuality by creating sex roles and sex definitions. The nuclear family propagates capitalism. The woman is an instrument of production." The self and the family, in other words, were very powerful instruments of oppression, and if they were not transformed, then society itself could not be revolutionized.

The authors also confronted the church. Though not going so far as to call for an abolition of spiritual/religious belief, they did, however, call for "an end to all organized religions." Without in-depth elaboration, the writers simply claimed that organized religions "aid in the genocide of third world and gay people by teaching hatred and superstition."

Implicit in these demands is the belief that heterosexuals are themselves oppressed by the very system they wish to maintain; that a call for a "Third World Gay Revolution" is more than freeing lesbian and gay men from heterosexist oppression. The call is for a reconceptualization of human relations—one not predicated on capitalism, which "promotes the

domination of one person by another," but on "a new society—a socialist society" where "we are able to determine our own destinies." As long as both heterosexuals and homosexuals remain invested in capitalism, the authors were saying, then oppression would continue.

By publishing the Third World Gay Revolution manifesto two weeks prior to the Constitutional Convention, the authors were no doubt providing their vision of the "socialist framework" that Newton was determined to create. And their vision necessarily demanded that the Panthers and white lesbians and gay men attend to their own limitation, and narrow focus, and begin the work of true coalition building.

"WHERE ARE THE GAY BLACK PANTHERS?" The manifesto, unfortunately, was not enough to strengthen the Panther-gay liberation alliance. Though the BPP and gay organizations would continue to work together on a number of issues—including Bobby Seale's 1973 Oakland mayoral campaign—their coalition would always be fraught with tension and distrust.

Perhaps, finally, what was needed was an answer to the one crucial question posed by the editors of the gay newspaper, *Gay Sunshine*, a question no one thought to ask as the coalitions were being forged: Where are the gay black panthers?

Where were they indeed?

For while the authors of the manifesto boldly insisted upon the connections between both movements, they certainly could have used the added strength of the lesbian and gay panthers themselves in order to insure that the alliance would hold. Nevertheless, the manifesto's publication was a beginning, a breaking of silence and an important phase in black lesbian and gay history.

NOTES

1. In keeping with the spirit of the manifesto, I have used "Third World" throughout the essay, even though I find the term problematic.

2. In fact, the risk was potentially disastrous in light of the FBI's agenda to destroy the party. Accord to Daniel Tsang, a social sciences researcher, the FBI used the open letter as an opportunity to discredit Newton's leadership. The FBI wrote bogus letters purporting to be from party members saying, "I have seen by last weeks paper that now Panthers are supposed to relate to cocksuckers. Huey is wrong. Something must have happened to him in prison. Panthers got enough things to do in 10 point program and fighting for niggers without taking up with mother fucking queers. All power to the people." Considering the FBI's tactics, it is not farfetched to assume that it probably worked to undermine more directly the Panther-gay liberation alliance.

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WHY LESBIANS AND GAY MEN ARE TARGETED

Several historical factors make gay men and lesbians targets for attack. The first is the relative newness of the gay/lesbian liberation movement in the U.S. "Gay subcultures have been historically rare and fragmented," Peter Druker wrote in an article in *Shimate* (Summer 1987).

Historian John D'Emilio argues that this isolation was broken in the United States by World War II, which brought gay men and lesbians out of the isolation of small towns and into contact with one another during and after the war—an identity-forming process heightened by military purges of people who admitted to homosexual feelings. After the war, gay and lesbian populations began to gather in larger cities such as San Francisco and New York.

By the 1960s gay and lesbian movements had emerged. Energized by both the civil rights movement and feminism, gay men and lesbians developed the political consciousness to see homosexuality not as a disease or sin but as an oppression. The 1969 Stonewall Riots in New York City, in which "queens" fought back against police raids of gay social bars (one of the few places gay people were allowed to congregate publicly), brought to fruition a movement in gestation for two decades.

Twenty years, in terms of political movements, is a relatively short time. In that time, lesbians and gay men have accomplished a great deal. More than a half-million people marched on Washington for lesbian and gay rights in 1987. Much of the violence aimed at the community, in fact, is reaction to this heightened visibility and presence. On the other hand, twenty years has not been long enough for many individuals and groups to develop a unified or accepting perspective on questions of sexual identity. When the Far Right raises these questions,

it can often operate in a field of confusion because opposing reactions have been slow to solidify.

In groundbreaking studies of sexuality in the 1940s and 1950s at Indiana University's Institute for Sex Research, Dr. Alfred Kinsey and Dr. Paul Gebhard found that about 10 percent of the population has had "significant homosexual experience." Because homosexuality appears randomly across the population, anybody—or anybody's children—could possibly "be one," so the fear of homosexuality affects a much wider audience than the actual presence of gay men and lesbians and provides a convenient lever for the politics of fear.

Invisibility is another isolating factor. Many of those who identify themselves as gay men or lesbians do not figure out that they are homosexual until their twenties—many much later than that. Gay men and lesbians cannot rely on kinship ties or community institutions such as churches or synagogues for self-identification or support or strategies for survival. In fact, family and religious institutions often deal gay people the cruelest rejections and thus inhibit identification as a "class."

Finally, sodomy statutes in half the states, their power reaffirmed by *Hardwick v. Bowers* (1986), heighten the risks of gay/lesbian organizing. These laws are to the gay and lesbian community what segregation laws were to Southern blacks.

These historical factors help explain the calculated targeting of the gay/lesbian community and of homosexuality as an issue by all elements of the Right.

Of course, racism and homophobia do not manifest themselves in the same way in society, but there are important parallels to note between anti-gay violence and racist violence.

First, both lynching and anti-gay attacks are part of the dominant culture's attempts to maintain social control. The brutal history of lynching shows that the black community has suffered from a deadly combination of sexism and racism—"sexualized racism," in the words of the Rev. C.T. Vivian, chairman of the Center for Democratic Renewal. Brutal sexual assaults accompanied many lynchings of black men and women. Rape of black women by white men was institutionalized during and after slavery. These were terrorist measures to keep black people "in their place." Today, violent assaults against gay men and lesbians are caused by fear of gay/lesbian sexuality and an attempt to

keep homosexuals "in their place."

Second, people of color and gay people are often targeted by the same enemies, sometimes the very same individuals. For example, in the case of the Shelby, North Carolina, murders, the White Patriot Party for several years had attempted to terrorize the family of Bobby Person, a black prison guard, in another part of the state, before turning its ire towards perceived homosexuals. Likewise, according to Associated Press reports, the Klan killers of Michael Donald, a young black man lynched in Mobile, Alabama, in 1981, testified that earlier they had kidnapped and beaten a gay man. They said both Donald and the gay victim had been "easy victims." If there had been an organized gay presence in Mobile to oppose the first attack or links between the gay victim and the black community, perhaps the killers could have been stopped before they lynched and mutilated Donald.

Third, Asian, black, Latin and Native American gay men and lesbians are doubly vulnerable to attack. For example, Timothy Lee, a black gay man, was found hanging from a tree in Concord, California, in November 1985. The police classified his death as a "suicide" in spite of numerous suspicious circumstances, including the beating of two other black men in Concord the same night by white men in Klan robes. *Gay Community News*, a national biweekly, reported in February 1986 that two groups responding to the case—the NAACP and a coalition that included openly gay people—disagreed over how to organize against what both groups perceived as Lee's murder. The state of California conducted numerous hearings in response to Lee's death and instituted a Human Relations Commission in Contra Costa County. When contacted in 1989, a commission official did not realize that Lee was gay. As this case indicates, gay and lesbian people of color may find their racial and sexual identities "conflict," leading to an isolation that is dangerous and can fragment organized responses to attacks against them.

Fourth, the Bible has been used to justify violence against black people and against gay men and lesbians. The story of Ham, as well as passages about slavery taken out of context, were used by white supremacists and slave holders to rationalize slavery. "The train of racism runs on rails of religion," according to many black clergy. Likewise, passages from the books of Leviticus and Paul are used to justify

hatred of and discrimination against gay men and lesbians.

Finally, the gay and lesbian community has been victimized by hysteria over AIDS, "one of the most serious health problems that has ever faced the American public," according to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (*Understanding AIDS*). The disease is caused by Human Immunodeficiency Virus, or HIV. Research has shown that the disease is contagious but is carried only through bodily fluids (transmitted primarily through sexual contact—oral, anal or vaginal—or through blood, such as through the sharing of needles by intravenous drug users). Despite this medical evidence, however, there is a great deal of fear in the general population about more generalized transmission. As AIDS spread from the gay male into the heterosexual population, this fear increased, offering the Far Right in particular a convenient means of whipping up the politics of fear and an opportunity to inject racism into an already ugly discussion. The irrational public response to AIDS has bred violence; and this hysteria, as well as the repression that accompanies it, could spread to minority communities, which also suffer from the disease in disproportionate numbers.

Harold Covington, a North Carolina neo-Nazi leader, expressed the links most explicitly in his book, *The March Upcountry* (1987):

I now feel that any white revolutionary party needs to upgrade the struggle against perversion [sic] significantly...[I]t is now the area in which the enemy is arguably the most vulnerable, thanks to those four little letters that are God's greatest gift to our cause since the Fuhrer Adolf Hitler himself: A-I-D-S!...it has galvanized White opinion worldwide in a manner nothing else has done...At long last, using AIDS as an excuse, White people could really say what they felt about faggots! And from saying and openly admitting what they really feel about queers, it is only a short step to saying what they really feel about those other major AIDS carriers, the blacks...once Whites get used to it they can throw away AIDS as a crutch and shout from the rooftops their real views on faggots, niggers, drug addicts, all the garbage we've been forced to wallow in. And who knows? Once Whites get really used to speaking their mind, maybe Yehudi [Jews] himself might come in for a mention or two.



CDR FILES

Klan Anti-Gay Propaganda Poster

KLAN AND NAZI ORGANIZATIONS

As dedicated as Falwell, Swaggart, Cameron and others are to vilifying homosexuality, the character of New Right attacks differs from that put forward by members of the Far Right movement of hate groups. It is important to understand and challenge the anti-democratic thrust of all sectors of the right wing. It is equally important to refrain from lumping Ronald Reagan, Falwell, international cult leader Lyndon LaRouche, Far Right Louisiana state legislator David Duke and Aryan Nations Congress head Richard Butler into one undifferentiated group of "fascists."

The clearly recognized hate groups are not just extremists, but are connected to powerful anti-democratic currents that dominate the political life of the United States. Because of these connections, no matter how small these groups may seem to casual observers, they must be considered a threat to this country unless there is a strong, grass-roots-based, explicitly anti-fascist and anti-racist movement counterposed to hate groups. This is because opposition to democracy is central to fascist ideology. Fascists work for or through a totalitarian dictatorship. Such a dictatorship is supported by a mass movement of the dispossessed, which in this country might include uprooted Midwestern farmers or alienated skinhead youth. It is important—and sometimes difficult—to distinguish between authoritarian regimes, military dictatorships and a truly fascist government, which brings about a dramatic change in the way everyone lives and works. A fascist movement opposes itself to traditional means of control in society, dispensing with "positive" incentives and ruling strictly through the use of force and intimidation. Under fascism, the normal relations that people build through neighborhood associations, trade unions, church groups, and so forth are altered drastically so that their primary bonds are not with one another as a network, but directly with their "leader" or "leaders."

2 Fascist movements reorganize political entities and also bring the control of the economy under the direction of the government, despite the continued existence of corporate owners. Fascists do not challenge private ownership of capital, nor do they challenge the traditional relationships found in class society—the existence of a working class that is subordinated to a controlling, owning class.

One form of fascism, Nazism, views social history as biological history and social problems as biological problems. Its solutions, therefore, are not so much repression as extermination.

Among characteristics of fascism and Nazism, according to Russ Bellant in his 1988 report *Old Nazis, the New Right and the Reagan Administration* (Political Research Associates), are:

- Nationalism and super-patriotism with a sense of historic mission.
- Use of violence or threats of violence to impose views on others.
- Authoritarian reliance on a leader or elite not constitutionally responsible to an electorate.
- Cult of personality around a charismatic leader.
- The self-image of being a superior form of social organization beyond socialism, capitalism and democracy.
- Exhortations for the homogeneous masses (*volk* or folk) to join voluntarily in a heroic mission—often metaphysical and romanticized in character.
- Dehumanization and scapegoating of the enemy—seeing the enemy as an inferior or subhuman force, perhaps involved in a conspiracy that justifies eradicating them.
- Elements of national socialist ideological roots—for example, ostensible support for the industrial working class or farmers—but ultimately the forging of an alliance with an elite sector of society.
- Abandonment of any consistent ideology in a drive for state power.

Fascist movements do not choose their victims arbitrarily. It is important for anti-fascist movements and organizations to understand why different elements of the right are targeting gay men and lesbians and why they hope to use homophobia to mobilize a mass following.

The fascist movement's ultimate goal is to break the bonds of human solidarity that exist under "normal" conditions and to reorganize people into authoritarian social structures with human loyalty only

extending to the "leaders." A key ingredient of fascist strategy is to isolate and dehumanize its victims and potential victims.

Racism has a key role in fascism in the U.S. today. David Duke, Richard Butler and the Ku Klux Klan and neo-Nazi groups they represent understand society as an arena for competing racial groups. Seventy-five years ago, the eugenics movement fostered hatred and divisiveness among a large following by alleging that many people and groups in the society carry "bad genetic material." This thinking led to widespread sterilization and other measures. Like the eugenics movement, Klan and neo-Nazi groups believe that white (Aryan) races represent the healthy development of civilization. Conversely, they believe that people of color are the repository of uneugenic (unhealthy) barbarism and savagery. The Christian Identity movement (the racist and anti-Semitic "theology" of many of the groups) casts the same racial struggle in theological terms, as a struggle between salvation or Godliness and evil. The white supremacists' primary solution is the creation of a white Christian Republic, under which institutionalized white supremacy will guarantee white racial purity and the progress of civilization—unsullied by miscegenation. Many Klansmen and neo-Nazis believe that a revolution is necessary to accomplish their goals, while a small minority still think that it is possible to achieve their goals through "reform."

Many people of good will believe that since it is unlikely that the Klansmen and neo-Nazis will achieve their ultimate goals in the near future, organized white supremacists are merely a small blemish on the body politic. Unfortunately, the violence and disruption such groups wreak have shown us how dangerous and short-sighted such a view is.

Within this racial world-view, other forms of bigotry have a specific role. Anti-semitism manifests itself as the fear of an all-powerful Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world and to end Aryan civilization through the forced integration (and miscegenation) of the races. Anti-communism manifests itself as a fear of lower forms of civilization, equated with "lower" classes and the belief that communism is the actual agent of mongrelization and barbarism.

In similar fashion within white supremacist ideology, homophobia manifests itself as a fear of sexual differences that Aryans believe undermine white reproductive capabilities.

Sex and sexuality, according to this view, are linked to their "natural" roles—procreation and the reproduction of the white race. Thus, homosexuals are clear-cut targets for control.

The program by Nazis to control homosexuals in Germany under the reign of Adolf Hitler is a powerful lesson with implications for all people concerned with democracy.

In 1936, a special section of the Gestapo, the Nazi secret police, was formed to deal with homosexuality and abortion. Homosexuals, rounded up because of their sexuality, were placed in concentration camps, required to wear pink triangles, and marked for extermination. The actual number murdered by the Nazis is unknown. Estimates range from 20,000 to one million. The Protestant Church of Austria estimated that 220,000 homosexuals were murdered during the Third Reich.

The Nazi policy originally based itself on anti-homosexual laws which predated Hitler's regime. The notorious Paragraph 175 criminalized homosexuals and homosexual acts. The Nazis amended the paragraph to include Paragraph 175A—the criminalization of homosexual "intent." Himmler decided that all those convicted of Paragraph 175 or 175A should serve their legal prison sentences, be castrated after their second conviction, and sent to Level 3 concentration camps. Police files were combed for names of people to be sent to die.

Today, many attacks on homosexuals can be attributed to neo-Nazis, most recently members of the neo-Nazi skinhead youth gangs. For instance:

- In 1985 James Ellison, who led the Covenant, the Sword, and the Arm of the Lord (CSA), was convicted of an arson attack on a church used by homosexuals in Springfield, Missouri. At the same time Ellison was convicted of an arson attack on a synagogue in Bloomington, Indiana. The CSA was a paramilitary, Missouri-based, white supremacist organization.

- In 1984 and 1985, Ku Klux Klan factions in Texas sponsored three rallies aimed specifically at homosexuals. During that period four incidents of harassment of homosexuals were attributed to the Klan. Also, the Aryan Nations' computer bulletin board carried the following message:

As a public service to our readers the Aryan Liberty Net would like to compile and publish a list of restaurants in the Dallas-Fort Worth area that employ homosexuals... To help in this endeavor simply use the feedback option and leave the name of a suspect establishment, the phone number, the name of the manager and the employee... supplemental information (such as the address of the suspect) could greatly aid the verification process.

- As Skinheads have become the neo-Nazi vanguard for street violence, gay men have been targeted for brutal attacks. In 1988, Skinheads attacked an employee at a gay bar in Tucson with a spiked ball on a chain. In Laguna Beach, California, they beat a gay man unconscious, shouting, "Kill the faggot," inflicting injuries that required 80 stitches. In Washington, D.C., they fractured the skull, shoulder and ribs of a gay man in what a local police officer called the most "vicious, sick and senseless" attack he had seen in law enforcement.

William Pierce, author of the contemporary neo-Nazi terror novel, *The Turner Diaries*, has frequently expressed the most distilled ideology within the contemporary U.S. Klan and neo-Nazi movement. In the August 1982 edition of his publication, *National Vanguard*, Pierce wrote:

...the primary purpose of sexual activity is the upbreeding of the race. The strongest taboo, then, must be against any sexual activity which tends to degrade the race... Next in order of sinfulness is an act of symbolic degradation. The act of a man and woman intended to engender a healthy, white child should be viewed as a sacramental act. Even when a sex act is not specifically sacramental—i.e., not intended to produce children—it ought not to be of a nature which clashes with sacramental sex or which tends to undermine or distort the basic view of sexual activity. Thus bestiality and homosexuality are beyond the pale, just as interracial sex with a sterile partner (or involving contraception) is. Such acts cannot engender defective offspring directly, but they must inevitably poison the ethos of a people which permits them—and this will lead in turn to the abandonment of the primary taboo and then to racial decline.

In a footnote, Pierce adds:

homosexuality is a disease, a perversion of the most pathological sort...

According to this view, the connection between sex and romantic love or human intimacy should be replaced by a connection between sex and racial reproduction. William Simpson, a Pierce associate and, at one time, a fellow leader of the small hard-core neo-Nazi group National Alliance, wrote in his book, *Which Way Western Man*,

...marriages entered upon... (should) produce desirable children. And in all marrying this is the consideration that we should strive to keep uppermost. Personal happiness should be subordinated to it, and when necessary, even be sacrificed to it.

Abortion, in this neo-Nazi view, is similarly a Jewish conspiracy to destroy white babies.

In addition to their concern with the creation of a "healthy, white child," Pierce and his comrades are equally concerned about what they see as confusion of sex roles promoted by homosexuality and its supposed partner, feminism. In the January 1983 issue of *National Vanguard* Pierce wrote an article, "Sexuality in a Sick Society," that was reprinted by both David Duke and former White Patriot Party leader Glenn Miller in their respective periodicals. Pierce argued that the lack of combativity by white males and assertiveness of black males has resulted in the loss of Aryan dominance.

...the number of effeminate males has increased greatly—not just the sexual inverts, who actually have taken pseudo-female roles, but even more the legions of sissies and weaklings, of flabby, limp-wristed, non-aggressive, non-physical, indecisive, slack-jawed, fearful males who, while still heterosexual in theory and practice, have not even a vestige of the old macho spirit... Western men are no longer able to fill their natural role as protectors and providers for their women; the consequences have been a demasculination of Western man and a loss of control over their women.

According to Pierce, white women want to be controlled and dominated. Increasingly, he believes, white women are turning to black men in order to be fulfilled. (Pierce also believes that those women who are self-assertive are under the influence of a women's liberation movement that is Jewish-inspired and is destroying the Aryan family.) The neo-Nazi logic is thus: the feminization of white men—aided and abetted by male homosexuality—leads to loss of control of white women, which in turn leads to white women turning to black men and then to the inevitable, "mongrelization...leading to ominous racial consequences for the West."

Pierce's conclusion is

...the inextricable interdependence of the sexual and racial issues: Unless a healthy relationship between the sexes is re-established in the West, the white race certainly will not survive.

Many of Pierce's comrades believe that the essential duty is to re-establish aggressive, macho white men—because this is what white women really want. Then, they believe, they will re-establish control of "their" women and end the danger of voluntary miscegenation. Homosexual men, then, are considered both a physical and ethical obstacle to this goal. As long as homosexual men exist, it will be impossible to re-establish the unquestioned machismo and combativeness of white men. Homosexual men must be "wiped out." Lesbians threaten "the making of a home and the rearing of a [white] family as much as black men do, according to Covington in *The March Upcountry* .

...no matter what success I may meet, I still can't have a baby and bring another White life into the world. That is a miracle only our sisters can perform. The same sisters whose minds and hearts are being corrupted by feminist lies and whose bodies are being stolen from us by dykes and mud-men because we White men are too goddamned spineless and too bloody lazy to lift a finger to stop it.

White lesbian women who offer this challenge need to be "taught a lesson." This lesson often includes rape, in addition to other assaults.

Of course, most popular literature on homosexuality produced by

ideological white supremacists does not contain the relatively developed analysis of William Pierce. Instead of panegyrics to Aryan civilization, most racists appeal to the everyday hopes and fears of their intended constituents. The Klan and Nazis hope in this fashion to transform their racist fantasies into political realities. The most viable vehicle to date is the hysteria and fear surrounding AIDS.

Under the front-page banner headline "Bisexuals Infect White Women With AIDS," the *Thunderbolt's* issue #320 ran the following subheading: "Most bisexuals are Negroes who often seek affairs with white females. Interracial couples open door to infecting white population. AIDS—Rapidly increasing in females." The *Thunderbolt* is published monthly by Georgia-based white supremacist Ed Fields. Fields devoted an entire issue of his tabloid to a theme that now rivals "Negro crime" as a battle cry of the white supremacist movement. The Far Right considers AIDS an African disease, spread by homosexuals; that black Americans have a "genetic coding which lowers their natural resistance to the disease"; and that black sexuality (and by inference, lack of morality) spreads the disease.

Others among Field's Klan and Nazi comrades were even quicker to develop the same themes. The Far Right periodical *GAN-PAC BRIEF*, which usually confines itself to attacking Jews and rewriting the history of World War II, headlined its January 1986 edition with "THE AIDS TIME BOMB and the German-American Answer." *GANPAC* editor Hans Schmidt wrote,

Where does AIDS come from? There are a number of indications that Africa (black Africa) is the source of this murderous affliction...AIDS seems disproportionate among racial groups we do not acknowledge as Germanic...

Schmidt's conclusion sounds suspiciously similar to the Aryan Nation's call for an Aryan Republic in the Northwest.

The German-American answer to the AIDS dilemma may be the nearly total withdrawal from society...if any would want to 'go it alone' and make a success of it, then it could be the German-Americans.

Tom Metzger, leader of the White Aryan Resistance, looks forward to a coming AIDS epidemic as the first step in establishing his own Reich.

The coming horror of mass death is unavoidable. It will occur. What is to follow will depend upon the ability of the Aryan to regain control of his racial destiny and the government of the United States.

In an only slightly more sophisticated fashion, *Instauration*, a high-brow racist monthly, claimed that AIDS originates as the result of cross-species contact between Africans and monkeys. *Instauration* seems to come to roughly the same conclusion as Tom Metzger.

The only silver lining is that these sexual pandemics may help to give our own relatively virtuous tribe of white heterosexuals a relatively better chance to make it through the nightmarish times to come.

The AIDS epidemic has been used by many others as an entry point for promoting an overall rightist program among unknowing citizens. While Lyndon LaRouche's tactics have been the most pronounced, the New Right, including Paul Cameron, have also seen an opportunity here.

Unlike the various Klan and explicitly neo-Nazi organizations, the use of homophobia by the LaRouche network is not overtly related to a racist ideology. Instead, Lyndon LaRouche has a psycho-sexual theory of "culture," with which the network explains world events. LaRouche, now jailed on charges of wire and tax fraud, is the leader of an international network of organizations which espouse fascist economic and political views. Among the groups are the Schiller Institute and the National Democratic Policy Committee. The organizations are generally characterized by bizarre philosophizing and cult-like control over individual members.

The LaRouche network, in a fashion similar to that of cults, is notorious for the manipulation of its members' sexuality in "brainwashing" sessions in order to control their everyday conduct. When La-



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"How many of you are Jews?" this skinhead asked reporters.

Rouche set out to "ego-strip" his followers in the summer of 1973, according to Dennis King in *Lyndon LaRouche and the New American Fascism* (1989), he played on their psychosexual fears. He told them:

I am going to make you organizers—by taking your bedrooms away from you...I will take away from you all hope that you can flee the terrors of politics to the safety of 'personal life'. I shall do this by showing to you that your frightened personal sexual life contains for you such terrors as the outside world could never offer you.

The fear of being homosexual was one of those terrors. Having learned how to use that fear on individuals within his orbit, LaRouche decided to turn these tactics of terror on the general population through exploiting AIDS. The LaRouche network's adroit use of the AIDS scare to scapegoat the victims of the disease and gain political leverage for the various LaRouche organizations is unsurpassed.

Early in 1985 the various organizations and publications that are part of the web around the LaRouche network all began to drum on popular fears about AIDS. LaRouche publications included *New Solidarity* and *Executive Intelligence Review*. The network has always managed to blend obscurantist racism and anti-Semitism with economic development models based on traditional European fascism. In order to generate a wide appeal for its views, the LaRouche network would dress its core beliefs up in anti-drug propaganda and promotion of "traditional values." At one and the same time LaRouchites would claim that the Queen of England pushed drugs, that rock-and-roll should be replaced by classical music, and that people with AIDS should be forcibly quarantined.

If LaRouche operatives had circulated petitions to ban rock-and-

roll, it is doubtful they would have gathered many signatures. In California, however, they gathered approximately 700,000 names to place Proposition 64 on the Fall 1986 ballot. Proposition 64 called for universal screening of the population for AIDS and the mandatory quarantining of AIDS victims. Homosexuals overwhelmingly regard such measures as an opportunity to ghettoize the community, to place new barriers to their full participation in society, to blame the victims of AIDS, and to sabotage genuine public health initiatives. The California gay and lesbian community led campaigns that twice defeated the initiative.

LaRouche literature is full of bigoted references to homosexuals. And the LaRouche slogan "Spread Panic, Not AIDS" is clearly part of an attempt to whip up, or cash in on, anti-homosexual hysteria. Nevertheless, the anti-homosexual campaign is just the entry level to the full set of LaRouche ideas. A booklet published by LaRouche-initiated National Democratic Policy Committee claims the real story on AIDS is that the disease spreads out of control in conditions of economic collapse and squalor as in Africa and in many decayed U.S. towns and cities.

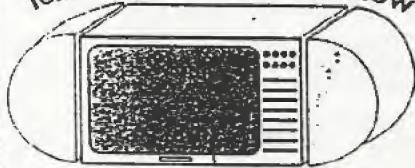
...[T]he fight against AIDS... is an integral part of a strong defense program for the country. To defend our nation we need a full-scale crash program to fight AIDS and a crash effort to develop the Strategic Defense Initiative.

The LaRouche cult begins by playing on homophobia and popular fears of AIDS and ends up fighting the disease with Star Wars.

No platform for propaganda

Two TV studio discussions about fascism, BBC's *After Millwall* and Channel 4's *Bloody Foreigners*, have raised fundamental questions about the 'No Platform' policy and when we should, and when we should not, participate in studio programmes about fascism. Following criticism from many of those who participated in *Bloody Foreigners* and were later furious to see the kind of platform it gave to the European far Right, Channel 4's commissioning editor for religion and talks, Nicholas Fraser, writing in the media page of the *Guardian* (29.11.93), defended its screening, arguing that 'television must uphold freedom of speech - even for racists'. It's time anti-fascists took a long, hard look at 'No Platform' and what it means both for us and for journalists. Some of Fraser's arguments provide us with the opportunity to clarify our position.

Television: Do Not Swallow



Fraser argues:

'Anti-racists want a broadcasting ban imposed on all parties or individuals who they consider to be racist.'

CARF says: Not true. CARF is opposed to all state and media bans which only serve the interests of censorship. To equate 'No platform' with bans is to interpret 'No platform' mechanically, rather than politically. 'No platform' does not mean a ban on reporting or investigating fascists and fascism. We are not saying don't give them a platform in the literal sense of banishing them from the screens. But what we are saying is that journalists should be aware of the power the medium of television gives the fascists to propagandise and present their violent, anti-democratic creed in acceptable terms.

One of the most powerful weapons we have at our disposal in unmasking the nazis, and educating the wider public about fascism's undemocratic nature, is television. But television aids the fascists when it gives the nazis an open platform to

put forward the palatable, respectable image that they want to present. Denying them this opportunity is what we mean by 'No platform'.

The first duty of any decent journalist is not merely to uphold freedom of speech, but to protect it from being debased and degraded.

It's easy to uphold freedom of speech—you just give licence to everyone to say what they like. But to protect it from being abused is to take on a more questioning and self-critical role in terms of how such abuse could lead to an abuse of the first freedom, the freedom to life itself.

In the absence of an awareness of these issues amongst journalists, the only tool we, anti-fascists, have at our disposal is to refuse to participate in programmes that we consider irresponsible and dangerous. That is our responsibility. Rather than see this as a threat, broadcasters should be thankful that there are groups in society acting as a watchdog on them.

'In the defence of freedom of speech, consistency is the most important quality. How else can broadcasters coherently oppose the broadcasting ban on Sinn Fein?'

This is disingenuous. When have broadcasters defied the state ban (which, if nothing else, has tarnished the image of British television around the world), on the grounds of freedom of speech for Sinn Fein? Where broadcasters have lobbied against the ban, the argument they have used is that the British state, by imposing the ban, is preventing journalists from doing their job properly. They argue that they should be allowed to interview members of Sinn Fein in order to put them on the spot about IRA violence.

All we ask is that they do the same with the fascists, put them on the spot. That is consistency.

'Anti-racists won't sit with the BNP or debate with them.'

True. Fascism is not a set of ideas that can be politely discussed—it is a violent, undemocratic creed. As anti-fascists, we want to defeat fascism. By debating with the fascists, rather than relegating them to the margins of society where they belong, we are helping to bring fascist views into

the mainstream of political debate. Our business is to deny them the oxygen of publicity in as much as they deny black citizens the right to breathe whatever free air there is in this country.

'You cannot defend free societies by means of censorship.'

But anti-fascists don't want censorship. Fascism has always been about censorship and the denial of freedom of speech for all those considered outside the fascists' biological/cultural constituency. So how could we, as anti-fascists—who understand the importance of democracy—go along with that?

However, two points need to be borne in mind. First, freedom of speech also brings with it certain responsibilities, in particular the responsibility not to violate other people's freedoms. One is only as free as the next man or woman is allowed to be. My freedom ceases where yours begins.

Secondly, and following from this, broadcasters must realise that fascists manipulate liberal arguments of freedom of speech in order to propagandise and to attack the democratic rights of others. Weak, ineffectual interviewing of the fascists by journalists who are not equipped with the facts, who fail to ask probing questions, only gives the fascists a platform to propagandise—and all in the name of free speech. If you can't take the trouble to interview them properly, don't interview them at all.

'Allowing such people to be interviewed, gives them a platform, confers respectability or legitimacy, argue anti-racists. It needn't and that depends on how the programme is made.'

True, to some extent. But what is false is to defend *Bloody Foreigners* (of which Nicholas Fraser was the commissioning editor) on this basis. Programmes like this show that broadcasters have not looked at the question of how some formats 'confer respectability', whilst others don't. An investigative documentary, for instance, can undermine the respectability of fascists by producing hard facts about their criminal actions, involvement in violence, anti-

democratic nature, etc. Even a TV studio discussion, if preceded by a short film that puts the facts and then is followed by a grilling of the fascists on the basis of those facts, does not just give the fascists a platform so much as take it away by giving it.

Unfortunately, though, the present vogue within television is to *debate* fascism, rather than *investigate* the fascists. The favoured format is a studio discussion with fascists (or in the case of *After Millwall*, BNP voters), on the one hand, and anti-fascists, on the other. Within this approach, the presenter becomes neutral; he or she merely adjudicates between two opposing views which, under the spurious rubric of balance, are equally valid. To have a truly balanced discussion, however, about something as unbalanced as fascism, you need in the first instance to examine that 'un-balance'.

The failure to do so became glaringly obvious in the case of *After Millwall* where, in a debate between local people about housing, no concrete information about the situation on the ground was given. This meant that the racist myth presented by the BNP sympathisers, that Bengalis are getting all the housing, was allowed to pass into one sort of fact, while the anti-racists who challenged them were allowed to present another 'version' of the facts. In the world that the media makes, all facts are equal.

This is lazy and irresponsible journalism. On a subject like racism, it's the programme-makers' responsibility to unearth the facts and present the audience with the truth. But even when hard statistics have been readily available, as was the case in the Millwall programme, the journalists have neither availed themselves of the facts nor, allegedly, used them when they were made available.

'Broadcasters must be free to cover racism in the way they think fit, even if mistakes are made.'

Rubbish. This is Channel 4/BBC elitism at its worst. Why should broadcasters be any different from any other section of society? Even the police accept that they must follow certain guidelines to ensure good race relations. Why should broadcasters be free to make mistakes and not accept the ensuing criticism? This is the worst type of non-accountability and arrogance. ■



ARA Education Package



INTRODUCTION

This information package was compiled by Anti-Racist Action's info-crew in an effort to create a forum for further debate and education on the issues of fighting white supremacy and the extreme right within the framework of class struggle against racism and sexism. The package contains a wide variety of texts, articles, essays and clippings chosen by info-crew members to be crucial in formulating a solid understanding on these issues and their interconnections.

As a collection, these articles complement each other in such a way that the reader is able to draw their own links and formulate a broad analysis on the material. This structure is broken down into three main sections within the package:

The first chapter takes a look at the relationship racism has with sexism, homophobia, anti-semitism, and class. This contributes to the necessary framework of understanding to combat racism in its broader manifestations as well as within the anti-racist organization and the individual.

The second chapter deals specifically with the extreme right in all of its forms. This section is broken down regionally into Canada, the United States, and Europe to shed some light on the international connections of these fascist movements.

The third and final chapter consists of various historic and present-day anti-racist experiences by which we can draw from to further the struggle against racism and fascism.

One might be taken aback by the amount of material contained within these three sections but we found them all important to include. We would suggest reading one entry from each section to break things up to some degree. It is also important to mention that this collection contains by no means a fully-rounded analysis. Instead, it should serve as a springboard or a contribution towards an on-going process of internal education and outreach. This information can be useful to anti-racists, anti-fascist activists or students and should be widely distributed to other anti-racist organisations and community activists. Whether you arm yourself with this information or use this hefty package to swat a fascist over the head with, we hope that it comes in handy. Happy reading!

-the INFO CREW '94

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SECTION 2: The Extreme Right



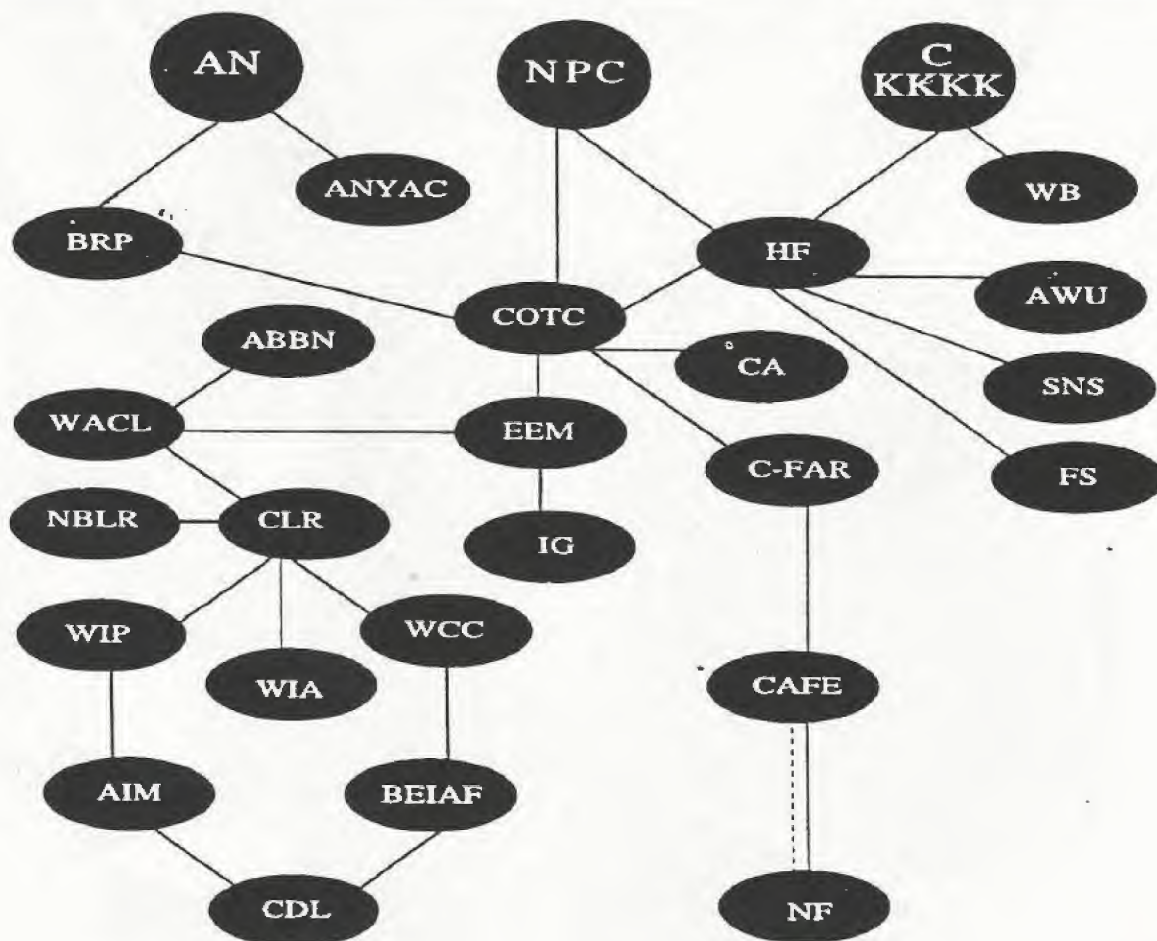
The Far-Right

Notes: Links shown here are not always hierarchic. Organizations linked with dotted lines indicate that the Far-Right mainly try to influence them and focuss on them.

Legend

ABBN: Anti Bolshevik Bloc of Nations
 AIM: Association for Immigration in Canada
 AN: Aryan Nations
 ANYAC: Aryan Nations Youth Corps
 ARM: Aryan Resistance Movement
 AWL: Aryan Women League
 AWU: Aryan White Union
 BEIAF: British European Immigration Aid Foundation
 BRP: Brotherhood of Regular People
 CA: Canadian Alliance
 CAFE: Canadian Association for the Freedom of Expression

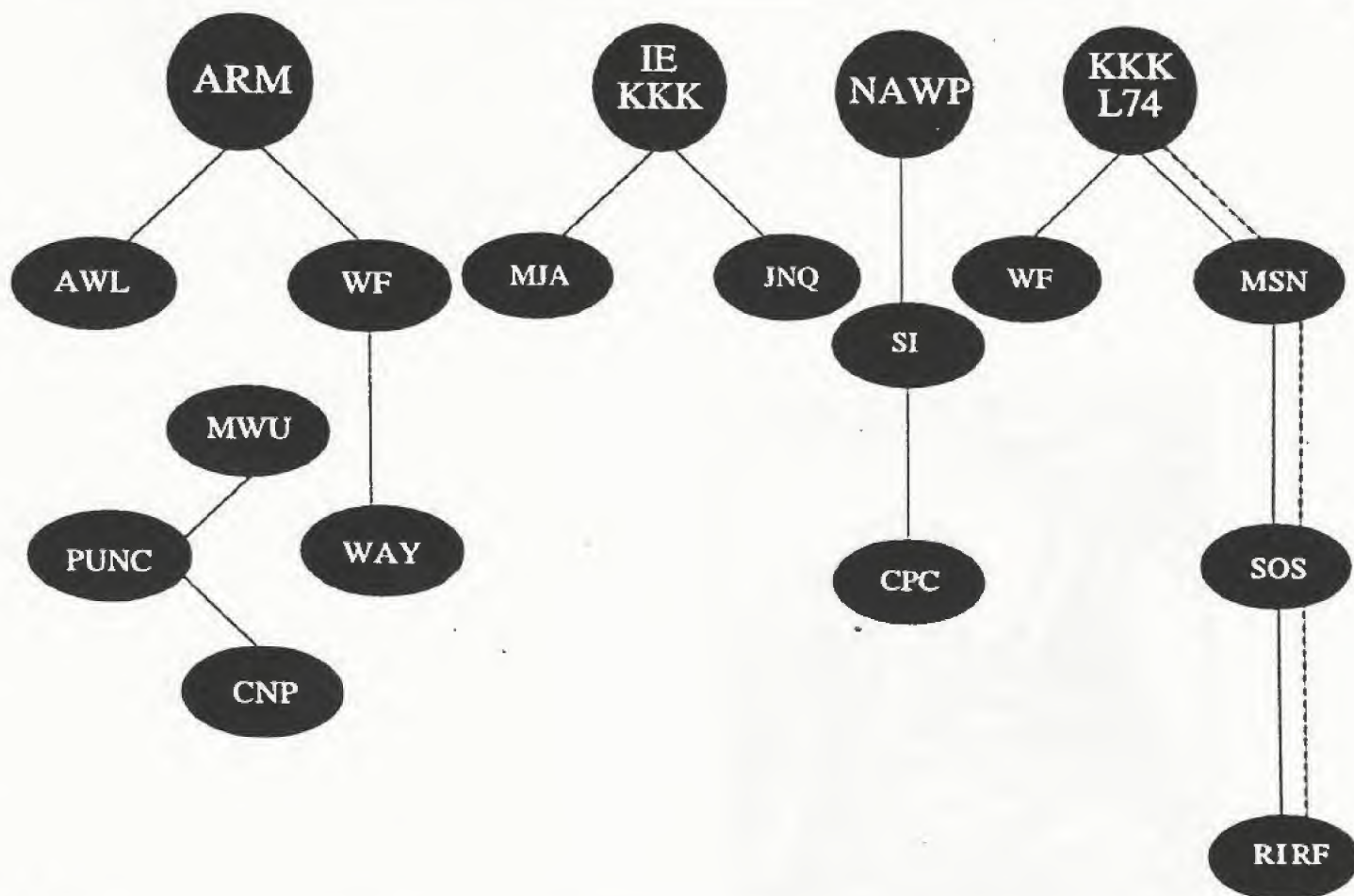
CDL: Christian Defense League
 C-FAR: Citizens for Foreign Aid Reform
 CKKKK: Canadian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
 CLR: Canadian League of Rights
 CNP: Canadian National Party
 COTC: Church Of The Creator
 CPC: Commonwealth Party of Canada
 EEM: Eastern European Movements
 FS: Final Solution
 HF: Heritage Front
 IEKKKK: Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
 IG: Iron Guard
 JNQ: Jeunes Nations (Québec)



Network In Canada

KKKL74: Invisible Empire Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
Longitude 74 (Québec)
MJA: Mouvement des Jeunesse Aryennes
MSN: Mouvement pour la Survie de la Nation
MWU: Montreal White Union
NAWP: North American Workers Party
NBLR: New-Brunswick League of Rights
NF: Northern Foundation
NPC: Nationalist Party of Canada
PUNC: Parti pour l'Unité Nationale du Canada
RIRFi: Regroupement pour une Immigration Restrainte et Francophone
SI: Schiller Institute

SNS: Skinheads for National Socialism
SOS: SOS Génocide
WACL: World Anti-Communist League
WAY: White Aryan Youth
WB: White Brotherhood
WCC: Western Canada Concept
WF: White Federation
WIA: Western Independence Association
WIP: Western Independence Party





Beyond the Klan

by Helmut-Harry Loewen

Over the past few years a relative newcomer has emerged within the Canadian racist Right, adding its own version of genocidal ideology and murderous violence to an already volatile scene that includes the Ku Klux Klan, Aryan Nations, the Heritage Front, racist Skinheads, immigration "reformers," Holocaust deniers, and neo-Nazis posing as defenders of free speech. The successful efforts of the Church of the Creator (COTC) to penetrate Canada have set off alarms both among intelligence agencies and especially among anti-racist groups from Salmon Arm to Sherbrooke - as if these frontline activists did not already have enough to contend with, given the increased assertiveness of Canadian adherents within the international far Right, white supremacist, neo-Nazi network.

The Alabama-based Klanwatch Project reports that among white supremacist groups, the COTC "is in a category of its own - as fiercely anti-Christian as it is racist and anti-Semitic." Founded in 1973, COTC boasts a strong North American base with an international outreach in many countries, including active chapters in South Africa. Its rallying cry for a Racial Holy War or RAHOWA!, according to the April 1993 issue of *Klanwatch Intelligence Report*, preaches the extermination of Jews, blacks and other "mud people" and advocates using "murder, treachery, lying, deceit, mass killing, whatever it takes to win."

COTC has gained a strong following among Skinhead groups in the Midwest and in Eastern Canada and among prisoners organized by the COTC Brotherhood, a group that contends with other white supremacist, Aryan prison fellowships for allegiance and influence.

COTC founder Bernard "Ben" Klassen, 75, now living in the Florida panhandle after having moved his operations from North Carolina, has Saskatchewan roots. Born in 1918 in the Russian Mennonite colony of Molochnaia, his family lived in Mexico from 1924-26 before moving to a farm

near Rosetown, Saskatchewan. Upon graduating from the University of Saskatchewan, Klassen moved to the U.S. where he built a fortune with which to fund the COTC after having grown disenchanted with the John Birch Society

during the 1960s. Along with White Aryan Resistance (WAR) leader Tom Metzger and National Alliance founder William Pierce, Klassen must surely be ranked among the most sophisticated and thus dangerous leaders within the white supremacist movement.

Klassen has written numerous books and papers outlining COTC's ideology, including *The White Man's Bible* (widely read within that movement), *RAHOWA!*, and the widely-circulated newspaper *Racial Loyalty*. Such literature has been circulating in Canada for years, most recently in June in Salmon Arm and other parts of B.C.

In one of his tracts, Klassen writes of a "racial warfare unto death" which employs a multi-pronged strategy that includes a defense corps or paramilitary wing; an "intensive intelligence network" which aims not only at knowing "who our enemies are, what they are doing and/or about to do, but

also to ferret out the racial traitors in our own ranks" so as to "let them reap their just desserts;" and the building of "our own conveyor belts of information and mass means of propaganda dissemination." A fourth aspect of Klassen's strategy involves the election of "Racial Loyalists" to public office, "either covertly, or by open election."

Whereas groups like the Klan or the Aryan Nations are organized around a nominally Christian ideology, COTC is fuelled by claims that Christianity is itself part of a Jewish conspiracy and that even groups like the KKK are part of a "phony front for the Jews to enlist and corral. . . the White Race." COTC claims that "racial separation" is not divinely ordained, but dictated by the laws of nature.

Although there are still working alliances between the KKK and COTC in Canada and the U.S., the ideological differences within the hate network have not lessened,



Ben Klassen

even among younger neo-Nazis. Indeed, a letter by Manitoba Klan leader Bill Marcus noted the anti-Christian stance of COTC and added: "I am a Christian and I attend a Christian Identity Bible Study.... I think that Ben Klassen is an elitist but he does have some good ideas. I believe in White unity so I won't criticize a fellow racial brother."

Klassen in turn, has written that Christianity "is being administered by the world's most deadly parasite, the perfidious and treacherous Jew."

The violence committed by COTC members in the U.S. has been well-documented. In 1991, George Loeb, a Florida COTC member, murdered an African-American U.S. Navy officer. This murder is having repercussions within the COTC with Klassen attempting to extricate himself from any link to this crime by naming a series of successors and by shifting operations from North Carolina to Milwaukee and then to Florida.

In July 1993, six white supremacists were arrested in Los Angeles in an alleged assassination plot against Rodney King and in a complex conspiracy to bomb an African-American church. The FBI reported that those arrested were associated with COTC and WAR. This plot was uncovered during the summer months which saw heightened Skinhead and other neo-Nazi action on the West Coast, including the bombing of the Tacoma office of the NAACP, plots to bomb synagogues in Sacramento, and the discovery of stockpiled weapons by white supremacists on B.C.'s Lower Mainland. When asked by ABC News about the L.A. plot, Tom Metzger, while disclaiming any part in the conspiracy, affirmed the use of violence by the "White Race to defend itself."

There are troubling indications of COTC's presence in Canada:

- Rudy Stanko, once groomed by Klassen to be his successor, tried to enter Canada at North Portal, Saskatchewan before being permanently barred by an immigration adjudicator at hearings in December 1992.
- A 20-year-old Canadian died of heart failure during COTC paramilitary exercises in Ontario last year. There have been reports of COTC and neo-Nazi training exercises in other parts of Canada.
- Canadian COTC members have formed alliances with Ontario white supremacists, including Heritage Front organizer Wolfgang Droege and publisher Ernst Zundel. The COTC in Canada has its own "Security Legion" (a mobile intelligence-gathering and enforcement unit), and a racist rock band, RAHOWA!, which regularly performs at white supremacist functions in Toronto, other parts of southern Ontario, in Ottawa, and now in Montreal. This Canadian band produces recordings in a Detroit studio and is linked to other racist music groups in Buffalo and other cities. The political sophistication of COTC and other neo-Nazi Skinhead groups can be gauged by noting their increased use of racist music to target and recruit a new generation to a nascent fascist movement.
- Canadian COTC members have recently been charged with a host of crimes, including assault and weapons violations. Hate crimes are occurring at a time of increased

street confrontations in Eastern Canada and in the wake of particularly vicious attacks against immigrants and anti-racist activists.

- Reports this year indicate that members of the Canadian Armed Forces, including members of the Canadian Airborne Regiment, attended COTC meetings in Ontario.
- Despite claims that he is not a white supremacist, Toronto teacher Paul Fromm, organizer of Citizens for Foreign Aid Reform, spoke at a rally which included the Heritage Front, COTC, and other groups.

Groups like the COTC can be said to be "beyond" traditional groups like the Klan in a number of ways. Without underestimating the ongoing activity and potency of the KKK, COTC's track record shows that its well-financed operations have played direct and indirect roles in murder, assaults, and intricate plots to bomb houses of worship and civil rights organizations. Its dissemination of hate propaganda to thousands of supporters here and abroad should also not be underestimated.

COTC is also able to form alliances "beyond" the Klan insofar as its anti-Christian ideology is shared by such militant atheist racialists as Metzger and Pierce, both of whom have been cited as the ideological inspiration for past murders and who continue to play leadership roles in fascist circles. Even though Klassen has been criticized by some Klan leaders, both Metzger and Pierce remain influential allies of the COTC, recognizing that groups like WAR, the National Alliance, and COTC are on the cutting edge of the white supremacist movement with their success at training, guiding and supporting a new generation of even more militant and combative white supremacists than the Klan or even the Aryan Nations, which are now beset with internal difficulties and defections.

It is perhaps by observing the organizational success of the COTC and the Heritage Front that German-Canadian Holocaust denier Ernst Zundel recently proclaimed that groups like the Klan/Aryan Nations alliance are not adequate for what he views as the task ahead. In a telling article written in the wake of the Manitoba trial of KKK members and printed in a Pennsylvania Skinhead newsletter, Zundel noted: "I totally and without reservation reject the Klan as a meaningful or viable organization, idea, concept or solution to what is needed in the struggle for Aryan survival today and in the future. . . David Duke, Tom Metzger, Terry Long and now others in Winnipeg and Montreal should serve us as warnings that the Klan is no vehicle to advance the white race's cause in the 1990s."

Having taken the pulse of the white supremacist, neo-Nazi movement, Zundel recognizes that its vitality is now to be found with more successful and organizationally stronger groups than the fractious Aryan Nations or Klan. The COTC, together with groups like the Heritage Front, is part of that link which currently shows no signs of abating. The time to expose, oppose and confront such hate groups is now.

Helmut-Harry Loewen is compiling a report on hate groups for the Manitoba Coalition Against Racism and Apartheid.

The Far Right in Canada

by Helmut-Harry Loewen

It is generally conceded that recently there has been a marked escalation in the activities and organizational capacities of what Rabbi Gunther Plaut has termed Canada's "live fascist movement."

In 1987 Stanley R. Barrett, a social scientist at the University of Guelph, published an exhaustive survey of the Canadian right and listed some 60 radical right groups operating in Canada, including the Aryan Nations and various klaverns of the Ku Klux Klan. Barrett's list of fringe right groups - organizations which could be viewed as relatively moderate, only in relation to the hardcore fascist right - was even more extensive, listing among its 70 groups the Western Canada Concept Party, organized by KKK lawyer Doug Christie. Spearheading such organized racist organizations, Barrett wrote, were numerous individuals who have emerged as "committed and public advocates of Aryan superiority."

In the five years since Barrett published his findings, the far right network has not only maintained its organizational structure, it has also consolidated itself in an ever-widening surge of influence through heightened recruitment efforts, propaganda campaigns, and sometimes brash initiatives of intimidation and violence. Various neo-Nazi groups have emerged in the last few years, so the Canada-wide white supremacist network is clearly on the rise. For it is into such a network that groups such as the Manitoba Knights of the Ku Klux Klan - currently facing extensive criminal and civil proceedings in Winnipeg - must be placed.

A faction of the Aryan Resistance Movement (ARM) has been established in Halifax. ARM is linked with the headquarters of the Aryan Nations in Hayden Lake, Idaho, and is part of an organizational structure known for its virulent racist agitation and murderous violence. This or-



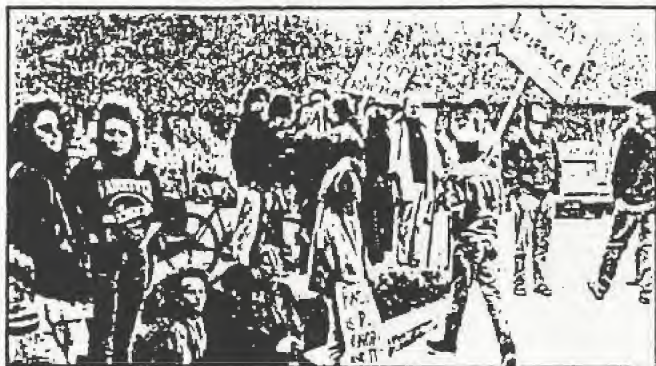
A Canadian Klansman.
photo: Julian Sher

ganized Aryan presence does not bode well in a racially explosive city like Halifax with its sizeable African-Canadian populace.

Quebec has been the site of intensive fascist recruitment and activity. At least three klaverns of the Ku Klux Klan have been identified in Sherbrooke, Montreal and Laval. The Sherbrooke office of the KKK has produced some of the literature distributed by other Canadian Klans, including the Manitoba KKK. A recent report also notes that aside from a sizeable and violent neo-Nazi skinhead movement in Montreal, there are various fascist groups on the fringe of the Quebec nationalist movement, including a francophone Young Aryan Movement and a far right group that calls itself S.O.S. Genocide. It is committed to end non-white, non-francophone immigration to Quebec. The Na-

tional Front of Jean-Marie LePen, a key far right politician in southern France, has also organized branches of that organization in Quebec. Quebec remains a key point of entry for smuggling neo-Nazi propaganda, including *The Klansman*, from the U.S. On the last weekend of July 1992, about 80 members of Canadian and American white supremacist groups held an "Aryan Fest '92" in Quebec, although the gathering met with wide opposition from anti-racist and community organizations.

In Ontario, the Heritage Front, spearheaded by Wolfgang Droege, former KKK leader and, until recently, a member of the Reform Party, has embarked on bold, public campaigns. Aside from operating a racist telephone message line similar to those in other parts of Canada, the Heritage Front organized a white supremacist rally in June 1992. During the same weekend, three synagogues were desecrated with racist graffiti. California-based White Aryan Resistance leaders Tom and John Metzger, as well as Dennis Mahon, a U.S. Klan leader, were guests of honour of the Heritage Front. During the same weekend, three



Rally against racism.
photo: The Shuswap Sun

The Politics of Hate

The Council on Public Affairs (CPA) is an organization based in Salmon Arm, B.C. In the past the CPA has sponsored tours by pseudo-historian David Irving who claims that the holocaust never happened.

In May 1992, the CPA held a conference in Vernon, B.C. where the invited speakers included Irving, Doug Christie, Malcolm Ross, and Jim Keegstra.

Keegstra and Ross - noted anti-Semites tried for wilfully promoting hatred - were "honored" at the CPA's awards banquet. Doug Christie is the lawyer for not only Keegstra and Ross, but Ernst Zundel, who has also been convicted of hate-mongering.

On April 30, 1992, the CPA sponsored a meeting of the Canadian League of Rights (CLR) in Salmon Arm. The CLR has sponsored tours by Jack Mohr who runs a private militia linked to white supremacist groups. Keegstra received much of his hate material from the CLR.

On the same day, David Lethbridge, a psychology professor at Salmon Arm's Okanagan College, organized a protest of the CLR/CPA meeting. Three hundred townspeople showed up to demonstrate - a large number for a town of only 10,000. During the course of the protest, a CPA vehicle drove into the demonstrators causing minor injuries. David Lethbridge allegedly struck the roof of the vehicle with his picket sign. Consequently, the CPA has managed to pressure the RCMP into laying criminal charges against Lethbridge for "wilful damage."

Dr. Lethbridge and 30 others have formed an organization called SACAR - Salmon Arm Coalition Against Racism. SACAR needs financial help. Please send your cheque to SACAR, and please write "Legal Defence" on the reverse of the cheque. Donations should be mailed to SACAR, 3521-20 Avenue N.E., Salmon Arm, B.C. V1E 4M4.

synagogues were desecrated with racist graffiti. After their arrest and detention in a high security Toronto jail, the Metzgers were greeted from beyond the prison walls by neo-Nazi supporters shouting "White Power" slogans and "Death to the Jews."

In western Canada, the tentacles of the far right are equally widespread. In British Columbia, the neo-Nazi Liberty Network has been agitating through racist telephone hotline messages transmitted first from the Vancouver area and then, after having been ordered to terminate its activities, from across the border in Bellingham, Washington. The use of telephone messages is not a relatively innocuous act, since white supremacist groups view hotlines as a key first step in recruiting.

The "Aryan Fest," held in Provost, Alberta in September 1990, has been closely scrutinized by anti-racist and human rights groups. A government inquiry recently analyzed the participating groups (Aryan Nations, KKK and Final Solution Skinheads). It concluded with recommendations making it a violation to display fascist insignia, since these can be viewed as emblematic forms of intimidation. Terry Long, Alberta leader of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian, Aryan Nations, is still wanted by the RCMP and is presumed to have gone underground within the American Aryan network.

A Saskatchewan case involving the shooting death of Leo LaChance, an Aboriginal trapper, by Carney Nerland, the local Aryan Nations leader and, according to some media reports, a possible RCMP informant, is becoming more complex as the government inquiry into the case proceeds in Prince Albert. It is hoped that the inquiry will examine not only the particulars of the shooting, but also, as mandated, examine the role which organized racist activity may have played in this crime.

This sketch of far right activities and organizational capacities in Canada barely scratches the surface, but it indicates the national scope of the problem. By briefly examining aspects of the case involving the Manitoba Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, the interconnectedness of the white supremacist network in North America will be highlighted.

The Manitoba Klan

In December 1991, three members of the Manitoba KKK - Bill Marcus, Theron Skryba and Joseph Lockhart - were arrested by Winnipeg police and charged with a variety of offences, including weapons charges, charges dealing with the wilful promotion of hatred against identifiable groups and the charge of advocating and promoting genocide against minority groups, a charge under Section 318 of the Criminal Code which has never yet been tried in Canada.

According to Winnipeg police inspector Con Gislason: "These people are well connected, well schooled and well trained in the activities of the Klan. They are connected to major Klan members in Alberta, Montreal and various areas in the United States."

Anti-Klan activists had already known for months of the



graphic: Armand Roy

individuals. Marcus had established and maintained close contact with Klans in Missouri, Kansas and Georgia, Northern Hammerskin groups in Michigan, skinhead factions in Montreal and Alberta, Don Andrews of the Nationalist Party in Toronto, the Euro-American Alliance in Milwaukee, and Carney Nerland. Police infiltrated meetings and other KKK activities in a 13 month investigation which culminated in the arrest of the three Klansmen.

Members of the Manitoba KKK had set up a telephone hotline which transmitted ten lengthy messages spewing racist ideology. This was complemented by recruitment efforts through the dissemination of published propaganda at shopping malls and in school yards. Of particular interest to the court case as it now stands is a flyer entitled "Death of the White Race" in which the KKK denounces what it terms "race mixing."

Although KKK lawyer Doug Christie attempted to portray the KKK as a charitable and fraternal organization, this claim was countered during two-and-a-half days of expert testimony by Daniel Levitas of the Atlanta-based Center for Democratic Renewal, formerly known as the National Anti-Klan Network. Levitas testified that "the true creed of the KKK is violence, anti-Semitism, hatred of blacks, gays and lesbians, and white supremacy."

The case resumed at the end of August and could be protracted. In terms of civil action against the Klan, a number of organizations in Manitoba, including the Manitoba Coalition Against Racism and Apartheid (MCARA) have filed human rights complaints which will be heard in Winnipeg in mid-December.

Despite the police and human rights actions launched last year, white supremacist agitation continues. Shortly after announcing its work with the Canadian Human Rights Commission, the offices of MCARA were broken into and vandalized on two occasions, once on Christmas Eve and then again on December 26.

While no KKK member - nor, anyone else - has been

charged with these crimes, the racist, anti-black, KKK graffiti on the walls of the Coalition's office bears witness to the ongoing presence of those who deem themselves to be "The White Patriots." A hate letter was also sent to the Coalition in January this year. Anti-racists continue to be targets across Canada, attesting to the importance of maintaining vigilance about the capacities of the far right for intimidation and violence.

Finally, opposition to groups such as the KKK and the Aryan Nations must be guided by the notion that they are not merely marginal, fringe groups, but part of a social, economic and political system which itself must be transformed if the elimination of racism and fascism is to be successful.

As Julian Sher concludes in his book, *White Hoods: Canada's Ku Klux Klan*: "Because of its extreme virulence and violence, the Ku Klux Klan must be singled out: its defeat or at least containment can be a rallying cry for an outraged public, a symbol and a warning to others that prejudice and discrimination will not be tolerated. Canada's Ku Klux Klan is only a visible scar, a trace of a much deeper sore that runs deep in a society with many ills. In that sense, any fight against the Klan has to be part of a wider effort to change a system where prejudices, inequalities and injustices exist."

Helmut-Harry Loewen is chairperson of the Manitoba Coalition Against Racism and Apartheid.



Behind the Klan's Karibbean Koup Attempt

By Ken Lawrence

On April 27 federal agents arrested ten mercenaries, nine of whom have been linked to various Ku Klux Klan and Nazi organizations in the United States and Canada, as they were about to embark from a Lake Pontchartrain marina near New Orleans on a mission to overthrow the government of Dominica, a small island of the Eastern Caribbean. Six different fascist organizations were represented—Invisible Empire, Ku Klux Klan; Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; Canadian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; National Socialist Party of America; National Alliance; and Western Guard—indicating that there is a great deal more overlap between these groups than the popular news stories about various warring factions would tend to suggest.

In addition, a handful of collaborators have been arrested in Dominica, and several of the accused, including former Prime Minister Patrick John, have been detained there ever since last March when the government first learned of their involvement in planning a *coup* to restore John to power. John, who had been prime minister for 18 years and held that post at the time Dominica won independence from Britain in 1978, had been toppled amid a mounting wave of protest in 1979, and his successor, Oliver Seraphin, was defeated last year by the current prime minister, Eugenia Charles. [See "'Elections' in Dominica: RCMP, MI-6, CIA Manipulation?" in *CAIB* Number 10, August-September 1980.]

But despite the fact that U.S. and Canadian authorities have known of the existence of the plot for some time, the financial backers of the *coup* attempt and its main intended beneficiaries remain at large and, as of this writing, are facing no criminal charges. Those who were aware of, and possibly involved in, the conspiracy in addition to the ten mercenaries include a Texas businessman, a Canadian mobster, the head of an Alabama mercenary training school, and key Klan figures in the U.S. and Canada.

And lurking in the shadows, referred to only in passing in news accounts, is the government of South Africa, whose involvement hasn't been proven, but is widely suspected.

News accounts conflict as to how the plot was uncovered. Most U.S. papers have written that Mike Howell, captain of the *Manana*, was approached by

Michael Perdue, the mercenary leader, who wanted to charter his boat for the invasion. Perdue claimed he was from the CIA, but Howell decided to check with the State Department; when his suspicions that Perdue wasn't a government agent proved correct, Howell helped Treasury Department agents of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms to infiltrate the boat crew; an undercover man secretly tape-recorded Perdue's plans, then set up the arrest.

But the *Toronto Globe and Mail* reported that a member of the Ontario Provincial Police learned of the *coup* plan from Gordon Sivell, a reporter for radio station CFTR. Sivell had been in on the plot since last October, had acted as an intermediary between mercenaries and their spy in Dominica, and had planned to write a book about the *coup*. The OPP then notified the New Orleans ATF office, according to this account. Meanwhile the U.S. State Department notified the Dominican government, which arrested the conspirators on the island.

Bayou of Pigs

Complete details of the invasion plan have not come out, and probably never will, but the basic outline is known. The mercenary force would set sail from New Orleans on April 27 and land on Dominica approximately ten days later. With the assistance of a fifth column including members of former Prime Minister Patrick John's security forces and one or more spies working directly for the mercenaries, the police force would be overwhelmed in a single coordinated attack on its communications center, armory, and barracks in Roseau, the capital.

After overpowering the police, they were to spring Patrick John from jail and restore him to power as the island's ruler. Mercenary leader Perdue would then have received a \$150,000 (U.S.) payment plus valuable concessions for his company, Nortic Enterprises, Inc. Lucrative business and gambling opportunities would have rewarded the *coup's* financiers.

One of the plotters told the *Toronto Globe and Mail* that the aim was to install a black man as the ostensible head of government while white men were the real behind-the-scenes powers.

"Dominica needed white order and white government," he said. Once the invaders had successfully planted their Nazi flag on Dominican soil, they would have opened the island to gambling concessions and offshore banking operations through which wealthy individuals and corporations could evade U.S. and Canadian taxes. They also planned to engage in large lumbering operations, which are now prohibited in order to prevent soil erosion. The country would have become a base from which to publish and distribute fascist and white-supremacist propaganda to many countries, paid for and transported by the government. It was a shocking scheme that might have succeeded.

That was the plan when the ATF undercover agents successfully infiltrated the mercenary force. They dubbed it the "Bayou of Pigs" and played along until the band of ten men, armed with automatic weapons and explosives, were about to depart; they made the arrest at the last possible moment, as the mercenaries prepared to board the *Manana*.

As the ten men were being charged with violation of the Neutrality Act in New Orleans, a Canadian woman, Mary Anne McGuire—described as a "white power fanatic and adventuress"—was detained by Dominican authorities. She later admitted spying for the mercenaries. Then about three weeks later another Canadian, Harold Wood, was arrested by Dominican police and charged with plotting McGuire's escape.

Unindicted Co-Conspirators

News reports have uncovered a wide range of people who had advance knowledge of the plot, none of whom face any criminal charges as yet.

Perhaps the strangest of these were Robert Halliday, news director, and Gordon Sivell, news reporter, for radio station CFTR in Toronto, who had known of the *coup* plan since last October. They had taped interviews with several of the conspirators. The station had hoped to get a scoop, said the *Toronto Globe and Mail*, "by allowing the mercenaries to leave New Orleans, then flying a reporter to Dominica to alert the island's Prime Minister before the attackers arrived." Canada's Minister of Communications, Francis Fox, has ordered his staff to investigate complaints that CFTR tried to keep police in the dark about the plot. (Halliday admitted this, saying that it would have lost the story had it worked alongside the police, but eventually Sivell told a policeman who was his personal friend, who in turn initiated an investigation unknown to the station and tipped off U.S. authorities.) Fox also asked the Canadian Association of Broadcasters to look into the situation, and a Liberal member of the House of Commons questioned whether CFTR's "so-called investigative reporting" conformed to broadcast regulations. But the press generally has shown little interest in a journalistic scandal reminiscent of the role of the Hearst press at the time of the sinking of the *Maine* in Havana harbor. No one seems to have questioned the ethics of having a reporter relay a coded message from Mary Anne McGuire, the spy, to Wolfgang Droege, one of the mercenary leaders, one of many acts by

the station that could have helped bring a bloodbath to the beaches of Dominica, all for the sake of a scoop.

Another person involved in the plot was James Alexander McQuirter, Grand Wizard and national director of the Canadian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. McQuirter told the *Globe and Mail* that he would have been with the raiding party except for the fact that the U.S. had deported him in January and barred him from re-entry. He would have become Dominica's propaganda minister had the *coup* succeeded.

Another of the plotters was a leading Toronto mobster whose identity has not been disclosed. He has been described as an international arms dealer who contributed \$10,000 for the *coup*'s expenses in exchange for the opportunity to set up an international banking fraud in Dominica and to issue diplomatic passports to fellow mobsters, after restoring John to power. McQuirter told the *Globe and Mail* that the mercenaries did not plan to keep the promises made to the mobster, whom they call "The Jew," and might have killed him had the *coup* succeeded.

Another identified financial backer is James White, first publicly named by ATF Special Agent John L. Osburg in an affidavit filed with the U.S. District Court in New Orleans. The affidavit calls White "a Baton Rouge businessman," but later news reports noted that other ATF agents had identified him as James C. White of Longworth, Texas. Osburg's affidavit mentions one other "unknown participant in New Orleans," and a Canadian report quotes law enforcement authorities saying that as many as 80 people may have been involved.

Besides financial backers, the plot was known in mercenary circles. One of those who has admitted prior knowledge is Frank Camper of Dolomite, Alabama. Together with Robert Lisenby of Troy, North Carolina, Camper runs a mercenary training school that recruits through *Soldier of Fortune* magazine; he and Lisenby have had various scrapes with the law, and were arrested most recently in the Little Havana section of Miami when illegal weapons and explosives were found in their car, just two weeks before the mercenary force was scheduled to depart for Dominica. Although he admitted he had known of the invasion plan, Camper denied to the *Birmingham News* that he was involved, and claimed he didn't know the two Klan participants from Birmingham and Tuscaloosa, but added, "I don't know them, but I wouldn't say if I did." His partner, Lisenby, claims another Alabama KKK leader, Robert Shelton, as his friend. The *Christian Science Monitor* interviewed an anonymous mercenary who said that Lisenby's mission in Miami was to bomb the consulate of the Dominican Republic there, and that the money for that operation came from a wealthy Cuban-American who also backed the invasion of Dominica.

It is clear from available documents that the plotters were aided by some Dominicans, but aside from former government officials close to John, it isn't clear just who these people might be. Oliver N. Philip, Dominica's police commissioner, told the *New York Times* that John met

Perdue in Dominica and "took him to the hills where he was introduced to Dreads." This reports seems highly questionable and self-serving. It is true that the current government has had quite a bit of trouble with the Dreads (Dominica's Rastafarians), and there have been several armed clashes between Dreads and police in recent months, before and since the *coup* attempt failed. As a result, a state of emergency has been in effect since February. It is easy to see why the government would want to blame all of its troubles on discredited former officials and fascist invaders. But it is difficult to imagine that the

Dreads would form an alliance with the former prime minister.

The Rastafarians are a complex and enigmatic political anachronism in some ways, given their cultish religious rites, their admiration for Ethiopia's former emperor Haile Selassie (Ras Tafari), and their use of drugs, but they were also one of the original and militant forces in the struggle against colonialism. It was in 1975 that the Dominican political leadership under Patrick John outlawed the Dreads and passed a law entitling any citizen to shoot on

Arrested

PATRICK JOHN, the former prime minister of Dominica, began his career as a reformer and ended it as a right-winger. His popularity waned in 1979 following disclosures of a scheme to invade Barbados and growing discontent over his dealings with U.S. businessmen and the government of South Africa. As discontent spread, John proposed laws restricting freedom of the press and trade unions; when several thousand people peacefully demonstrated against this legislation, soldiers fired on the crowd, killing one and wounding ten. A general strike protesting the shootings brought down the government. John began plotting a comeback through a military *coup d'état* even before the present prime minister, Eugenia Charles, was elected in July of 1980. According to *Time*, John's go-between with the mercenaries was a convicted smuggler named Sydney Burnett-Alleyne, who once recruited mercenaries to invade Barbados.

MICHAEL EUGENE PERDUE of Houston was recruiter, organizer, and commander of the mercenary force. He has variously touted himself as a Marine Corps veteran and a former U.S. Army Green Beret, but is actually just a semi-literate, racist, ordinary criminal. A *Dallas Times-Herald* reporter revealed that although Perdue did enlist in the Marines in 1968, he was arrested for breaking into a home before he ever was due to report for duty, and served 11 months in the Tennessee State Penitentiary on a petty theft conviction instead. Ten years later he was convicted of a drug violation. The *Nashville Tennessean* reported that Perdue once headed the Junior Ku Klux Klan in Gallatin, and his high school drama teacher recalled that he boasted of beating up blacks on Saturday nights. More recently he was active with the Nazis in Houston. Perdue recruited through an ad in *Le Mercenaire*, a newsletter published by George E. Ellis, Jr., in Aurora, Illinois. The ad in the January 1981 issue sought people "of disciplined character" to do "security duty for a private employer on Caribbean nation" for a salary of \$250-\$300 per month plus room, board, uniform, and medical care. The company that signed the ad was Nortic Enterprises at a Longview, Texas, post office box.

STEPHEN DON BLACK of Birmingham succeeded David Duke as Grand Wizard of the Knights of the Ku

Klux Klan. Black was considered an intellectual and theoretician of the recent KKK revival, and always denied that his Klan faction would engage in violence—he claimed this was the difference between his group and Bill Wilkinson's Invisible Empire.

WOLFGANG WALTER DROEGE of Toronto, national organizer for Canadian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan at the time of his arrest, had previously been the KKK organizer in Vancouver and a member of the Western Guard, a Nazi group. He was the Canadian representative at the National Socialist Party of America convention in 1980. He had been convicted twice in Toronto, once for assaulting a photographer and once for painting white power slogans along the route of the 1975 African Liberation Day march. According to the *Toronto Star*, Droege said his father had been a personal friend of Julius Streicher, an early German Nazi Party propagandist who was hanged in 1946 for war crimes. A native of West Germany, Droege was a central figure from the earliest days of the *coup* plot.

GEORGE TAYLOR MALVANEY of Jackson, Mississippi, well-known as a racist agitator before he dropped out of high school, was an important Kliegle (organizer) for Bill Wilkinson's Invisible Empire, Ku Klux Klan. Wilkinson credited Malvaney with having organized a Klan protest in the Navy, when sailors in KKK robes paraded on the deck of the *U.S.S. Concord*. After his discharge from the Navy, Malvaney returned to Jackson, where he was identified as having made threatening telephone calls to civil rights activists, including this writer; he was a key organizer of a Klan rally to support a white policeman who shot and killed a pregnant black woman last summer.

JOE DANIEL HAWKINS of Jackson is a veteran of the old White Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, the most violent Mississippi Klan of the sixties. He and his father were considered among the most dangerous Klan guerrillas of that era, but despite eyewitness testimony to bombings, all-white juries failed to convict the younger Hawkins of the most serious offenses, though he was often fined or jailed on weapons and drug charges. His father was violently murdered in 1974; the killers were

sight any suspected Dreads found on their property. They helped the colonial authorities frame a young militant Dread leader, Desmond Trotter, on a murder charge. Why would this group be helping restore John to power? One Canadian report hedged on this by referring to John's collaborators as "black terrorists hiding out in the hills of Dominica in the guise of Rastafarians."

Cui Bono?

Although most of the plot's backers have not been

never found. The younger Hawkins was credited by a former high-ranking FBI source with having engineered the escape from Parchman Prison of Thomas A. Tarrants III, another notorious Klan terrorist.

WILLIAM BURNETT WALDROP of Braxton, Mississippi, was active in Klan affairs and on one occasion in 1971 was arrested with Hawkins on a weapons charge.

ROBERT WILLIAM PRITCHARD of Raleigh, North Carolina, lists his home address as the address for the headquarters of the National Socialist Party of America, and he is a member of that party. He used to be a neighbor of Harold Covington, who led that party when several of its members joined with Klansmen to kill five leaders of the Communist Workers Party in Greensboro on November 3, 1979. Covington resigned his leadership post after the revelation that John Hinckley, the man who shot President Ronald Reagan and others, had been a member of the N.S.P.A.

MICHAEL STANLEY NORRIS of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, was information officer for the Alabama chapter of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan until he quit to join the National Alliance, a Nazi group. The group's national leader, William L. Pierce, wrote *The Turner Diaries*, the Klan/Nazi "blueprint for revolution."

LARRY LLOYD JACKLIN of Listowell, Ontario, has attended public functions of the Klan and Nazi Party and a newspaper reported that Perdue recruited him at one such affair.

CHRISTOPHER BILLY ANDERSON of Oklahoma City is the only one of the mercenaries without documented ties to the Klan or the Nazis. He is a former police chief from Kansas who was suspended in 1975 after assaulting a suspect, and was a bus driver until he quit to join the Dominica invaders.

MARY ANNE MCGUIRE of Toronto was sent to Dominica as a spy, to locate a suitable landing site for the invaders, to act as go-between with John's supporters on the island, and to send back information on police readiness, shore patrols, and fortifications. She was born a Catholic in Derry City, Northern Ireland, and joined the Irish Republican Army as a teenager and fought the British, her estranged husband told the *Toronto Star*. But after emigrating to Canada

revealed, it is not difficult to imagine who might have reaped the major benefits had the coup succeeded.

In February 1979 Grey and Don Pierson, a father-son team of businessmen from Arlington, Texas, signed a 99-year contract with the John government on behalf of their company, Caribbean Southern Corp., to lease 45 square miles of land for \$100 (U.S.) per year to build a duty-free port zone in exchange for two percent of the profits made by companies operating in the zone; an equal portion of the revenues would go to Caribbean Southern's shareholders.



U.S. federal agent shows some of the weapons and ammunition taken from the mercenaries.

six years ago to become a nurse, McGuire became involved with several extreme right-wing white-supremacist groups, including the Western Guard and Canadian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. At the time of her arrest she was a Grand Titan of the Canadian Klan and listed her address as the Canadian KKK's Toronto headquarters.

HAROLD PHILLIPS WOOD was arrested in the rain forest outside the capital city of Roseau wearing a combat jacket and a rucksack. Wood, a Toronto housepainter who spent many years in England, is suspected of planning to help Mary Anne McGuire escape from jail. He gave as his address the former home of Don Andrews, leader of the Western Guard; Andrews confirmed that Wood said he was going to Dominica to rescue McGuire.

Other Dominicans arrested and charged with plotting a coup to restore John to power are: former Defense Force commander MAJ. FREDERICK NEWTON; second in command of the army, CAPT. MALCOLM REID; the former director of broadcasting and information, DENNIS JOSEPH; JULIAN DAVID, an executive of John's Labor Party; SGT. RONNIE ROBERTS; and CPL. HOWELL PIPER.

In terms reminiscent of Zaire's agreement with the West German rocket company OTRAG [see *Dirty Work 2: The CIA in Africa*], Caribbean Southern was given virtual sovereignty over one fifth of Dominica—the company had total power to police the area and substantial control over immigration.

Public uproar forced cancellation of the deal, particularly after news accounts suggested that South Africa was backing Caribbean Southern and that the free port would be used to transship weapons to South Africa in violation of the international arms embargo. This suspicion was strengthened when the British Broadcasting Corporation reported that John's representatives were attempting to purchase oil for South Africa. The subsequent disclosure that the nearby island of Antigua was the place used by Space Research Corp. to smuggle sophisticated munitions bound for South Africa confirmed the reasonableness of these suspicions. Shortly after the protests began, John's government fell.

The caretaker government that followed was headed by John's agriculture minister, Oliver Seraphin, who attempted to cut a similar deal with another U.S. firm. Although some of the more outrageous clauses in the Pierson deal were missing, the contract signed with Ronald A. Loudon and David A. Lloyd of Intercontinental Development and Management Co., Inc., based in Los Angeles, was sharply criticized as more of the same. The contract contained provisions for the development of housing, agriculture, forestry, small industry, public and private financing and tourism. It was publicly touted as aid for the country to help recover from the devastation caused by two hurricanes: in August of 1979 Hurricane David had killed 56 people and ruined much of the island's buildings and crops; Hurricane Frederick, though milder, caused additional destruction. One clause required the government of Dominica to "Undertake to confer upon persons not belonging to the Commonwealth of Dominica the status of

citizens upon such terms and conditions as the Government shall impose by way of qualification, which shall include in addition to such persons having to be of good repute, evidence of a contribution by any applicant for such a status to the economic development of the Commonwealth of Dominica, in terms of investment to a level acceptable to the government." The contract also allowed the company to set up tourist offices containing consulates throughout the world.

The Dominica Liberation Movement, an alliance of four progressive organizations—People's Democratic Party, Popular Independence Committee, Working People's Vanguard, and Dominica Democratic Alliance—sharply attacked the contract with Intercontinental as another attempt to subvert the sovereignty of the country. Prophetically, they predicted that the company would gain control of Dominica's foreign policy; would be able to make people citizens of Dominica for whatever purpose and "introduce a new kind of racketeering with Dominican passports;" would get special laws passed—"some of these laws will have to be repressive like the Dread Act in order to make the people submit to the dictates of this company"—and all the while would pay no taxes.

It was shortly after the signing of this contract that Iranians in the U.S. were offered Dominican passports for \$10,000 in order to avoid having to leave the U.S. The country's treasury never saw any of the income from this venture, and popular resentment against this contract helped defeat Seraphin's bid for re-election, especially since his conservative opponents, Eugenia Charles' Freedom Party, received the covert backing of the U.S., British, and Canadian governments.

The contract that Patrick John signed with Michael Perdue, granting him similar concessions for Nortie Enterprises, certainly does nothing to quell suspicions that some of the financiers involved in the coup plot may

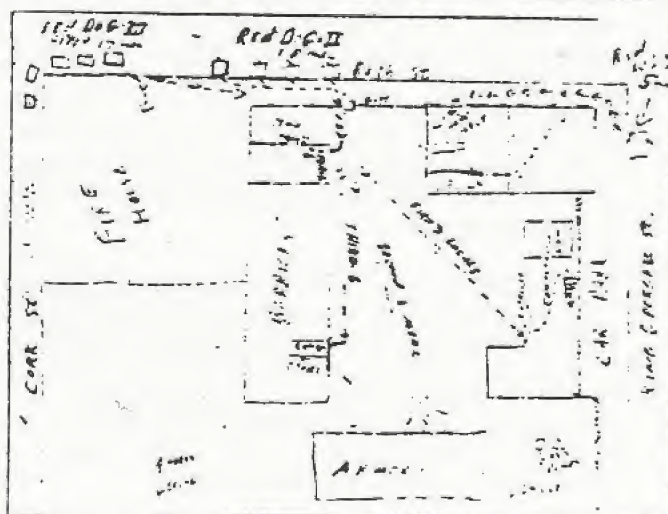


Diagram shows how the mercenaries, with local dissidents, planned to attack Roseau

police station and seize the police radio communications centre, armory, barracks

Tell him also that our business people FELL they can ARRANGE A HY, HY, HY loan within a few months.
IF I am light on MERCY then his LOCALS will have to FELL in. But I don't expect this.
Your position will be Red Dog 3. You will lead the REINFORCEMENTS into the police station and your men will SECURE the FIRE STATION. Know who you will be working with and have KNOWLEDGE OF the FIRE STATION.

Part of a letter from mercenary leader Michael Perdue to James Alexander

McQuirter, head of Canadian Klan, telling him what to do in Dominica prior to attack

The *Toronto Globe and Mail* obtained orders and documents on the coup plot which Canadian Klan chieftain Alex McQuirter had given to an Ottawa woman with whom he had planned to write a book about the coup.

in places like St. Lucia and the growing insurgency in Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Haiti are viewed as threats to U.S. interests. Under these circumstances the U.S. government doesn't want to sully the image of conservative anti-communism with petty corruption and gangsterism.

That's the real reason why this *coup* attempt was stopped, not because the U.S. has any real interest in punishing the plotters—indeed, if their punishment is too severe, it may make things more difficult the next time the CIA needs mercenaries to carry out another dirty chore like its 1975 war in Angola.

At present seven of the mercenaries have pleaded guilty to reduced charges. The other three, Don Black, Michael Norris, and Joe Daniel Hawkins, are scheduled to face trial on June 15. If they actually do go to trial, it is possible that more details of the *coup* may be disclosed, facts that the authorities of Dominica, Canada, and the U.S. know but have thus far chosen to withhold. There is no word yet on whether any investigation will lead to indictments of the invasion's financial backers, or any censure of radio station CETR.

FORMING (ASSOCIATION addressed to STREET FIGHTING exercise CASE 2 star (43)

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When first stopped by a local land owner, the men posed as "the 197th Battalion from Fort Benning, Georgia, on training exercises," but the hoax failed and the local man called the police, who after the arrest noted that Camper's passport indicated he had traveled to a number of countries, including Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and Mexico.

Last year Lisenby, who boasts of his friendship with United Klans of America Imperial Wizard Robert Shelton, trained 1,500 members of the Christian-Patriots Defense League, a racist and anti-Semitic paramilitary group based in Louisville, Illinois, which has an overlapping membership with the Klan. He distributes John Birch Society and Liberty Lobby publications in his Survival Shack shop.

Both Lisenby and Camper are Vietnam veterans—Lisenby a graduate of Ranger School who served with the First Air Cavalry Division.

Camper denies ties to Klansmen and Nazis—"I don't know them, but I wouldn't say if I did"—but has admitted he had prior knowledge of the planned invasion of Dominica.

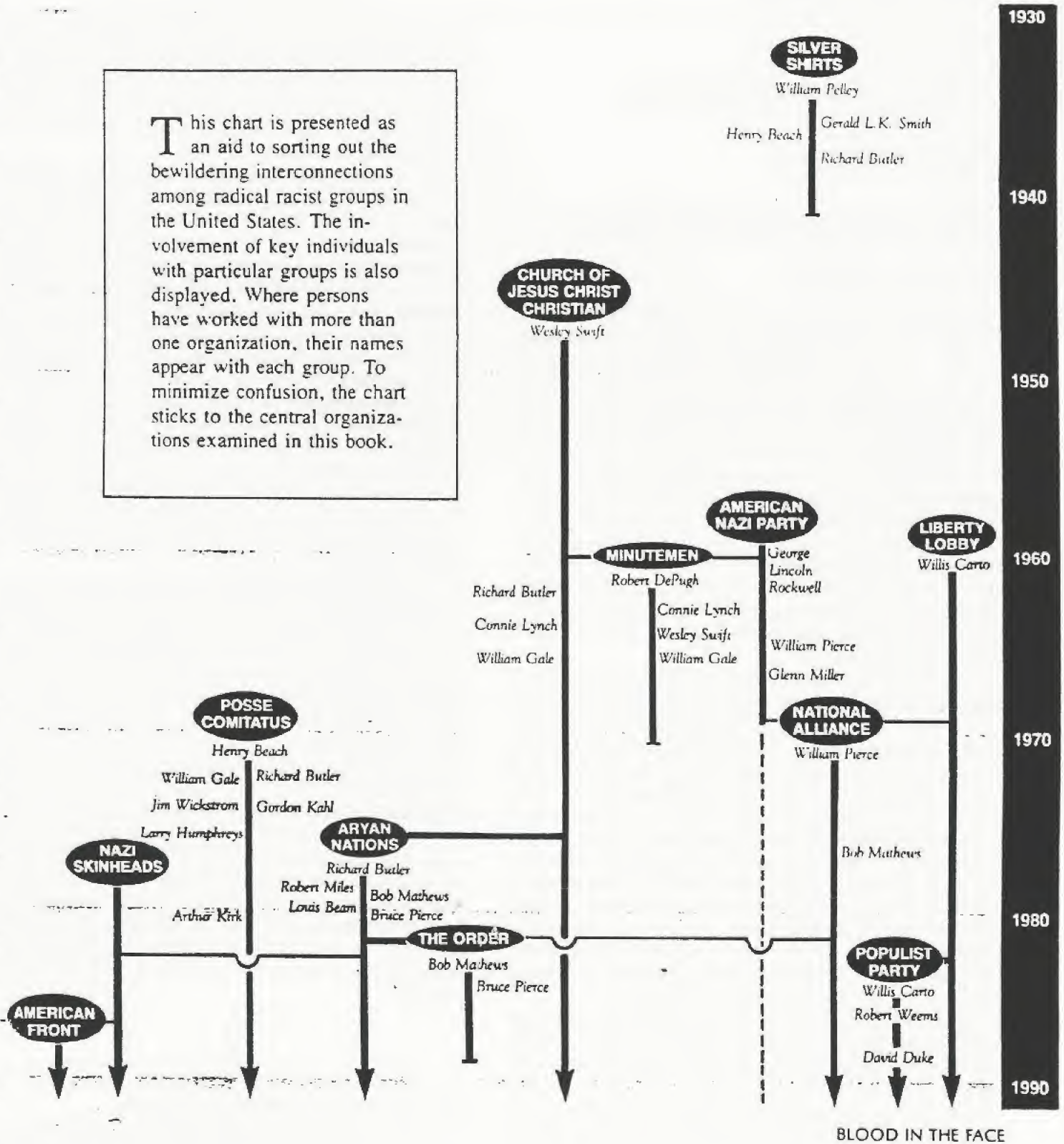
On April 14, Camper and Lisenby were arrested in the Little Havana section of Miami, caught with explosives and illegal weapons in their rented car.

Despite a lot of recent attempts to glorify, romanticize, and prettify mercenaries, these dogs of war all share a common ugly stench.

On March 20 the group recruited by this ad, together with their teachers, were arrested for trespassing near the Crystal River nuclear power plant in Florida.

Number 13 (July-August 1981)

This chart is presented as an aid to sorting out the bewildering interconnections among radical racist groups in the United States. The involvement of key individuals with particular groups is also displayed. Where persons have worked with more than one organization, their names appear with each group. To minimize confusion, the chart sticks to the central organizations examined in this book.



ARTICLES.

■ SPECIAL REPORT

The American Neo-Nazi Movement Today

ELINOR LANGER

The story you are about to read is an ugly one. If it were a film, it would be rated "R." On television, a solicitous commentator would warn parents to urge children from the room. It is the story of something secret becoming public; of something forbidden becoming permitted; of the long, slow re-emergence of racial thinking in the United States from its retreat after World War II to the point where it can once again energize action; of the gradual, tentative crystallization of a political movement openly aimed at white hegemony. The problems of understanding this phenomenon are many. Composed of elements ranging from the Ku Klux Klan of Connecticut to the skinheads of California, the racial movement is scattered and diverse, and on matters as important as its relationship to American society in general and American racism in particular, observers disagree.

I want to make it plain from the outset that I am not an authority on the neo-Nazi movement. I live in Portland, Oregon, where in November 1988 three skinheads murdered an Ethiopian man, and like many of my friends and neighbors, I was startled to see how—literally—close to home it had come. The murder took place in a neighborhood very near where my husband and I had lived when we first moved to Portland years before. Of the three assailants, one was a neighbor, living a few blocks away in a building in which I had just considered taking an office; the second was a rock musician and all-round counterculture personage who moved in circles close to those of our baby sitter as well as, at some points, close to mine; and the third was a recent homecoming king of a local high school with some of whose friends and schoolmates my own acquaintances also overlapped.

Originally, the boys were to have been tried jointly and, my attention having been caught, I arranged to write about the trial for this magazine. It then transpired that the cases were severed, and ultimately, because the defendants all pleaded guilty, there were no trials at all. But in the meantime, as you will see, the trail had led directly from the Portland skinheads, members of a local gang called East Side White Pride, to a

California-based neo-Nazi organization called White Aryan Resistance (WAR) and to its youth arm, the Aryan Youth Movement (A.Y.M.), headed, respectively, by a man named Tom Metzger and his son, John, and my article on the Portland case had become this special issue of *The Nation* on the movement as a whole.

In introducing to *Nation* readers a subject that until recently I knew little about, I feel a certain diffidence; my chief comfort in doing so is that one of the things I have realized during this period is how little is generally known. Unlikely as it seems, there appears to be only a handful of scholars at work on specialized aspects of the movement, and as far as I have been able to learn there is no ongoing research of a general sociological nature. The books that are available have been written mostly by journalists, invariably as a result of having covered some local occurrence, but these, though useful, tend to suffer from an excess of anecdote and an absence of documentation. There are organizations that at first glance appear to know everything and without which no one looking at the neo-Nazi movement would get very far, but their interests also are specialized, and it soon becomes apparent that though their facts are indispensable their assumptions are arguable, and it is necessary to weigh their interpretation against one's own.

In writing about a subject that carries with it the automatic weight of its association with Nazi Germany, I find myself uncomfortable for another reason, suspended between caution and alarm. Especially about a movement as underreported as this one, you do not write, in the first place, merely to observe "This too will pass away"; you write to sound an alert. At the same time, you know that the tests of time are different and that historians of another generation will consider the evidence and say either that it was all simply part of another "Brown Scare" in which people, as usual, lost their heads, and some their civil liberties, or that a dangerous movement was on the rise and that we failed to discern it early enough and help stamp it out. I do not know where along this spectrum the truth of the neo-Nazi movement lies. I do know that it is among us, that it is violent and mean, and that it is time to open up the subject for further investigation and discussion so that out of a broader base of information and a variety of perspectives there can possibly be fashioned a sound response.

I.

In using the term "neo-Nazi," I am referring roughly to an array of groups and individuals, including:

§ Nazis: old-line groups principally descended from the American Nazi Party founded by George Lincoln Rockwell in 1959, whose members still appear in uniform, as well as other small Nazi-identified parties and groupings whose members usually do not.

§ The skinheads: youth gangs in various cities with names like Youth of Hitler and the Confederate Hammerskins—some, like San Francisco's American Front, openly connected

Elinor Langer, the author of Josephine Herbst (Warner Books), is just completing a year as a visiting fellow in the Yale University American Studies program. Research for this article was supported, in part, by grants from the Fund for Investigative Journalism and the Dick Goldensohn Fund.

with Metzger's WAR, and some not; skinheads are the fastest-growing wing of the movement today.

§ The Ku Klux Klan: no longer the centralized Klan of previous eras, but three separate and rival Klan federations and innumerable splinter groups; it is a government-infiltrated and at times government-manipulated Klan, a shadow of its former self, many of whose units are, however, "Nazified" in that they cooperate freely with the Nazi groups (something that was unthinkable in the past, when the Klan's patriotism and the Nazis' Germanophilism invariably clashed) and share many of the same ideas.

§ The Posse Comitatus: a decentralized, antistate and largely rural movement, which also appears as the Christian Patriots or American Freeman Association, whose adherents believe, among other things, that all government should be rooted at the county level and that cooperating with any higher authority, including the I.R.S. or, indeed, even the state Department of Motor Vehicles, is wrong.

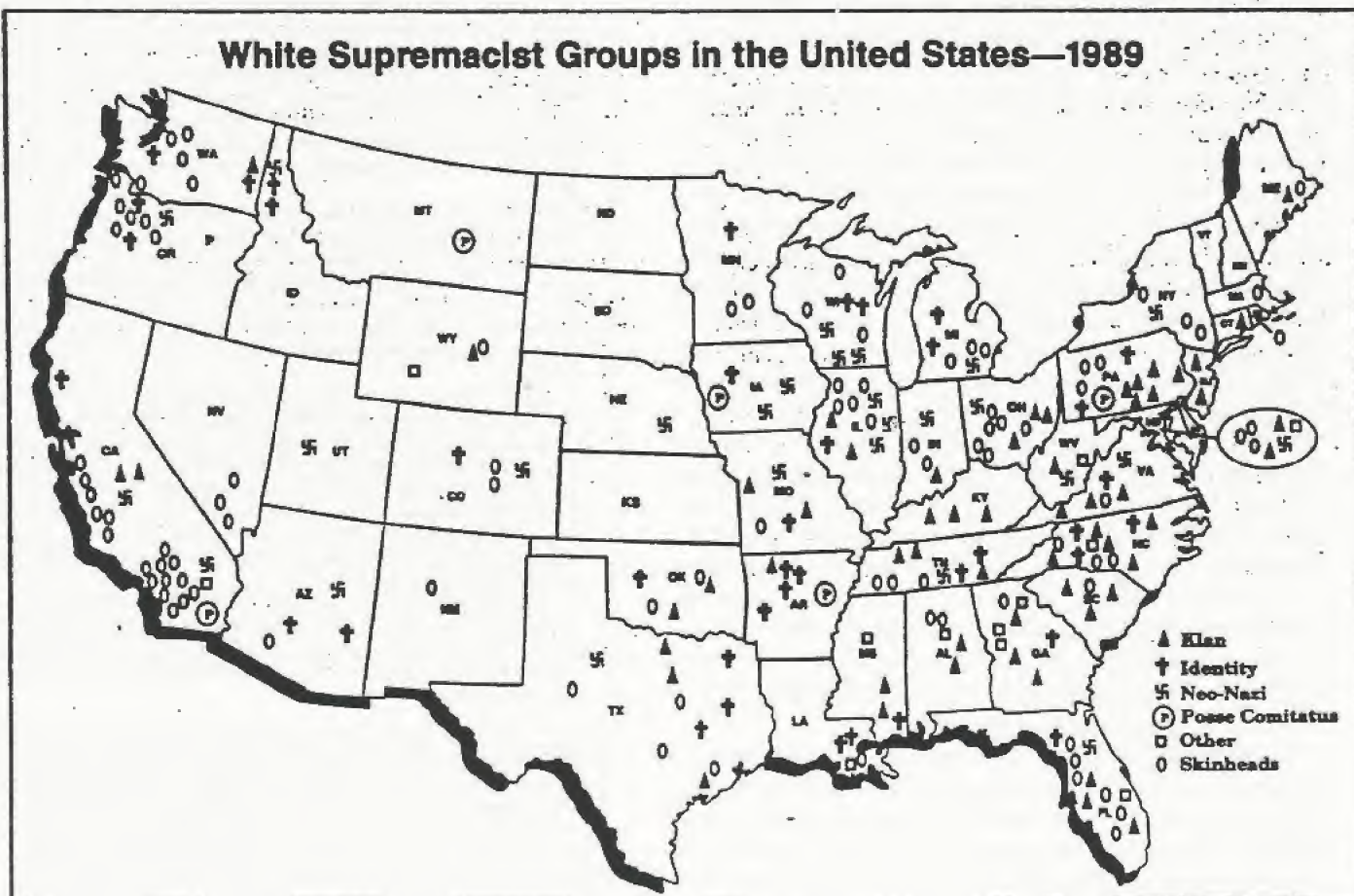
§ The Christian Identity movement: an Aryan-inspired religious denomination descended from a nineteenth-century movement known as Anglo-Israelism or British Israelism, which holds that the "chosen people" of the Bible are white Anglo-Saxons, that Jews are descended from Satan and that all nonwhites are "pre-Adamic" "mud people," a lower species than whites; it is a religious movement that, as in the case of Idaho's Aryan Nations-Church of Jesus Christ, Christian (as opposed to Jesus Christ, Jew), is often indistinguishable from a political one.

The Nature of the Movement

In the phrase "neo-Nazi movement," both the terms "neo-Nazi" and "movement" require further discussion, and they have to be argued together. If you look at the map below, recently issued by the Klanwatch Project of the Southern Poverty Law Center (S.P.L.C.) in Montgomery, Alabama, you will see that while it includes the categories listed above, it uses the overall heading "white supremacist" and reserves "neo-Nazi" for the groups that had their genesis with Rockwell. The term "white supremacist" is also used by another major monitoring organization, the Center for Democratic Renewal in Atlanta. The problem with this usage, it seems to me, is not that it is wrong but that it does not go far enough, retaining an old-fashioned, unduly Southern and narrowly political flavor that fails to reflect the modern racialism that comes to us directly from the Nazi era and that I think is the essential characteristic these groups share. The neo-Nazi label does have varying degrees of applicability. James Farrands, Imperial Wizard of The Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, with whom I spoke a few months ago, was indignant at being associated with neo-Nazis and at pains to assure me that "you don't have to be a Nazi to be an anti-Semite," and to find a member of the Posse Comitatus with the same revulsion would not be difficult. But for the most part these organizations have no enemies to the right. If there are those within the movement who object to their Nazi bedfellows, they do not generally make themselves heard.

More important than any differences among the groups is

White Supremacist Groups in the United States—1989



Source: Klanwatch

the fact that the individuals within them function together as a movement and know that they are one—a point on which the two monitoring organizations mentioned above, as well as the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (A.D.L.), largely agree. Klan and Nazi units have worked together at least since their combined assault on anti-Klan demonstrators at a rally in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1979, in which five were killed, three of them members of the Communist Workers Party. Klan/neo-Nazi joint appearances on occasions such as an annual gathering in Pulaski, Tennessee, honoring the founding of the Klan—this year also attended by Aryan Nations pastor Richard Butler—have become routine. The symbol for the Klan on the map near Spokane, in eastern Washington, for example, refers to Kim Badynski, who recently relocated to the Northwest from Chicago, where his Klan faction was closely associated with various Nazi groups. He is now close to pastor Butler and the Aryan Nations group in Idaho, at whose compound he has often appeared with the person represented on the map by the swastika east of Portland, Rick Cooper, publisher of a newsletter called "National Socialist Vanguard Report," who is proud to call himself a Nazi and would probably satisfy anyone's definition. Other visitors to the Idaho compound, whose annual Aryan Nations congress has been one of the central gathering points of the movement for several years, have included skinheads, Identity Christians, Posse associates and so on. An Aryan martyrs list saluted throughout the movement would include not only Robert Mathews, founder of the violent brotherhood called "The Order," whose death in a 1984 shootout with the F.B.I. on Whidbey Island, Washington, is commemorated by an annual vigil, but also Gordon Kahl, a North Dakota Posse farmer convicted of tax evasion who killed two federal marshals attempting to serve a warrant for probation violation in 1983, and was himself killed in an F.B.I. shootout in Arkansas a few months later. The mail-order catalogues of the Christian Patriots, a Posse group, and of the National Vanguard, a West Virginia Nazi group begun by Rockwell-follower William Pierce, not only offer many selections in their specialized areas (roughly, European prehistory and myth, in the case of the Nazis; the monetary system, in the case of the Patriots) but often overlap, featuring not only such classics as Carleton Putnam's *Race and Reason* (which is still winning converts) and Henry Ford's *The International Jew* (ditto) but such newer and highly influential tracts as *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century* by Arthur Butz and *Did Six Million Really Die?* by Richard Harwood. If there is a household of an adherent of any wing of the movement that does not have a copy of *The Turner Diaries*, Pierce's fantasy of the violent overthrow of the U.S. government by patriotic guerrillas, I would be surprised (see excerpt at right).

To the readers of these books, Jews are the force controlling your life, blacks are genetically inferior and race mixing is the nearest thing to the end of the world this side of Armageddon. Although one group may start with the Jews and end with the blacks and another may start with the blacks and end with the Jews, they are linked by the newer idea that blacks are the latest woe that the Jews are heaping on the world.

These are not the only convictions held in common, of course. Hostility to homosexuals and aliens, to name only two other groups, is also universal, though reflected less in the current ideological libraries than in the streets. But it is above all else the centrality of the Jew, even in the wake of the Holocaust, that makes me believe that "neo-Nazi" is the proper label for the movement in question. The quality of its hate and the direction of its intentions go beyond what we have seen in America before. As anomalous as it seems in a country in which blacks are not only the primary historical but also the primary daily victims of racism of every description, the Jew is, in-

From The Turner Diaries

August 1, 1993. Today has been the Day of the Rope—a grim and bloody day, but an unavoidable one. Tonight, for the first time in weeks, it is quiet and totally peaceful throughout all of southern California. But the night is filled with silent horrors; from tens of thousands of lampposts, power poles, and trees throughout this vast metropolitan area the grisly forms hang.

In the lighted areas one sees them everywhere. Even the street signs at intersections have been pressed into service, and at practically every street corner I passed this evening on my way to HQ there was a dangling corpse, four at every intersection. Hanging from a single overpass only about a mile from here is a group of about 30, each with an identical placard around its neck bearing the printed legend, "I betrayed my race." Two or three of that group had been decked out in academic robes before they were strung up, and the whole batch are apparently faculty members from the nearby UCLA campus.

In the areas to which we have not yet restored electrical power the corpses are less visible, but the feeling of horror in the air there is even worse than in the lighted areas. I had to walk through a two-block-long, unlighted residential section between HQ and my living quarters after our unit meeting tonight. In the middle of one of the unlighted blocks I saw what appeared to be a person standing on the sidewalk directly in front of me. As I approached the silent figure, whose features were hidden in the shadow of a large tree overhanging the sidewalk, it remained motionless, blocking my way.

Feeling some apprehension, I slipped my pistol out of its holster. Then, when I was within a dozen feet of the figure, which had been facing away from me, it began turning slowly toward me. There was something indescribably eerie about the movement, and I stopped in my tracks as the figure continued to turn. A slight breeze rustled the foliage overhead, and suddenly a beam of moonlight broke through the leaves and fell directly on the silently turning shape before me.

The first thing I saw in the moonlight was the placard with its legend in large, block letters: "I defiled my race." Above the placard leered the horribly bloated, purplish face of a young woman, her eyes wide open and bulging, her mouth agape. Finally I could make out the thin, vertical line of rope disappearing into the branches above. Apparently the rope had slipped a bit or the branch to which it was tied had sagged, until the woman's feet were resting on the pavement, giving the uncanny appearance of a corpse standing upright of its own volition.

I shuddered and quickly went on my way. There are many thousands of hanging female corpses like that in this city tonight, all wearing identical placards around their necks. They are the White women who were married to or living with Blacks, with Jews, or with other non-white males.

The *Turner Diaries* was written under the pseudonym Andrew Macdonald by William Pierce, a former physicist who left a university teaching position to join George Lincoln Rockwell in 1966 and subsequently served as one of the leaders of the American Nazi Party and its successors. He currently heads the National Alliance, based in West Virginia, which publishes a monthly tabloid, *National Vanguard*, as well as a number of books, including this one. The *Turner Diaries* is offered for sale by every far-right mail-order business in the United States and is widely believed to have served as the model for the crimes of *The Order*. Pierce was an important early influence on Robert Mathews.

creasingly, the ultimate target; and lest the logic elude you, it is that, out of fear of being recognized as a race themselves, the Jews have conceived and implemented a variety of political strategies, of which integration is only the most offensive, designed to minimize racial differences in general. The significance of the historic shift on the far right from the dominance of the Klan to the dominance of the Nazi-influenced skinheads and others is in fact precisely the linkage of blacks and Jews in an explicitly genocidal context. The cartoons on pages 92 and 93, a WAR video that opens with a laugh track over a scene of bulldozers burying bodies at Auschwitz, the words of Rick Cooper ("When the people can no longer tolerate the Jews, those people who don't believe in the Holocaust will want one; and those who do believe in the Holocaust will want another one. . . . The next Holocaust won't be a hoax"), all emanating from the same source, have got to give one pause. However much some Jews, and some blacks, may now wish to part company, from the neo-Nazi viewpoint they are part of the same problem, as are gays and every other minority as well.

The reader would undoubtedly like to know how many people are involved, a point on which the available data are unfortunately not very good. Estimates made by the three monitoring organizations mentioned above range from about 10,000 to about 20,000 members of these groups nationally, with the organizations agreeing on a rule of thumb of about ten passive supporters for every hard-core member—and thus a possible total of up to 200,000—and agreeing as well that the numbers are conservative. The larger number, which by some counts includes an additional 30,000 Christian Identity followers, is also presumed to include the 100,000 or so subscribers to a Washington, D.C.-based newspaper called *The Spotlight*, published by an ideologically similar but stylistically dissimilar far-right organization, the Liberty Lobby, founded in 1957 by Willis Carto, who also founded the revisionist Institute for Historical Review and the contemporary Populist Party, as well as the 44,000 people who voted for the 1988 Populist presidential candidate, David Duke.

As uncertain as the number of adherents is the number of incidents of hate-motivated violence that we read about in our papers every day; everyone agrees they are dramatically increasing, but there are no reliable figures. With the exception of the A.D.L., which issues an annual audit of anti-Semitic incidents (1,432 in 1989, a 12 percent increase over the previous year), most national organizations prefer not to quantify, believing that with the violence and the reporting apparently increasing simultaneously, the situation is not only a social but also a statistical mess; and with a monitoring agency in the Northwest alone reporting a 400 percent overall increase during the same year, this seems a reasonable inference. The Hate Crimes Statistics Act recently signed by President Bush requires the Justice Department to begin keeping national statistics for the first time, but since participation by state and local police agencies is voluntary—and certain acts, such as cross burnings, may in some cases be arbitrarily excluded—it is questionable how comprehensive they will be.

More important than the number either of members or of

incidents, however, is the relationship between the two—a matter that has scarcely begun to be discussed. While it appears that most hate crimes are committed by individuals who are not associated with any organized group, the impulses of the member and the nonmember appear to be much the same. If it is an exaggeration to say that every hate criminal is a potential neo-Nazi, certainly they give the leaders reason to hope. At the least, there appears to be a kind of multiplier effect whereby one thing leads to another, and the mere existence of the movement acts as an enabling force for the open expressions of racism that, until recently, have tended to be underground. There is a dynamism at work here that any static accounting, whether of "members" or "incidents," cannot reflect. Tom Metzger is one of the principal sources of that dynamism, as his television program makes clear.

The Tom Metzger Show

"Hi, this is Tom Metzger, your host for *Race and Reason*, the longest-running show of its type on cable access TV, seen in approximately fifty cities across the United States, blazing a trail of real free speech, free speech for white working people for a change. *Race and Reason* is an island of free speech in a sea of managed and controlled news . . ."

The suit is brown, the shirt is blue, the tie is polka-dot, the voice is mellow and the guest tonight is "Baxter the Pagan," a skinhead leader and mainstay of the WAR organization who takes the "Pagan" from the ancient Germanic tribal religion of Odinism, of which he, like many neo-Nazis, is a follower.

"It must have been tough, a white boy in New York," Metzger begins. "How does it work?"

"I grew up in a predominantly white neighborhood," Baxter replies. "The only blacks around were in an orphanage that was very large at one time, but the race riots of the sixties took care of that—a couple of white victories here and there."

Metzger does not question this logic, but continues:

"But you gradually got out into the streets of New York?"

"Yeah. The suburbs become boring. Especially to someone with an adventurous spirit. Someone not held back by the Christian lie."

What did he find in the city? Metzger wants to know.

"Gangs," says Baxter. "Your drug gangs, your race mixers, your white gangs who don't know that they're supremacists [*sic*], but they are."

They discuss the Guardian Angels, who have interposed themselves between skinheads and antiracist protesters on occasions such as the gathering known as the "Aryan Woodstock," which Metzger sponsored in Napa, California, in the spring of 1989, not long before this television session took place.

"Is it true [the Angels] don't encourage white boys and white girls to work together in a group?" Metzger asks.

"It seemed that way to me," Baxter agrees. "The white girls, they talk like Puerto Rican girls, they always have black boyfriends, it seemed like in a white couple the woman would receive so much guff from the black guys about how much of a racist she is not to let their black slime between her legs,

and the white guy would just be too much of a wimp to do anything about it."

What about Italians, Metzger wonders. "Did you ever go around Little Italy?"

"Oh, Mott Street, sure," says Baxter. "The Italians are very racially motivated people."

"Racially motivated"—sometimes either just "racial" or "motivated"—is a phrase that recurs throughout the broadcast, once in relation to Baxter's suburb ("the town I come from is still pretty racially motivated"), once in relation to Howard Beach ("the white people in New York are pretty racially motivated if not totally insane") and once in relation to the Russians, thus:

Metzger: "We get a lot of mail from young people thinking the military is going to make a man of them, but when they find this tremendous leaning over for blacks most of them want to get out as soon as they get in. What kind of defense is this mongrelized army going to give us? I mean, if the Russians really did try to invade the U.S. . . ."

Baxter: "If the Russians really did try to invade the U.S., I'd probably be fighting with them."

Metzger: "That just lost us the V.F.W. vote. But when you see a Russian submarine or ship coming in, they're almost all white. You might see a Mongol . . ."

Baxter: "Or throw in an Armenian . . ."

Metzger: "But you never see a nonwhite on a Russian sub."

Baxter: "Sure, he'd be bilged before the day was up. The Russians are pretty motivated people, from what I understand."

The conversation with Baxter identifies many of Metzger's immediate enemies and highlights some of his long-range themes—"skinheads who claim they're white power but yet they'll screw a beaner chick or a half-breed gook or some epitome like that"; the conservative whites in Napa County who "technically conspired with the Marxists and lesbians and homosexuals from San Francisco" to stop the Napa concert; "cops on the front lines that are the ones giving us the most trouble . . . so aren't we really in a white civil war?"—but there are many others.

With Baxter's wife, "Monique Wolfing," head of a support group known as the Aryan Women's League, whose activities have included a clothing drive for families of fellow racialists in prison, Metzger discusses the ideal relationship between Aryan women and men, which Monique sees as neither inferiority nor superiority but as equality, "because once you have two counterparts working together you can't lose."

"Isn't there a move in this country that with the white male under attack they've given a special classification to white women and minorities to further split the white male and female up?" Metzger offers, and Monique agrees.

Another of her interests is ecology, which is likewise one of Metzger's frequent refrains. "I've noticed," he prods, "that there's an increased number of young people in the white racist movement who are also quite interested in the ecology, protecting the animals from cruelty and things like that, and it seems to me that as we are becoming more aware of our precarious state, the white man, the white woman's, state in

the world, being only about 10 percent of the population, we begin to sympathize, empathize more, with the wolves and other animals."

"Well, naturally," replies Monique. "They're in the same position we are. Why would we want something created for ourselves and yet watch nature be destroyed? We work hand in hand with nature and we should save nature along with trying to save our race."

With *WAR* newspaper movie critic Mike Kingsley on another program, Metzger discusses Jewish domination of Hollywood, and particularly films like *Mississippi Burning*, which they agree is inaccurate on matters such as the representation of murdered civil rights workers Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman as white people when they were Jews. "I mean, how many white people would want to go down [South] in the 1960s . . . and help blacks integrate the schools when the entire state says, 'No way'?" Kingsley asks.

With *WAR* newspaper managing editor Wyatt Kaldenberg, one of a number of former leftists Metzger has recently recruited to his cause; Bob Heick, head of the San Francisco Nazi Skinhead American Front; and his son John, who on this show runs back and forth between the set and the control room, Tom relives their 1988 appearance on *The Geraldo Show* which ended in Geraldo Rivera's broken nose, observing that the network had paid for the skinheads to fly to New York City not once but twice for the program. "Sells a lot of soap for those people, eh?" Metzger chortles.

Who watches *Race and Reason* it is difficult to say. Public-access TV is neither a heavily viewed nor an effectively monitored segment of the television market, and the figure of fifty outlets that Metzger frequently uses on his broadcasts is his alone. Like many public-access programs, the show is amateurish, at times to the point of parody, and a viewer clicking through the channels would be unlikely to stop there without a reason. But if *Race and Reason* has not directly catapulted Metzger into the American living room, it has done so indirectly, for Metzger was the first to notice that by judicious use of the rules governing public access he could create, in effect, a cable network that would generate at least the appearance of a national audience, and it is an appearance that has in turn generated its own reality. Thanks in large part to the controversies surrounding the introduction of *Race and Reason* into various cities, if not to the program itself, Metzger has appeared on such major television talk shows as *The Oprah Winfrey Show*, *Geraldo* and *Crossfire*, some of them more than once, often in the role of champion of free speech. Even when the controversial program is not his own, Metzger is apt to be called upon to defend the First Amendment. When the Kansas City, Missouri, City Council responded to the proposed airing in 1988 of a Klan-produced program called *Klansas City Cable* by eliminating the access channel, for instance, Metzger appeared on *Oprah* along with Klan member Dennis Mahon and A.C.L.U. attorney John Powell arguing that the program was constitutionally protected. The precise role of these appearances in increasing Metzger's following cannot be proved, but it has been noticed by the police in Portland, for example, that when Metzger

visits the city in connection with court appearances for a lawsuit (about which more later), he is recognized when he walks down the street.

'Well, I'm a Racist'

The personableness that Metzger projects, at least on his own program, appears to be a genuine aspect of his character. Raised in small-town Indiana, he carries with him the aura of a local hardware store owner with whom it would be pleasant to spend a Saturday morning chatting about tools, and he is, in fact, one of the few leaders of the neo-Nazi movement who is also a member of the work force. If you call (619) 723-8996 you get the WAR message line, "Aryan Update," essentially the Thoughts of Chairman Tom, but if you call (619) 728-6224, the same voice asks you to state your business and provide whatever information is required for him to drop by your house and offer a free estimate for repair of your stereo, antenna, satellite dish, television or VCR. A married man with six children, he lives in a modest house in the Latino section of Fallbrook, north of San Diego, where his neighbors, who know his beliefs, are among his customers, and his two youngest children attend public school. It is true that the material in the WAR newspaper is vicious, that on national television Metzger has more than once spontaneously revealed an ugly temper and that his message lines are filled with such hate juvenilia as the "Anti-Defecation League," the "Jewnited States," "niglets" and "gooks" delivered in what I have come to think of as a Halloween, the-goblins-will-get-you-if-you-don't-watch-out kind of voice; but it is also true that his unsentimental, bad-boy matter-of-factness can be disarming, that he has a youthful enthusiasm that can be engaging and that a recent hour-and-a-half phone conversation revealed so little of the racist and anti-Semitic fervor on which he is staking his claim that it was almost like talking to a different person. Whether it was his sense of history, his sense of humor or his sense of himself (he was shrewd enough to ponder aloud his contrary nature and wonder, "What would I do if I became popular?") I am not sure, but by the time he excused himself to take out the garbage—he heard the trucks rumbling in the background—if anybody had asked me, "Would you want your television repaired by this man?" I might well have said, "Why not?"

The same credibility that has undoubtedly made it possible for Metzger to stay in the repair business despite his views

also characterizes his political evolution, which appears to have an inner coherence that closely reflects his experience. "Once I was a conservative, once I was a liberal, once I was a libertarian. I got sick of those labels, so even though I'm not too happy with labels, I finally said, 'Well, I'm a racist,'" he told a journalism class at San Diego State University in 1980. Except for the omission of the anti-Semitism that has carried over from an early Christian Identity ministry to his present atheism, the progression given in his own summary is probably correct.

A Message From Tom Metzger

Hello, this is Tom Metzger, La Cesspool Grande, and this is White Aryan Resistance. All you worthless bastards in the House and Senate, what are you up to now? What's your beloved Pentagon pork barrel going to do for you now that the phony cold war is being flushed down the toilet? What other ways are you planning to destroy white working people in the U.S.? You jerks cry out about quality of life, natural resources, and animal habitat being destroyed, but did you ever stop to think that if you quit allowing every squalid lottery player to enter the country we might have all these great things? Stop bringing in all these Asians and make room for national parks. Boxcar a few million Mexicans and Central Americans south of the border and watch the streets get cleaner overnight. On another issue, you mutton-headed bureaucrats, why do you allow the Jew Mossad secret police full freedom to spy on Americans from the seventh floor of the Jew Anti-Defecation League right there in front of you? You don't let any other country do it. You chicken-shits worship the Jews so much you must have holes in the knees of all your pants. How about your great OSI picking up a real war criminal for a change, a Jew war criminal by the name of . . . who lives at . . . Allegedly this piece of pork brags about exterminating German men, women, and children during World War II. He encourages Israeli military men to be even more brutal to the Palestinians. This is WAR.

A message on WAR's Washington, D.C., hot line.

Once he was a Bircher: "In the early sixties I was very depressed by the inroads of Communism. A lot of things they said made sense, so I became a Birch Society member. I believe in activism. The Birch Society took the position it was stupid to be active, you're just supposed to read books. I don't know. Maybe if you throw enough books at someone you might hit 'em, and they'll quit what they're doing." Then he became a George Wallace supporter: "When I worked for the Wallace campaign, I did not perceive myself as a racist, even though they said anybody who worked for Wallace was. I was a rebel, I've always been a rebel, and the fact of being a rebel has pushed me in the direction I've gone because when people called me a racist and I wasn't, finally I just stuck my chin out and said, well, if you want it that way, I will be, you know? And I'll be the loudest one you ever saw." Eventually he turned to the Klan, closely associating himself with the "New Klan" that emerged in the mid-1970s around David Duke. In addition to many joint activities with Duke in

California, including a Klan patrol of the Mexican border to prevent illegal immigration, he helped manage Duke's first electoral campaign, for the Louisiana Senate, in 1975. But the decisive moment in his career so far appears to have been his own "electoral period," which included three runs for office between 1978 and 1982.

Although electoral activity was part of an informal consensus among like-minded rightists nationwide, there is little doubt that Metzger believed in what he was doing. "You don't make change having fiery crosses out in cow pastures," he told the journalism class in 1980. "You make change by invading the halls of Congress and the Statehouse." In 1978 he won 11,000 votes in a nonpartisan election for San Diego County supervisor; in 1980 he won the Democratic primary in the 43d Congressional District in California with 33,000 votes against a party regular hastily recruited at the last minute to retrieve the party's honor in a foregone race against the Re-

publican incumbent, Representative Clair Burgener, who beat Metzger by more than 250,000 votes in the general election; and in 1982 he won more than 75,000 votes in the statewide Democratic primary for nomination to the U.S. Senate. It was probably the 1980 primary that affected him most, for he won it in spite of several years of open, highly publicized and frequently violent activities as head of the California Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, and he was technically entitled to a role in the California Democratic Party, which the party decided to deny him. One moment he could boast, "I found before the primary that my parents, who were visiting from Indiana, were upset by my Klan activities and they went home in a huff; but after I won it was a whole different thing; people worship power." The next moment he was enduring a personal as well as a political rejection as he was taken from a Sacramento meeting room by a sheriff following the unanimous vote of the state Democratic Central Committee to unseat him.

'This Is WAR'

The 1980 political humiliation was not Metzger's only run-in with what he often calls "the system." In 1971, following a period of business losses, he received a phone call from the I.R.S. Already angry over the Vietnam War, in which he had lost several friends—so angry, in fact, that he once collaborated with leftists in staging a mock war crimes trial—he decided to resist paying his taxes. When he recounted to me the moment—"I remember I was standing in my kitchen, and I said, 'No, I don't think I'll have you audit me this year,' and there was silence on the other end of the phone, and finally [the agent] said, 'Do you realize who this is?'" and I said, "I understand completely who this is, I'm throwing down the gauntlet and this war is going to begin"—it had something of the feeling of a conversion. From 1971 to 1975 he was a tax protester; later, to avoid losing his home, he began paying on contract. A few years ago the I.R.S. canceled the contract and demanded immediate payment of the remaining sum, and when he came to the part of the story where he had to raise \$7,000 immediately to save his house, the respect in his voice for the amount struck me—for someone who is often rumored to have received more than \$1 million in stolen money from The Order—as very real.

In any case, it does not seem accidental that the words and ideas with which Metzger responded instinctively to the I.R.S. in 1971 play so big a part in his political vocabulary now. "I have a real hatred for the government, which excels any kind of displeasure I have with any racial groups. But I have to give them all the credit, because due to their actions against me they have created me," he says. When he ends his phone messages with his goblinish imprecation, "This is WAR," he is not dealing in ideological abstractions. It is "resistance to" and "war on" the government that he means.

Just what WAR is, however, is a reasonable question, for Metzger is also one of the world's great hustlers. Unlike the Klan, which requires induction, WAR is not a membership organization—"WAR wears no uniform, carries no card, and takes no secret oaths; [it] doesn't require you to dress up and march around on a muddy street; [it] works the modern way, with thousands of friends doing their part on the job,

behind the scenes, serving their race," he proclaimed in inaugurating his Detroit phone line last winter. And with that definition, whether WAR should be called an organization at all is open to question. The television program and the newspaper both come out of the group centered around Fallbrook, and as for the message lines, though they are appearing in more and more cities—Washington, New York, Dallas and Cleveland, to name a few—how that fact should be understood is perhaps suggested by a recent plea on the Fallbrook line for donation of another answering machine for Seattle. This is not an outfit with many resources at hand. A message line itself proves no more than the presence of a single follower willing to house the phone, and the same applies to *Race and Reason*, which, according to cable regulations in most cities, requires only a single local sponsor to be shown. If such an assessment can be comforting, however, it also can be misleading, for it appears that Metzger's appeals are hitting their targets. There are thought to be at least a thousand more skinheads now than a year ago; correspondence with Metzger has shown up in skinhead quarters as far from Fallbrook as Providence, Rhode Island; and in numerous ways, subtle and not, some of which will be discussed later, it is obvious that his influence is growing.

Further, while the presence or absence of troops is of considerable interest to Metzger-watchers, it is not Metzger's own chief concern. A "Leninist" (his word) he sees himself as working with a "minority of dedicated people" to create a "fanatical inner structure" until the historical moment is ripe for it to be heard. He is less interested in numbers than in the ideas through which the band of fanatics understands the world. He speaks as one under intense ideological pressure, and although his royal "we think" and "we're trying" may in one sense be part of his hustle, it also seems to reflect a need to distinguish himself from the rest of the racial movement. He is against the Klan, whose members he calls "Hollywood soldiers," against ordinary conservatives, who he believes have lost important decades "screaming 'Communism, Communism' while racially we went down the tubes," and he is against ordinary neo-Nazis as well. His opposition to other neo-Nazis is particularly important, for in spite of the "Aryan" in WAR, it is in his rejection of Hitler worship, which he believes has limited every American racist since George Lincoln Rockwell, that he has taken his stand. A follower, instead, of the Nazi radical Gregor Strasser, who was executed in the Röhm purge in 1934, Metzger has taken from Strasser a combination of socialist and internationalist ideas sometimes known as the "Third Position" and, while keeping them firmly in a racist framework, has given them a populist cast. Where other racial leaders are apt to refer to the white race in general, Metzger usually refers to the white working man, or working person (he tries to mind his feminism), and the American heroes about whom he has tried to educate his followers include Eugene Debs as well as Father Coughlin, Francis Townsend and Huey Long. Even more important than any economic ideas, which are rarely articulated, however, is Metzger's sense of belonging to an international pan-Aryan movement, which is probably the closest thing he has to a political vision. "Most of us see ourselves as simply the beginning

of something," he told me in our phone conversation, describing the American movement as part of an emerging global struggle of whites against blacks—an "Alamo of the white race" is how he put it—"buying time" against the incursions of the Third World "for the Mother Continent of Europe and Russia to come to its senses." He interprets the revival of anti-Semitism in Europe as a sign that the process has started.

In the end, however, what is necessary to ponder about Tom Metzger is neither his ideas nor his organization but the ques-

tion of how far he might get. Simply as a matter of personality, he has an obvious staying power, and as a personality in relation to a movement that is stirring both here and abroad, the moment to him seems full of possibilities. "Everything's going fine. The news is wonderful. Our brethren in Pamyat and in Eastern Europe and in Russia and the Iron Guard are back. The French are jumping up and down. The British are excited. Everything's moving in our direction," he concluded in a taped message in May. Metzger is not an opportunist but he is flexible, and since he has already changed so much, there is no reason to think he will stop. If an old idea is no longer serviceable, he will get rid of it, and if a new idea is better, he will drag it in. If the skinhead vanguard at which he is presently aiming fails him, he will find another. If WAR collapses or is shut down, a "WAR II" will probably materialize. Today his program is "Race, Ecology, Economics," in that order, but tomorrow it could be something else. What is clearest about Tom Metzger is that as long as he is alive and talking, he is likely to have a forum. He will not be easy to stop.

II.

The prominence of Tom Metzger in the racial movement today is not the result of his talents alone: He has also outlasted many of his competitors. Starting around the death of Gordon Kahl in 1983, and accelerating after the capture and trial of members of The Order in 1984 and 1985, the period of passive accommodation that had characterized relations between the federal government and the Klan throughout the 1970s drew to a close. It was followed by a period of greater governmental aggressiveness, which rested primarily on the realization that, unlike the Klan, the new movement was directed in part against the government itself and was hence more dangerous—a fact that its repeated declarations of war on the Zionist Occupation Government (ZOG), its term for federal authority, as well as the deaths of several law officers, made hard to miss. The awakening of the Reagan Administration to these developments has not yet been adequately documented, but it appears roughly to have followed the trajectory of the movement itself from underground to above ground, only a little behind. By about the mid-1980s there was a definitive new policy: Patriotic bigotry is one thing, sedition is something else.

New Pledge of Allegiance

I pledge allegiance to the flag of ZOG, the Zionist Occupation Government of the Israelie State, and to the peace loving marxist democracy for which it stands, the number one state under the Anti-Christ, international, with liberty and justice for all except for White Christians.

The Pledge is voluntary, but anyone who refuses will be sent to Israelie Sanhedrins for trial for the crime of Genocide.

Ralph Forbes's sense of humor. Forbes was David Duke's presidential campaign manager.

Since the successful prosecution of The Order on racketeering charges—Order crimes included bombing, murder, armed robbery and counterfeiting, mainly in the West—there have been a number of other important prosecutions of movement figures. Two Order members already in prison were further convicted of civil rights violations for the murder of Denver radio personality Alan Berg (two others were acquitted); North Carolina neo-Nazi Klan leader Glenn Miller was convicted of illegal paramilitary activity in violation of a court

order; and just this spring a group of Texas skinheads was convicted in Dallas of violating the civil rights of minorities by vandalizing Jewish properties and chasing blacks and Latinos out of a public park—the first such federal antiskinhead effort. According to sources including Barry Kowalski, deputy chief of the Justice Department's civil rights division, criminal section, and the successful prosecutor of both the Order and skinhead cases, investigations leading to other cases

that the department hopes will restrain the skinhead movement are now under way. There has also been an increase in the federal intelligence effort—practically nonexistent in the period of The Order—resulting in the interception in May of three members of Idaho's Aryan Nations group just before a planned bombing of a busy gay bar in Seattle.

Of all the cases brought so far, undoubtedly the most important was the 1988 federal sedition trial of fourteen neo-Nazis in Fort Smith, Arkansas, which, though an embarrassing loss (all of the defendants were acquitted; one of them married a juror when it was over), contributed to a destabilizing of the leadership and a derailing of the movement, at least for a time. One of the defendants, Aryan Nations pastor Richard Butler, who is in his 70s, had bypass surgery shortly after his indictment in 1987 and has not been as active since the trial, although his connection with the would-be bombers mentioned above suggests that he retains his influence. Robert Miles, another older defendant, a Christian Identity minister and former Michigan Klan leader whose farm has long been the site of important gatherings of racists from around the country, has not been as active either. Miles has been preoccupied since the trial with the illness of his wife, said to have been brought on by the strain of his prosecution, and has announced that he will cease publishing his newsletter, "From the Mountain," this summer. Louis Beam, 43 years old, is another important defendant now less in evidence. A former Texas Klan leader, who designed a computer bulletin board known as the Aryan Nations Liberty Net, which functioned with considerable fanfare though uncertain utility in the early 1980s, Beam is likely to re-emerge, and with something more dramatic than the movement faxes and voice-activated mail system on which he is said to be working at the moment. The Fort Smith trial also brought to public attention the end of the careers of two other longtime neo-Nazi leaders, who testified for the government: North Carolina Klan leader Glenn

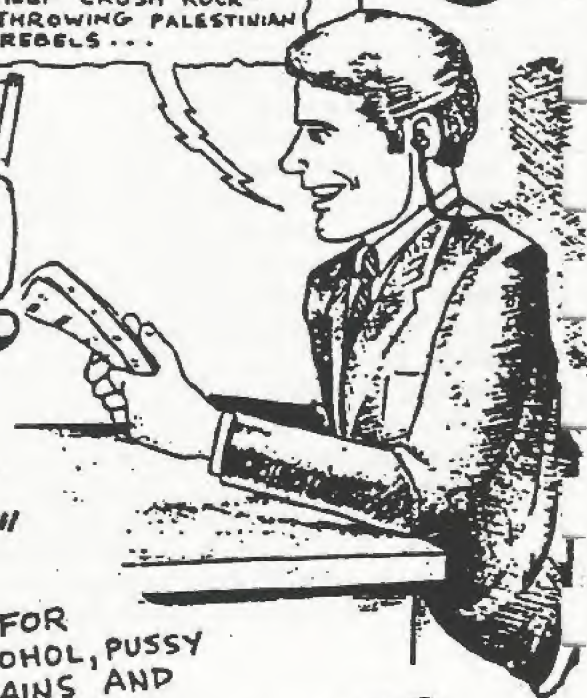
HEY WHITEY, ARE YOU THE
TYPICAL COWARD THAT STANDS
BY WHILE YOUR FRIENDS ARE
BEATEN UP BY NON-WHITES
YOUR SCHOOL OR A
PARTYS? OR DO Y

AI

OY-WITNE
NEWS

...ISRAEL ANNOUNCED
TODAY THAT IT WILL
NEED AN ADDITIONAL
20 BILLION DOLLARS
FROM THE U.S. TO
HELP CRUSH ROCK-
THROWING PALESTINIAN
REBELS...

WHITEY
PEOPLE!



A NIGGER'S MIND?"

CRAVE FOR
WATERMELON

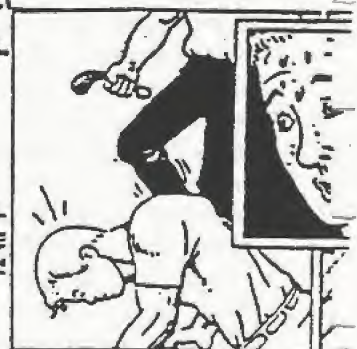
CRAVE FOR
DRUGS, ALCOHOL, PUSSY
GOLD CHAINS AND
DRUMBEATS

YOU ASHAMED
TO BE WHITE?

OUR RACE IS OUR NATION



RESPONSIBILI
VOCAL SKILL
INTELLIGENCE
HYGIENE
CREATIVE SKIL
(MUST BE VIEWE
THROUGH MICRO)
LOGIC



RYAN YOUTH MOVEMENT STANDS AND FIGHTS



THE SIX O'CLOCK
NEWS!



Miller, who bargained his way into the federal Witness Protection Program in return for his cooperation, and Christian Identity preacher Jim Ellison—founder of an Arkansas compound known as the Covenant, the Sword and the Arm of the Lord—who, like Miller, was formerly involved in paramilitary activities and has now joined him in the Witness Protection Program. Although other leaders, such as Colorado Identity minister Pete Peters, who sponsored a film in support of the Fort Smith defendants that continues to circulate within the movement, and Arkansas-based Knights of the Ku Klux Klan chaplain Thom Robb, who organized other supporting activities, continue to flourish, none has exhibited the capacity to go beyond his immediate following to create a national constituency. Besides Tom Metzger, the most important neo-Nazi leader who has not been caught in a government net is Louisiana State Representative David Duke, whose relationship to the rest of the racial movement can best be described as a "front." So different in style from most of the people discussed here that the relationship is not at once apparent, Duke is, nonetheless, one of them: His roots go back to the same organizations as well as to the same ideas, and it is as an emissary from the racism of the streets to the racism of polite society that he has to be understood.

The Chameleon

If Tom Metzger has positioned himself as far outside the system as it is possible to be without going to jail, the opposite is true of David Duke, who not only wants in but wants all the way in, preferably as far as the White House. Duke is a self-assured, conventionally handsome 40-year-old Oklahoma-born Southerner who has been evading questions on national television since he emerged as leader of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in the mid-1970s—often, as a matter of fact, the same questions. If the typical appearance by Metzger on *Race and Reason* features the bogus exploration by host and guest of some of the higher intricacies of their common ground, the typical Duke television appearance is a perfunctory stand-off in which the host is more interested in conveying his righteousness than in the answers, and the guest is more interested in conveying his mailing address than in the questions.

Something of the mindlessness of these stalemates is suggested by a Duke appearance last fall on *ABC News Prime-time Live* with Sam Donaldson, in which to every question provided Donaldson by his researchers the answer was invariably a polite denial.

Donaldson: "You believe in the Nazi creed, in the Nazi views?"

Duke: "Sir, I certainly don't. . . ."

Donaldson: "If . . . you don't believe in [them], why do you tell people now that you admire Joseph Mengele?"

Duke: "I don't say that I admire him at all."

Donaldson: "You think that blacks are genetically inferior to whites?"

Duke: "No sir. . . ."

Donaldson: "You don't? Well, then, why did you write in your National Association for the Advancement of White

People newsletter in 1986, and I quote, 'Negroes are lower on the evolutionary scale than Caucasians?'"

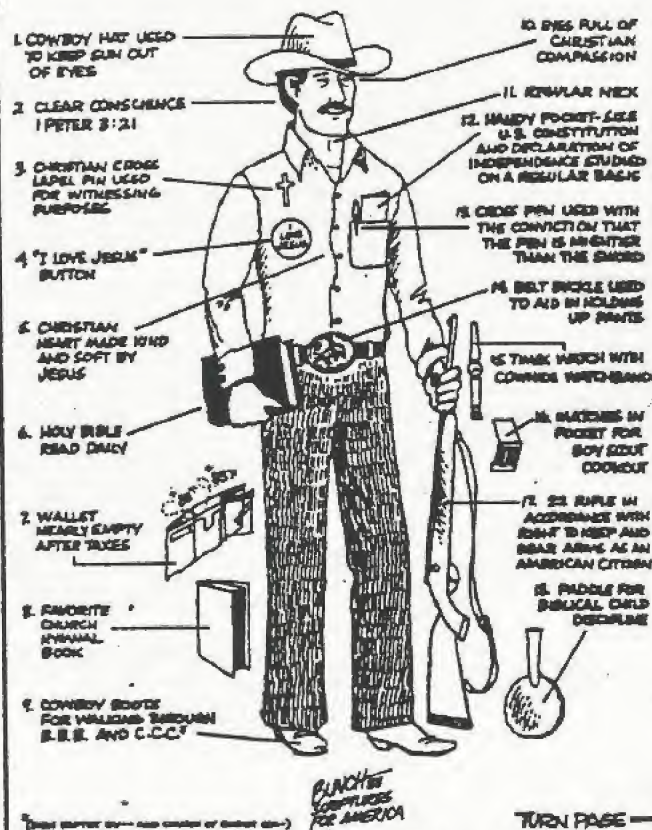
Duke: "I don't think I said that, sir."

Donaldson: "You wrote it. You didn't say it, I suppose." And so on.

"You said," Donaldson continued, "'Jewish people have put the interest of race over the interest of the American people,'" citing remarks Duke made at a Klan rally near Clearwater, Florida.

CHRISTIAN SOLDIER

ACCURATE REPRESENTATION OF CHRISTIAN WHO IS PATRIOTIC AND BELIEVES THAT THE ANGLO-SAXON, GERMANIC, SCANDINAVIAN & KINDRED PEOPLE ARE THE ISRAEL PEOPLE OF SCRIPTURE AND NOT THE JEWS OF TODAY.



The maligning of Christians by Jews, as seen by Identity Minister Pete Peters

"I've been quoted tens of thousands of times by tens of thousands of publications—"

"Did you say it? Do you deny it?"

"Not in the way—I do think—"

"Did you say it?"

"Would you let me finish?"

"Did you say it?"

"Sir, I don't think I said that. . . ."

Duke eventually admitted to a different statement and changed the subject, though probably not before winning viewer support for his better manners.

How Donaldson could sleep that night when he had utterly

failed to establish that his guest was not an ordinary racist politician leading a backlash in a period of black progress but a racial thinker whose deepest ideological roots go back to the Nazi era is little short of a wonder of nature, but then how Oprah, Donahue or Geraldo can sleep when they have consistently provided the neo-Nazis with propaganda opportunities possibly unrivaled since *Triumph of the Will* is a wonder too. For in the words of Jason Berry, a New Orleans investigative journalist who is one of the few to get to the heart

seems to register; and, at least on film, he looks almost the same now as he did in his 20s. His ideas, too, are changeless, expressed in set phrases and sentences labeled by various reporters as "tapes," "mantras" and "songs." A perfect exemplar of what Richard Hofstadter, in *The Paranoid Style in American Politics*, calls a demi-intellectual, he has been a passionate student of "racial science" since a precocious encounter with Carleton Putnam's *Race and Reason* at age 13. For many years he operated a Klan bookstore in the New Orleans suburb of Metairie that offered such staples of the racial movement as *Hitler's Last Testament* and innumerable works on race and culture, like Francis Parker Yockey's *Imperium*, which have the status of classics within the movement but are little known outside it. He sold the books through a mail-order catalogue, and, up to about a year ago, through his legislative office as well.

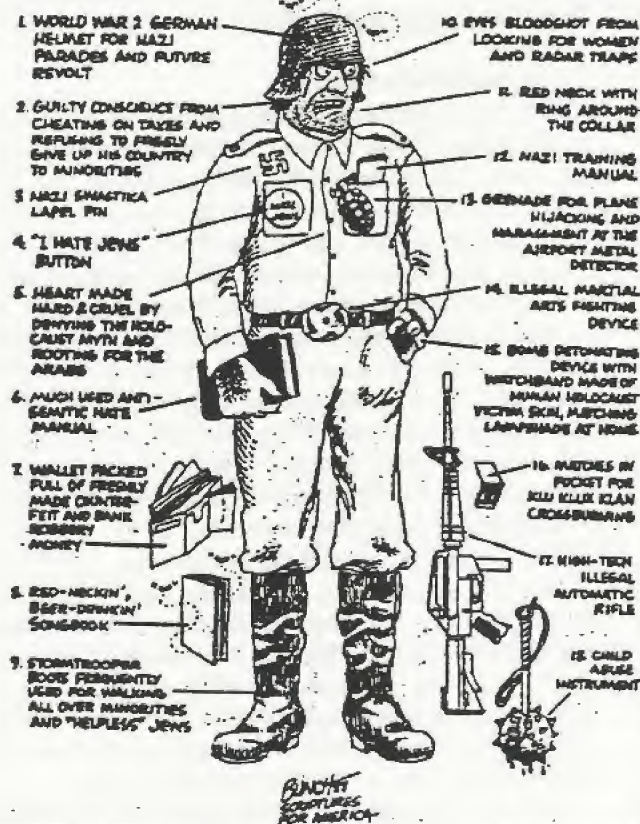
His ideas appear to have come right from his bookshelves. "I came to believe that race was the most important thing to civilization in building a society and a nation. In fact, I came to believe the most important thing in the world was people—the quality of people. I came to feel our race was being overcome by the nonwhite world," he told writer Patsy Sims, who interviewed him for her book, *The Klan*, in 1976. He says the identical thing today. The implications he draws from this conviction were perhaps best spelled out in a lament called "America at the Crossroads," which he published in his National Association for the Advancement of White People newsletter in 1983. "Immigration," he wrote,

along with nonwhite birthrates will make white people a minority totally vulnerable to the political, social, and economic will of blacks, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Orientals. A social upheaval is now beginning to occur that will be the funeral dirge of the America we love. I shudder to contemplate the future under nonwhite occupation; rapes, murders, robberies multiplied a hundred fold, illiteracy such as in Haiti, medicine such as in Mexico, and tyranny such as in Togoland. Am I an alarmist? Is my vision unreal? All one has to do is look around this globe and see the Third World reality. Are whites holding every one of the nonwhite countries down, or are we in fact pumping billions of dollars into them along with every technological aid that the West can produce? And now the West itself is gradually being enveloped by non-white immigration. The exploding numbers of nonwhites are slowly wrapping formerly white nations in a dark human cocoon. Shall a butterfly emerge, or the beast that has haunted the ruins of every great white civilization that submitted to invasion by immigration and racial miscegenation?

Are blacks less intelligent than whites in terms of I.Q.? "Sure," Duke told *Hustler* magazine in 1982. "The average white and black have markedly different IQ's; maybe 15 to 20 points separate the two. I've also heard the argument that blacks are much more intelligent than the lowest whites. But there are gorillas in this country with IQs of 90, higher than many people. That does not make gorillas and people the same." Is integration acceptable? "We're totally opposed to [it]. We think integration has only caused hatred and violence between the races. We think the races should be separated—whether in this country or even outside the country

CHRISTIAN VILLAIN

SAME CHRISTIAN SOLDIER AS DESCRIBED AND DEPICTED BY JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS IN THEIR HATE GROUP REPORTS, AND IN THE JEWISH-CONTROLLED MEDIA. THIS REPRESENTATION FREQUENTLY DISPERSED TO VARIOUS LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES & MAJOR TV NETWORKS.



of Laporte, Colorado. From a pamphlet titled "The Real Hate Group."

of the matter of David Duke, "Duke is building a political base, grounded in Nazi master-race theory, under the noses of acquiescent Louisiana Republicans"—and few people understand what is happening.

The difference between the apparent Duke who regularly triumphs over superficial television hosts and the real Duke is less a matter of particular statements than of his system of thought. He has been so beguiling to so many interviewers over the years that the two words most frequently used to describe him have probably been "Robert Redford," but a more telling comparison would be Dorian Gray, for he has one of those ageless faces upon which neither time nor experience

is something time will tell." Did the Holocaust take place? "Jews gain certain advantages by promoting the Holocaust idea. It inspires tremendous financial aid for Israel. It makes organized Jewry almost immune from criticism. Whether the Holocaust is real or not, the Jews clearly have a motive for fostering the idea that it occurred." Whatever the subject, his opinions refer back to racist intellectual sources ranging from Lothrop Stoddard's *The Rising Tide of Color and Racial Realities of Europe*, both published in the 1920s, to *The Talmud Unmasked*, by Father Prainatis, all of which he has sold. And he has even added to the literature himself with a pamphlet called *Who Runs the Media?*—"an excellent booklet," the catalogue description says, "documenting Zionist control of America's mass media, how the control was achieved, and the ramifications of this alien domination," one of his favorite themes.

His program is as consistent as his principles. A subject of constant interest has been "racial betterment." Well over a decade ago, he advocated such eugenic interventions as tax incentives for people with high I.Q.s to have more children, and he still advocates such programs. His equally longstanding criticism of welfare—that it encourages those with the lowest I.Q.s to have the most children—is also more eugenic than economic. "It's against evolution," he says. "You must understand," he has warned, "that the white people are becoming a second-class citizens' group in our own country. . . . We're losing our rights all the way across the board. White people face massive discrimination in employment opportunities, in scholarship opportunities, in promotions in industry, in college entrance examinations." On the surface, such a statement could be the platform of an illiberal but still legitimate white politician willing to trade this or swap that for a curb on the minority assistance programs that have been offered as a result of the civil rights movement, but in Duke's case its racist roots give it a hidden meaning.

The emotional forces behind Duke's ideological fixations are beyond journalistic reach, but it is hard to resist the speculation that the need to outdo a conservative father, who spent over a decade away from home while Duke was growing up, may have played a part. The family moved a lot when he was a boy before settling in New Orleans in the early 1960s, possibly also creating a need for internal order to counter the external chaos; there is not enough biographical evidence to say. His political constancy appears to coexist with an often remarked inconstancy, not least of the heart. One has to wonder what his black nanny, Pinkie, who used to eat at the table with his family, would say if she could see him now. His womanizing was well known in and out of the racial movement long before his divorce in the early 1980s; he has a history of troubled relations with colleagues; and in other personal matters, too, he appears to have difficulty maintaining a fixed course. Widely reported to be highly obsessed with his health—he lifts weights and chews vitamin pills and health foods—he is also concerned about his image, and, according to Metzger at least, has already had a face lift. Besides articles published under his own name, he has published pseudonymously in fields ranging from the martial arts to the environment, including a sex manual that tells women how to

please men. Whatever his successes in public encounters and with crowds, in private relations he seems to leave a sense of uneasiness behind.

That slipperiness does not affect his constituents, one of whom, asked recently before television cameras why she idolized Duke, replied simply, "Because he hates niggers," but it bothers some within the racial movement, who often wonder whether they can trust him or not. Metzger, who says, "I don't go out of my way to attack David Duke because he contains the seeds of his own destruction," calls him a chameleon. "Snake oil," says Rick Cooper, the Portland neo-Nazi. "He can wriggle out of any question." His newest colleagues appear to share this view. A fellow Louisiana legislator said recently on national television, "David Duke will look into your eyes and lie and expect you to believe it. He has a warped sense of what reality is," evidently without fear of contradiction. Whether these attributes are liabilities or assets for an ambitious politician can be argued, but with his smooth exterior concealing so many anomalies of character, it is hard to believe there is no portrait of him somewhere, rotting away.

The Candidate's Résumé

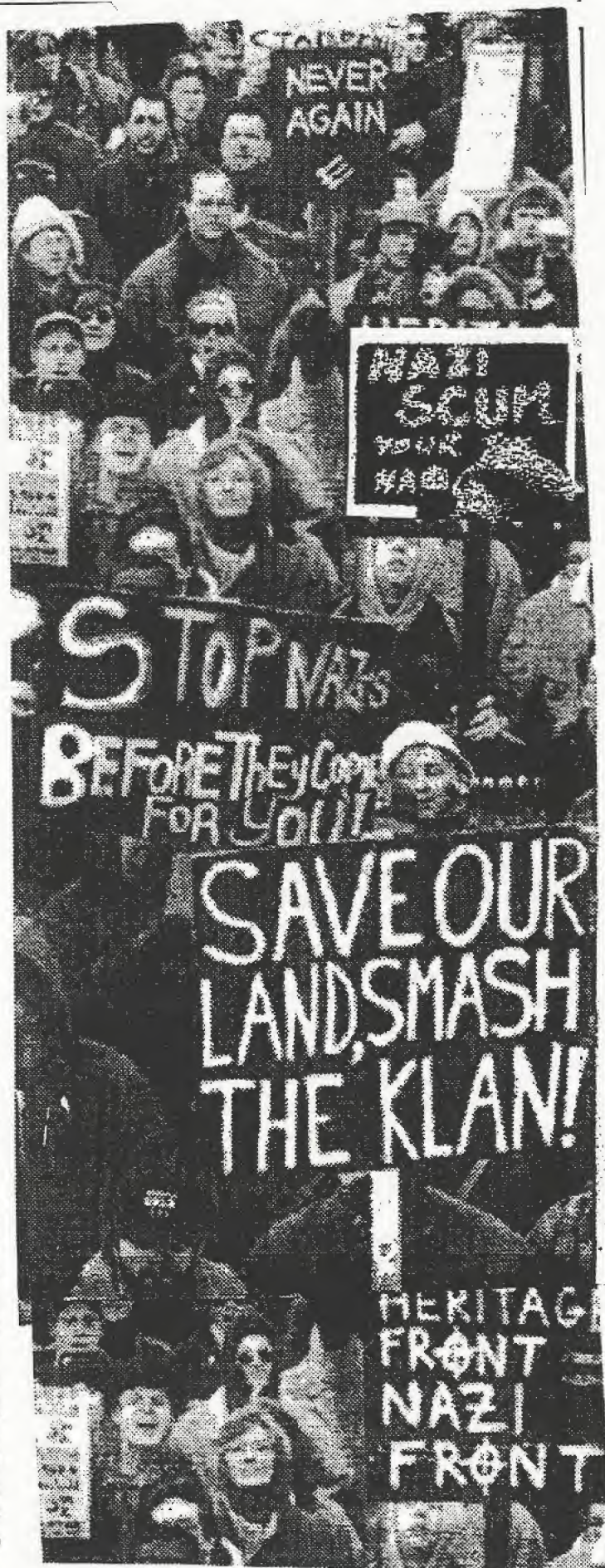
Whatever Duke's personality, he has always been on the move. An activist as well as a reader, he seems to have spent the years following his Putnam epiphany searching for the correct organizational form to express his convictions: the Klan in high school; the White Youth Alliance, which he formed when he was at Louisiana State University and which became affiliated with various Rockwell-related splinter groups in college; and after graduation the Klan again, the base from which he made his initial national impact. Duke's leadership, first of the Louisiana Knights of the Ku Klux Klan and then of its national office, was important for several reasons, not least his recruitment of some powerful men, including Metzger in California, Louis Beam in Texas, Bill Wilkinson in Louisiana and Don Black in Alabama, many of whom remain central to the racial movement today. Duke also modernized the organization, welcoming women and Catholics for the first time, dressing in suits rather than robes and calling himself "National Director" instead of "Imperial Wizard." Under his auspices, the Klan conducted a military organizing drive that made itself felt at Camp Pendleton in California, at Fort Hood in Texas and in the Navy, and experienced something of a general revival as well.

In 1980, in part because of a struggle with Wilkinson, who was running the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan's Louisiana branch, Duke left to form the National Association for the Advancement of White People, which he described then, as he does now, as a "civil rights lobby for white people" and which he has used in his march into mainstream politics. That effort began in 1975, when he won about a third of the votes during an unsuccessful statewide run for the Louisiana Senate in the campaign assisted by Metzger. He ran again with similar results in 1979 but clearly did not lose the taste, and in the late 1980s he began a new electoral phase. In 1988 he ran for President in the Democratic primaries in a number of states and, when that effort collapsed, as the presidential candidate of the Populist Party, a campaign backed primarily by

the party's organizational alter ego, the Liberty Lobby. In February 1989 he was elected to the Louisiana legislature from Metairie as a Republican and, although he lost a bid for the party's official nomination, he is now running in Louisiana's open primary as a maverick Republican for the U.S. Senate seat held by Democrat J. Bennett Johnston.

What is important about Duke's political biography, however, is that although it is usually represented as a succession it is actually more of an accretion. On the course from his adolescent Klan membership to his present Republicanism, Duke has touched all the important bases of the racial movement in the United States and abandoned none. His relationships with former associates such as Metzger and Beam might not be what they once were, but they are not known to be broken either, and Duke's political entourage is full of familiar faces. When he announced his Democratic presidential bid in Atlanta in 1988, there cheering him on was Don Black, the Alabama Klan leader, who is best known for his role in a neo-Nazi/Klan attempt to overthrow the government of the island of Dominica in return for land for paramilitary training camps. Black was technically Duke's successor in the national Knights of the K.K.K. and is married to Duke's former wife. Also at the announcement were Daniel Carver, then the Imperial Wizard of a different Klan organization, the Invisible Empire, and such old-line racists as Ed Fields, founder of the National States Rights Party and editor of its paper, *The Thunderbolt*, with which Duke had some connection as long ago as college.

In addition to Black, whose political life began as a Rockwell follower, Duke is also actively associated with two other men whose Nazi ties go directly back to the time of George Lincoln Rockwell: James Warner, head of an anti-Semitic church, newsletter and book publishing operation known as the New Christian Crusade Church in Metairie, Louisiana, who began as an information officer for the National Socialist White People's Party, the successor to Rockwell's American Nazi Party, and Ralph Forbes, head of a similar operation in Arkansas called the Sword of Christ Good News Ministry, who started out as the so-called commander of the American Nazi Party's western division. Warner, a longtime partner of Duke in the book business, resumed a ruptured relationship with him to assist in his legislative campaign and in January 1990 served as an elected Duke delegate to the Louisiana Republican convention. Forbes, who recently made an unexpectedly strong bid for the G.O.P. nomination for lieutenant governor of Arkansas, is publisher of a newspaper called *The Truth*, whose inaugural edition (January 1989) announced in banner type, "Good News America: There Is a White Christmas in Your Future"; sold Rockwelliana as well as many other items of neo-Nazi memorabilia, such as "Musik of the Afrika Corps"; included several pages of "satire" calling Michael Dukakis "Michael Dukikiz," presenting Willie Horton as I.R.S. commissioner and Rabbi Meir Kahane as chief justice; and featuring a mock pledge of allegiance to ZOG, presumably to illustrate the fate America so narrowly escaped (see page 90). Forbes was the director of Duke's 1988 presidential campaign. So



dense and long-lived are Duke's Nazi associations, in fact, that you would think the only way he could escape them would be through reincarnation. Like the fictional General Guzman in Lawrence Thornton's novel *Imagining Argentina*, Duke "sees history from the time of the Romans to the rise of Hitler as a dark age in which men and women of many nations became philosophically perverted, denying the necessity of a single-minded vision, of the purity he believes Hitler saw and embraced as fiercely as a wild-eyed prophet . . . on a windy mountaintop." Like Guzman, too, he "has met secretly in heavily guarded houses deep in the jungle, or in cafes in tiny villages where he has looked across the table at Mengele and lesser exponents of that dream which he feels more than ever was defiled by the faint of heart, the women in man's spirit," communing with his mentors—if only, in Duke's case, in his dreams.

How much Duke's present admirers understand of his vision is open to question. His campaign literature avoids obvious racist formulations while bluntly attacking the "illegitimate welfare state," minority set-asides, illegal immigration and affirmative action in language designed to appeal to the "middle-class, productive" American. The Louisiana Coalition Against Racism and Nazism, which follows Duke closely, believes he has been successful in detaching his past from his present, following a "dual strategy" by which "in public he promotes moderate conservatism, keyed to racial issues," while "within his activist circle, he continues a second campaign, a shadow campaign, [embodying his] long-term design, his dream of a genetically engineered super race, born into existence by a legion of white supremacists."

As unlikely as it seems that any American politician with even a hint of such a vision could get very far, the fact is that Duke is doing well. For his legislative campaign from tiny Metairie, more than \$130,000 came in from supporters around the country, and his Senate race has raised more than \$700,000 so far. He has a mailing list of about 30,000 donors. A poll commissioned by three-term Senator Johnston shows Duke with a 98 percent name recognition factor compared with Johnston's own 88 percent. General polls show Duke running with about 25 percent of the public's support, well ahead of the official Republican candidate, State Senator Ben Bagert, though far behind the 60 percent of Democratic incumbent Johnston. Since 26 percent of Louisiana's voters are black, Duke would need 70 percent of the white vote in order to get to Washington.

Throughout his career, Duke has consistently done better than people have expected. His staff points out that two days before he won his legislative seat polls showed him running behind, and concludes that people are reluctant to tell poll takers their true opinions—a view shared by reporters, who are seeing large crowds on the campaign trail. A similar phenomenon may be occurring at the legislature, where the House, against all predictions, passed a Duke-sponsored anti-affirmative action bill at the end of May, a development that left opponents so nonplused that one of them, searching for explanations other than that people agreed with the bill's contents, cited the full moon. According to recent reports, Duke is also finding himself increasingly more welcome in the New

Orleans social and political establishment. With each step forward, the possibility of the Republican Party mobilizing against Duke decreases. Like other ideological politicians, he may sell out as he moves up—but then again, he may not. The only thing that can be said for certain is that as long as David Duke is in elective office—any office—the gap between the racial movement and conventional politics will get narrower.

III.

At 1:30 on the morning of November 13, 1988, in a peaceful residential neighborhood in Portland, Oregon, Kenneth Mieske, Kyle Brewster and Steven Strasser, skinheads, encountered Mulageta Seraw, Wondwosen Tesfaye and Tilahun Antneh, Ethiopians; the skinheads had a bat; and Seraw—the description of whose wounds makes chilling reading—died. The contents of the skinheads' apartments, searched shortly afterward, make equally chilling reading—bats and clubs in one, the latest racial propaganda in another, a veritable library on the rise and fall of the Third Reich in the third—all used by the district attorneys to prove what, from the moment the police first arrived at the scene, hardly anyone besides other skinheads has ever doubted: that it was a racially motivated attack and not a street fight that got out of hand and brought about the death of Mulageta Seraw.

The Portland story is worth examining because both locally and nationally it marked the beginning of a new realization that when you see a bunch of black-jacketed, heavy-booted storm troopers on TV, you might not be watching a World War II film; it could be the evening news. The three skinheads are in prison—Mieske, who pleaded guilty to murder, for a minimum of twenty years; Brewster and Strasser, who pleaded guilty to manslaughter, for a minimum of ten and nine years, respectively—but the case has acquired symbolic status, and neither within the neo-Nazi movement nor among its opponents has it been forgotten. Mieske and Brewster are now defendants in a \$10 million civil lawsuit brought jointly by the Southern Poverty Law Center and the Anti-Defamation League on behalf of Seraw's estate, a suit that by linking the Portland skinheads to Tom Metzger, John Metzger and the WAR organization is frankly intended to put Metzger out of business. Such a result was achieved by a similar suit won by S.P.L.C. attorney Morris Dees in Alabama in 1987, which, by obtaining a \$7 million settlement from the United Klans of America for a woman whose son was murdered by members of the Klan, effectively shut it down.

The forthcoming Portland trial has both political and constitutional implications. Metzger was not in Portland at the time of the murder and he did not know the three skinheads—facts that Metzger, who is acting as his own attorney, has already pointed out. Whether the doctrine of "vicarious liability" of an organization for the acts of its members, applied in the Alabama case, can be applied in the case of a nonmembership organization like WAR will be an important question. Metzger is resurrecting the defense of the skinheads before their plea bargains that Seraw's death was the accidental outcome of a street brawl and therefore there was never any conspiracy for Metzger to have been part of in the first place. The

S.P.L.C. maintains that Metzger sent agents to Portland to recruit and encourage the skinheads, thus creating the liability, of which more below. How far the inflammatory material in the *WAR* newspapers read by the skinheads is protected by the First Amendment will be another important issue. Although the A.C.L.U., which Metzger originally asked to represent him, turned him down, both the A.C.L.U. and the National Lawyers Guild have now entered as friends of the court, but on opposite sides. In yet unwritten briefs, the A.C.L.U. will argue that much of what Metzger has written and said is constitutionally protected and should be excluded from the trial; the Guild that "hate speech" such as Metzger's is different from "political speech," is not entitled to constitutional protection and is admissible. Given the weight being marshaled against Metzger, the stakes in the Portland trial are high. If Metzger should win, his position will be greatly strengthened; and the effectiveness of the S.P.L.C. and the A.D.L. will be correspondingly reduced. As the briefs of the lawyers become the reference point for what did or did not actually happen, innumerable details are likely to be lost. In particular, because of the lawsuit's emphasis on the role of Metzger, the story of the skinhead movement in Portland before *WAR*'s involvement may well not be fully told. The relationship between local and national organizing in the racial movement today, however, is far too important a subject to be left to the courtroom. Whatever else may be forgotten in the national effort to curb Tom Metzger, it is essential to remember the local reality that before he ever attempted to organize skinheads, the skinheads had organized themselves.

The history of the infiltration of Portland's youth culture by Nazi ideas is difficult to document in detail, for it took place largely unnoticed by adults in a handful of clubs populated by people who were better participants than they were observers, but from conversations with a variety of onlookers, as well as from police records, newspaper accounts and other sources, at least a rudimentary outline emerges. The skinhead appearance in Portland seems, roughly speaking, to have followed a pattern established earlier in San Francisco, where, in reaction to the vaguely progressive or at least oppositional culture of punk, a group of musicians and their followers became steadily more "hard-core," driving themselves through a succession of musical and personal changes until they arrived first at the style and eventually at the substance of British racist bands such as Skrewdriver, which are explicitly associated with the fascist National Front.

In Portland a key event seems to have been a 1986 concert at the Pine Street Theater featuring the leftist—in punk terms—bill of Cheetah Chrome from Italy, BGK from Belgium and MDC from San Francisco which was broken up by a gang of fifty skinheads armed with bats, pipes and knives. The Cheetah Chrome concert was not the first mass appearance of the skinheads. From the early 1980s on, there were a rising number of brawls, beatings and slashings, directed not only at competing musical factions but at random customers, employees and passers-by; an atmosphere of intimidation became general; and around 1985, after a failed effort to protect its admirers from violence stimulated by fol-



lowers of a racist heavy-metal band called Lockjaw, one of Portland's most popular punk bands, Poison Idea, even stopped playing. Things never went as far in Portland as they did in San Francisco, where, in 1985, after one too many skinhead/punk confrontations, the owner of the city's most famous punk club, the Mabuhay Gardens, closed it down. But after the Cheetah Chrome concert, the skinhead movement grew in both numbers and influence, and it began to dominate the scene.

The sources of this new *Zeitgeist* were more than musical. If the influences that set the stage for the murder of Seraw could ever be fully charted, first among them would probably be the drama of The Order and particularly that of its founder, Robert Mathews, whose escape from the F.B.I. at a Portland motel in November 1984 and death in a flaming house on Whidbey Island, Washington, in December were part of the city's psychic landscape during that period. Mathews's example so moved at least one local skinhead that he included a salute to the fallen leader on the jacket of his band's next record, along with a salute to Adolf Hitler. Of the many neo-Nazi leaders whose names surfaced regularly in the papers in connection with the demise of The Order and the trial of its survivors in Seattle in 1985, the closest to Portland geographically was pastor Richard Butler, whose Aryan Nations church in Idaho had alternately stimulated and bored the original Order members. When the assemblies of far-right ideologues known as the Aryan Nations congresses resumed in 1986, following an interruption during the Order period, skinheads from Portland were among those in attendance. Butler also maintains a "prison ministry" and in that way attracted the allegiance of Kenneth Mieske, a popular figure in the Portland rock scene and lead singer in a hate metal band called Machine. Mieske returned to the city in the summer of 1987, from a stay in the state penitentiary for petty theft, as a committed white supremacist. Still another presence was Rick Cooper, who had moved up from California in 1985 and gradually began playing a subtle role in making young skinheads more aware both of their Nazi political and ideological heritage and of one another. Finally, among the elements contributing to making Portland fertile ground should probably be counted a continuing infusion of new skins, many from California, who, drawn by the city's perpetual reputation as a place to do one's own thing unimpeded, began drifting in and doing it as early as 1986, much as their unshorn predecessors had done before them.

The clearest marker for the emergence of the skinheads from the clubs to the streets is probably early 1988, when ideo-

logical links between such acts as the desecration of a synagogue and an attack on a homosexual couple led police to begin keeping records:

§ "Black male victim is assaulted and called 'nigger' and 'jungle bunny' by three members of Youth of Hitler."

§ "Business was burglarized and vandalized. The suspect painted 'Nazi Rule, White Power, Die No Name Jew, Die Nigger Lover, White Rule'."

§ "A note saying 'Niggers get out' was left on a [white female's] car parked in front of her home. The WF claimed to have seen skinheads in the area and is willing to press charges. She is dating a BM [black male] and felt the note to be specific harassment."

On March 10, 1988, an event occurred that for the first time focused public attention on what was happening in the streets. Hock-Seng (Sam) Chin, a native of Singapore married to a white woman, was leaving a Thai restaurant in downtown Portland with his wife and child when he was set upon by three skinheads who shouted, "Go back to Hong Kong" and "Get out of our country," called his daughter a "fucking slant" and denounced his wife as a "race traitor" for being married to someone non-white. Portland police have had their own collisions with minorities at times, but when one of the skin-

heads continued his tirade even after his arrest by insisting that the United States should exclude Asian visitors and trade, it was clearly too much. "I suggested before he talked about business & trade maybe he should get an education," notes the arresting officer's report. Concern about this and other skinhead incidents, initially confined to the police, was soon widely shared. Coverage in the daily *The Oregonian* increased, and in mid-May a lengthy article in *Willamette Week* took a close look at a neo-Nazi skinhead gang called POWAR (Preservation of the White American Race). Shortly afterward members of the gang appeared live on the Sunday evening TV show *Town Hall*, a program of the ABC affiliate KATU-TV and an important local forum.

The *Town Hall* program deserves special attention, for unlike its national counterparts it features real discussion, and it represented a largely sincere attempt on the part of the skins to communicate with the public in a reasonable fashion. It occurred nearly half a year before Seraw's murder, and may also suggest something of the state of mind of skinheads in other areas where organizing by a sophisticated national leadership has not taken place. Pressed by the moderator to explain themselves, the dozen or so skins produced a stumbling but plainly heartfelt array of statements—"I'm standing up for what I believe in, fighting for a cause"; "we're trying to



The neo-Nazis' view of the relationship of their own brand of racism to the rest of society's WAR, Vol. 9, No. 1.

unite the white people"; "we want our culture to still be here for future generations, we don't want to lose it"; "today we have a lot of black history, African history, things like that, but no awareness of what it means to be white; we're human too."—that in the confrontational atmosphere of *Geraldo* or *Oprah* would have sounded deliberately provocative or else rhetorical, but which here became the expressions of an uncertain sense of cultural and individual identity.

The program's most intense moments came as a result of a demand by the president of Portland's police union, not noted for his liberal views, to know just what role Nazi ideology played in the POWAR organization. "A cause is one thing," he said, shaking with a palpably generational rage, "but these young people weren't even around when [World War II was fought]. . . . In a local newspaper they had a picture of this young lad here standing next to a swastika. . . . Now to have that swastika hanging on the wall next to an American flag is a damned insult. . . . There's a lot of white people that were killed in that war, not necessarily blacks or Asians or Jews as the case may be; they were just a lot of American soldiers regardless of race killed in that damn war, and if [the skinheads] have adopted the philosophy of the Gestapo kind of people, they've adopted a very dangerous philosophy." Taken up by the moderator, who itemized the militaria in the photo in question, including a Nazi battlefield flag with the Iron Cross, a Hitler T-shirt worn by a skin who was also on the program, the death's head symbol of the S.S. and various swastikas, the inventory elicited responses from several skinheads on the program.

§ Kelly, a handsome, soft-spoken young man who was POWAR's more or less official spokesman, said: "There are various symbols of the white man's attempt to be pure: the swastika, the Rebel flag and so on. We do not support the Third Reich attitudes for, say, genocide or the mass extermination of a certain race in any way."

§ Michelle, a 21-year-old heavily tattooed woman, who noted that she had been a skin for about five years, said: "I don't agree with those philosophies in the sense of violence and extermination but there are philosophies from that era that we all claim as having something to do with the preservation of the white race. We've taken something from the past and fine-tuned it toward the future."

§ John, a younger skin from Salem, Oregon, said: "O.K., at that point our country was divided. Half of our country was for Germany and half of our country was for England. Because of our President, we went with England. If it hadn't happened that way, who's to say if it would be immoral for us to have a swastika beside an American flag?"

"So you're saying the country was half-divided?" asked the astonished moderator. "Do you recall the vote in Congress to declare war on Germany? It was 535 to 1."

"Yes, but that was because of the beliefs of our Congress, who was in office at that time," replied John from Salem.

WAR Moves In

The POWAR show had important consequences, not the least of which was that skinheads were suddenly famous. The

gang itself, accused by other skins of undue moderation—and thus of giving the movement a bad name—had its "asses kicked" when it returned to the street, one skin told me. It was soon defunct, but other groups crystallized or became more active, and incidents multiplied. It was approximately then, in the summer of 1988, that the Portland scene, with its rising number of recruits, seems to have attracted the attention of Tom Metzger, who began in effect to compete with Butler for the allegiance of the Portland skins. Thanks to the sponsorship of Rick Cooper, who arranged the *Town Hall* program and many other media appearances for local skins, *Race and Reason* began its regular airing on Portland cable television in July 1988; at some point in this period, Metzger's son, John, in his capacity as president of the Aryan Youth Movement, began corresponding with members of the skinhead gang East Side White Pride, which included Mieske, Brewster and Strasser; and in early fall three organizers from the Metzger youth camp, most important among them Dave Mazzella, vice president of A.Y.M., and Mike Barrett, also a California skinhead leader, arrived.

With the appearance of Mazzella and Barrett the intersection of the Portland skinheads and the Metzger organization begins, for with their portable credentials, including videotapes of their appearances on such television programs as *Oprah* and *The Morton Downey Jr. Show*, their vanload of WAR literature and a certain amount of ready cash, the California skins were the most experienced organizers the Portland skinheads had ever seen. This is not to say that the Portland skinheads rolled over. Even after Mazzella moved into the apartment Steve Strasser shared with other skinheads and began paying the rent, there were some who distrusted him. He was "silver-tongued," I was told, a big talker, full of "plans" and "connections"; problems arose between him and the local skinheads not only over issues but, in one case at least, over a girl. But he was known to be close to the Metzgers, particularly John; Mazzella and his wife had even been married in a ceremony performed by Tom; he was good at talking to high school students and on the news; and there is no doubt that from the time of his arrival Mazzella was a central figure.

On the afternoon of November 11, 1988, ABC aired the famous *Geraldo* program on which, after what must have been some of the ugliest dialogue about blacks and Jews ever broadcast in this country, a number of skinheads, including John Metzger, provoked the fight that ended with *Geraldo* Rivera's nose being broken. Whether the Portland skinheads actually watched it or not I do not know, but if they did not it would be surprising, because the show was an eagerly anticipated event in WAR-skinhead circles and because of Mazzella's friendship with John. The day after the program, skinhead activity in Portland reached a new pitch. In the afternoon there was a meeting of East Side White Pride with Mazzella and Barrett at the apartment of one of the skinheads. In the early evening, following a skinhead tradition known as "Boys Night Out," the boys began distributing the WAR newspaper and attempting to recruit from the street in downtown Portland for the first time, while the girls went to the Pine Street Theater, where they attacked a Jewish man in

the parking lot. Later they all regrouped at the apartment of another skinhead, at a party that also included Mazzella and Barrett; and it was after leaving that party, around 1 A.M., drunk both on alcohol and racist ideas, that the carload of skins encountered the carload of Ethiopians, and Mulageta Seraw died.

Now, if the link between the Portland skinheads and the WAR organization was simply that WAR organizers came to Portland, skinhead activity increased and a man was killed, that would be a sorry story, but at least it would have an ending. But it is not the ending, because the person who led the police to Mieske, Brewster and Strasser a few days after the murder was Dave Mazzella. On November 16 he was giving one of his many Portland TV interviews on the evening news; on November 17, he was closeted with the police, giving them an account of the bloody event as told to him by Strasser; and not long afterward, following a few months of erratic movements in and out of Portland during which he sometimes was, and sometimes was not, picked up by the police, he became increasingly elusive. Whether Mazzella was a plant of a police or intelligence agency in the Metzger organization all along; whether he turned against Metzger on his own, either out of principle or convenience; or whether he is simply a blabbermouth is something else I do not know, but considering his key role and the fact that if it were not for Mazzella's presence in Portland Seraw might well be alive, the possibility that

Mazzella was not only an agent of Tom Metzger but an *agent provocateur* of somebody else cannot, at this point, be discounted. The confession of a "turned" participant was a key element of S.P.L.C. attorney Morris Dees's success in the Alabama Klan case. When the Metzger trial begins in Portland, possibly in October, Mazzella, along with Barrett, who has already signed a compliant affidavit, and Steve Strasser, who is conspicuously excluded from Dees's complaint, could well be among the central witnesses.

Since the death of Seraw, skinhead activity in Portland has only intensified. Not only have the number of individual hate crimes attributed to skinheads and other white supremacists continued to increase but antiracist skin gangs have also emerged, encouraged in part by the San Francisco-based, leftist John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, in part by the militant Portland Coalition for Human Dignity, and confrontations are escalating. Fights between gangs of skinheads and gangs of blacks are also being reported. In recent months Tom Metzger has gained prominence, maintaining two Portland mes-

sage lines where previously he had none, speaking with the press and on talk shows in connection with the lawsuit and generally keeping things moving. A good example of the underground spread of his influence occurred recently when, soon after Metzger, for reasons known only to himself, referred on his message line to *The Oregonian* as the "Oragonian," the same word appeared on a new message line run by young people who describe themselves as Christian Identity but whose language echoes Metzger's (as well as But-

ler's, Mathews's and even George Lincoln Rockwell's) in several respects. There is little doubt that whatever the outcome, with the forthcoming trial gathering national publicity, Metzger's visibility will only increase.

Attempting to account for the skinhead phenomenon nationally, some observers have arrived at the usual explanations—inadequate economic opportunity, individual pathology and broken homes—that, for Portland at least, appear to me to be insufficient. Although it is true that today's skinheads are members of the first generation that cannot expect to make more money than its parents, which undoubtedly plays a part, they are young, many still live at home, and they do not appear to worry about money much. They come from every suburb, wealthy to working-class, and from an array of families whose "functionality" or "dysfunctionality" appears to be no different from that of the people next door. As for individual pathology, even in the case of Kenneth Mieske, who wielded the bat that



WAR's coverage of the brawl on Gerald.

killed Seraw, opposing psychologists for the prosecution and defense said, respectively, "He has an interesting psychological profile which does not indicate the presence of serious psychological problems" and "I would not characterize him as showing a personality disorder"—though whether that is more of a commentary on Mieske or on the psychologists is hard to say.

My own look at the Portland skinheads suggests, rather, an acute degree of painfully personal racial discomfort, which is finding its natural expression in a primitive political movement. Comparing the Portland of his youth with the Portland of today, a skinhead in his mid-20s sounded almost plaintive as he explained that "Portland isn't safe anymore and it's never going to get better; it will never be the same." Another said he didn't mind if black people went everywhere and did everything they wanted, but sometimes he and his friends just liked to be "alone." Closely entwined with a sense of loss is a sense of fear. The middle-class girl driving the car in which the skinheads involved in the Seraw murder were riding was

carrying a gun given to her by her father for protection. The mother of one skinhead, upon pressing her son to explain the weapons that are part of his uniform, got a desperate, "Ma, you just don't understand." Not only do Portland skinheads I talked to cite black gangs as the crucial factor in their own gang formation, but their anxiety is so free-floating that those in attendance at bail hearings for the Seraw case—including one of the passengers in the car—claim to have thought that not just the Ethiopians in the car with Seraw but even, at one point, a black observer in the courtroom, was either a Crip or a Blood. Whether the sense of intimidation felt by young whites is associated with any substantive improvements for blacks in Portland, it is not possible to say, but it is true that, like many cities, Portland has, in the lifetime of this generation, changed from an informally segregated city to an open one; that schools, parks, bus stops and malls once divided are now used by all; and that the resulting encounters between young people of different races at times and places adults rarely tread have left a wake of ill feeling that the city's predominantly liberal political establishment has been slow to acknowledge.

To what extent the skinhead movement is simply a punk version of racism elsewhere in the city and not a separable phenomenon is another question that has not been adequately discussed, but certainly the case could easily be made. Throughout the city, crimes of the sort formerly committed largely by skinheads are now frequently committed by other white supremacists as well, and while the children have been in the streets, adults have been engaged in a subtler but no less ugly struggle against the renaming of a city thoroughfare for Martin Luther King Jr. This campaign has not only resurrected the political careers of two long-term leaders of the right in Oregon, Walter and Rosalie Huss, but has brought to the city such racist leaders as Richard Barrett, head of the Mississippi-based Nationalist Movement, who before the Seraw murder usually stayed away. In these circumstances, to attribute the disturbances in Portland or any other city to Tom Metzger is like attributing the civil rights movement to outside agitators. Wherever he can find a forum, Metzger operates, but he does not create the conditions in which his words make sense. From individual white insecurity to a collective white identity; from a collective white identity to the necessity of white supremacy; and from the necessity of white supremacy to the movement for Aryan victory, with all that it implies—it is on this classic political journey from experience to ideology that Tom Metzger, among others, is attempting to lead the skinheads, but before they ever encountered him, the experience was already there.

Epilogue: 'Can It Happen Here?'

In historical writing about racism there is a tradition in which the author acknowledges the inevitable incompleteness of his or her treatment of so large and unending a subject. Thus David Chalmers, in his 1965 history of the Klan, *Hooded Americanism*, quotes the Klan's first historian, Walter Fleming, who wrote in 1905, "There is still much that is obscure about the Ku Klux Klan and I shall be glad to obtain additional information . . . and to receive notices of mistakes



and errors in this account." George Mosse, in his history of European racism, *Toward the Final Solution*, titles his last chapter, "A Conclusion That Does Not Conclude." The preceding pages are no exception. With the neo-Nazi movement continuing to unfold in both the United States and Europe, there is more—much more—to be said. From questions about the internal character of the movement to its external connections, my own list of topics untouched here is long, and readers will undoubtedly have many questions of their own.

Anyone approaching the movement with the seriousness it deserves is immediately faced with another dilemma also remarked on by historians: maintaining intellectual perspective, a problem shared by virtually every Klan-watch organization and individual Klan watcher today. As someone who has spent the last year and a half flooded with materials from and about the movement, I have to say that, again, I am no exception. When the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* arrives in your mailbox in a plain wrapper and you have grasped its currency in the minds of people at the other mailboxes where it is also arriving in a plain wrapper, you tend to forget that is just about the only way to get it these days. When you have listened enough to the British band Skrewdriver playing and singing "Race and Nation," "White Power" and "Tomorrow Belongs to Me," it is hard to remember the Rolling Stones. Once you have learned that you can celebrate Hitler's birthday by buying, among other things, a teddy bear ("The Dolf Bear has the Fuhrer's famous mustache and you can even comb his black hair"), you forget that with less rigmarole you can walk into any toy store and buy Shakesbeare, Paddington or Pooh. Apart from the sheer quantity of material, there is something about its character that is spellbinding. I know that I looked forward to the biweekly showings of *Race and Reason* in Portland and I believe that other observers with whom I was in contact around the country did too. There is even a kind of excited trade in these materials—"I'll trade you Baxter for Monique," or, more accurately, "You can copy my Baxter if I can copy your Monique"—as researchers and activists share a sense of mutual astonishment: What will they say next? It is hard to avoid the feeling that the neo-Nazis are everywhere, embedded in everything, Tomorrow the World.

In addition to the problem of intellectual perspective, there is also a problem of political perspective, which is in many respects the reverse: namely, a tendency to minimize or marginalize the neo-Nazis by defining them as "extremists" and

denying their relationship to racial issues as a whole. Civil rights activists point out that the Reagan Administration, for example, prosecuted violent, racially motivated crimes such as The Order's while simultaneously endorsing one of the racial movement's essential premises, that it is time for black preference programs to end. Again, the historians can be helpful. In his book, *The Old Christian Right*, about William Pelley, Gerald Winrod and Gerald L.K. Smith in the 1930s, Leo Ribuffo makes the case that the "'extremism' of the far

right often converged with the cultural and political mainstream," a point also made by historians of racism in other places and times. "The theory segregating far right villainy from the mainstream obscures the sources of indecency," Ribuffo goes on.

As unexceptional as such a proposition may appear when applied to the past, however, when applied to the present it becomes controversial. The Anti-Defamation League—the government's principal adviser on these matters—prefers a line of reasoning that labels the neo-Nazis as "extremists," an approach that, in the A.D.L.'s view, leads to effective prosecution, which in turn diminishes the force of the movement—fewer overt acts, fewer models to follow—and puts it in a category with both far-left and black anti-Semitism, which is where the organization feels the neo-Nazis belong. The implications of one's definition of the problem are extremely important, both in interpreting the racial movement and in deciding on courses of action. In

assessing the extent of anti-Semitic feeling in the Midwest during the farm crisis of the early 1980s, a period of heightened Posse Comitatus activity, almost all observers, including The American Jewish Committee, reported more anti-Semitism than did the A.D.L., which was particularly concerned lest a majority of American farmers be branded anti-Semitic when they were not. In considering whether to support a demonstration against the Aryan Nations in Idaho last year, nearly all local and regional grass-roots antiracist groups, including the Rainbow Coalition, agreed to do so; the A.D.L. did not, citing the burden on local law enforcement authorities of keeping the racist and antiracist demonstrators apart. The general position of the A.D.L. is that the problem is serious but not too serious, and that the authorities have it well in hand.

Knowing only too well that in criticizing the A.D.L. one can find oneself in undesirable company, it seems to me, nonetheless, that its strategy of containment rests on a fallacy.

A Test for White Warriors

CAN YOU PASS THIS TEST?

QUESTIONS

Are you a racial conservative? or a White Revolutionary?
White Revolutionary

Do you believe the state is instituted by a god? *NO*

Do you believe the Stars and Stripes represent the White Race now? *NO*

Do you believe capitalism and economics are the answer to our racial problems? *NO*

Do you believe in legal abortions for Whites? *NO*

Do you believe the Soviet Union is controlled by state capitalism? *YES*

Do you believe survival of the White race should come before any codified law? *YES*

Do you believe the U.S. Constitution will save White Separatists? *NO*

Do you believe either major political party is the long-ranged friend of the White Race? *NO*

Do you believe Korea or Vietnam was fought for the White Race? *NO*

Do you believe "free" enterprise will save the White Race? *NO*

Would you take up arms against another nation that was White and Proud? *NO*

Are you a white warrior? Take this test and find out. From the WAR newspaper, Vol. 8, #4.

The neo-Nazis' ideology and activities are certainly "extreme," but they exist along a racist continuum on which it is difficult to draw a line. Granted that the situation could be a lot worse, but with the rising number of hate crimes occurring simultaneously with the rise in influence of the neo-Nazi movement, can it really be described as being in hand? As a Jew with my own reading of history, the combination of minimizing the problem and trusting authority makes me uneasy. If the problem were limited to "extremists," prosecutions would, in fact, suffice; but if it is general, nothing short of a painful national self-assessment will be required. Since we do not know under what circumstances the present movement could become something more, I for one am glad that in addition to the cautious accountings of the A.D.L. we have the broad-based, antiracist organizing of the Center for Democratic Renewal, the aggressive litigation of the S.P.L.C., the militance of the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee and the activities of countless other organizations and individuals throughout the United States, because we need every one. The premature consolidation of a monolithic viewpoint about a movement we still understand so little is not in anyone's interest.

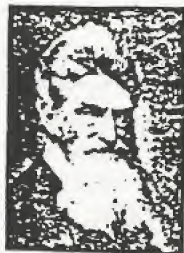
I want to return one final time to the words of a historian, again George Mosse. Anyone writing on Nazis or anything connected with Nazis is invariably asked the one question everyone always wonders about, the dread question, the Sinclair Lewis question, "Can it happen here?" and in being confronted with this several times in the course of this work, I

came to see that the key word in the question is obviously "it." If "it" means another Hitler, the answer is probably no, if only because history does not literally repeat. But there are subtler forms of repetition. In a period of declining national authority manifested everywhere from our weakening social structure to our worsening economic position, a movement is stirring that explains it all, and people are starting to listen. In following the course of racism and anti-Semitism from the fringes to the center of German thought, and from theory to practice, Mosse remarks, "In 1930 . . . in Germany [the] left [and] the center had to argue on the terrain occupied by the racist right . . . one of the Nazis' principal victories before seizing power." That much, I now think, can happen here and is, indeed, beginning to happen; and that is the problem already posed by the American neo-Nazi movement today. □

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John Brown

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NAZI SKINHEADS GET OUT!



IN THIS ISSUE

Racist Skinheads: Confused Kids or Tonsured Terrorists?

On the march in dozens of cities across the country Nazi skinheads working with organized white terror groups are a growing threat.

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Know Your Enemy: Tom Metzger

Leading Nazi ideologue, Tom Metzger, is a home-grown fascist. Founder of California's WAR (White American Resistance), Metzger courts the racist skinheads while he builds the Nazified Klan.

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Support Your Friends: Nazi Skinheads Get Out!

Anti-racist activists around the country confront Nazi skinheads on TV and on the streets. Stamp Out Racist Graffiti actions spread like wildfire. Just Say No To Nazi Kits mobilize anti-racist action. page 13

In the annals of homegrown terrorism, 1989 promises to be the year of Nazi skinheads. Now that the mass media has awakened to the reality of Nazi skinheads across the country, everyone from the *New York Times* to Geraldo Rivera wants a piece of the action. Well if you want your nose broken on network TV, Nazi skinheads are happy to oblige. If you want action and not just media reaction, you need a broad coalition of committed anti-fascists. The John Brown Anti-Klan Committee is building that coalition.

Here's the story.

On the march in many cities across the country, the Nazi skinheads emulate Third Reich storm troopers in their combat boots and swastika badges and tattoos and in their penchant for violence against Blacks, Jews, and gays.

Further, white-power skinheads are determined to destroy anti-racist skinheads and the progressive music and political punk scene from Los Angeles to Houston to

New York City.

Today's Nazi skinheads aren't just last year's bratpacks with a taste for brew and brawls. They're schooled in Nazi philosophy and taught to kill, Green-beret style, by the master-racists of America—California's White Aryan Resistance (WAR), Richard Butler's Aryan Nations, and the Ku Klux Klan. WAR leader Tom Metzger calls Nazi skinheads the "frontline troops for the white race . . . If Blacks or anyone give them trouble, they will smash it." The San Francisco Examiner said, "Neo-Nazi skinheads have become the new Hitler Jugend."

WHITE POWER GOES POST-MODERN

Like the Hitler Youth of the 1930s, racist skinheads are the shock troops of a new white supremacist movement. They have a full-blown ideology—and it's the same as Hitler's. They aim to wrest control of the U.S. government (which they see as controlled by "Jews and lily-livered conservatives") in order to begin their holocaust of Africans, Asians, Jews, gays and Latinos.

Seems implausible? Read on.

Tom Metzger is the chief architect of post-modern white supremacy. Metzger's blueprint fuses the old KKK—the cross-burning, church-bombing, lynch-mobbing segregationists true to Ronald Reagan and the red, white, and blue—and the new American Nazis—the high-tech militarists who want to install a fascist regime under a swastika flag in Washington, D.C., by force. We call this menacing merger of the KKK and Nazis the "nazified Klan." Recruiting Nazi skinheads is only a part of the strategy.

In the public arena Metzger has run in state elections in California.

WAR uses its weekly cable TV show, computer network, phone network, fundamentalist churches, and public appearances to attract followers at all levels of society.

Meanwhile, through ties to the U.S. Army and Marines, the neo-Nazis are stockpiling arms and conducting military training camps for men, women, and children. They rob banks when they need money. They threaten, beat and assassinate their opponents.

The military wing of the new Klan made headlines in 1985 when dramatic coast-to-coast arrests of dozens of white "warriors" focused national attention on the existence of a fascist underground inside the U.S. Called variously The White American Bastion, The Silent Brotherhood or The Order, this secret army left a bloody trail from the Pacific northwest to the Mexico border and the deep south. The Order is the group portrayed in the Hollywood movie *Betrayed*.

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The FBI and other government agencies came down hard on the Order when they started robbing banks and killing FBI agents. A dozen Aryan "warriors" were given long prison terms. Many others made elaborate "confessions," turning in their buddies in

exchange for short prison terms. The military wing of the Order was temporarily out of business, but the top leadership remained untouched.

These leaders could see that the fascist movement needed new soldiers to replace those killed or jailed. Organizing racist skinheads was an idea whose time had come. WAR began systematic recruitment of right-wing skinheads, feeding them Nazi ideology.

An ugly but accurate picture of a growing, violent fascist movement among white youth is etched by dozens of reports received by the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee. JBAKC began fighting Nazi skins in Chicago several years ago, and monitoring Nazi skinhead activity in the Bay Area after a skinhead attack on a 54-year-old Black woman in San Jose in the summer of 1987; "We are racial and she was black," said 20-year-old Kenneth Lamar Allen when he was arrested for the attack. "We're into white supremacy."

After a San Francisco "white power" rally led by Bob Heick and his American Front, on May 1, 1988, JBAKC placed ads in *Maximum RockNRoll* and other magazines asking for eyewitness news.

After a San Francisco "white power" rally led by Bob Heick and his American Front, on May 1, 1988, JBAKC placed ads in *Maximum RockNRoll* and other magazines asking for eyewitness news. Anti-racist skinheads and punks all over the United States

have swamped our P. O. box with letters and reports.

Thus, despite our low funds, our information base is an up-to-date street-level view of what racist skinheads are doing. We know more—and our conclusions are different—than other watchdog groups like the Anti-Defamation League. The A.D.L. calls for "careful monitoring" of skinheads. We say Nazi skins must be fought.

HATE IN THE HAIGHT

May 1, 1988, San Francisco. Under a banner proclaiming White Workers Day, fifty shaved-head racists gathered in Buena Vista Park, the hilltop at the edge of the Haight-Ashbury district. Their eggshell heads and swastika badges reflecting the noon-day sun, the neo-Nazis closed ranks as they stepped onto Haight Street to begin a seven-block march, chanting, "We don't care what the commies say, May 1st is white workers day." This was the report of Joel, a teenager who was shopping on Haight Street that morning. Joel, who is Black, didn't stick around, but he did call JBAKC's Anti-Racist Hotline.

Meanwhile, Kyle, 18, a punk with a multi-colored mohawk, outraged by the appearance of Nazis in the Haight, put on a home-made "Fuck White Power" t-shirt and heckled the march from across the street. The next day five of the bald Nazis caught up with Kyle and broke his nose, warning, "Stay away from Skinhead Hill." (Popular with families and gays until Nazi skinheads began gay bashing there, "Skinhead Hill" is the part of Buena Vista Park the Nazis have claimed as their turf.) Kyle called JBAKC.

A few days later, a skinhead on Haight Street is handing out flyers

to 15-year-old John and other young white kids. John passed the leaflets on to JBAKC. Sample message: "White Youth! The future can be yours! If you have the guts to fight for it. Free America from the criminal control of Zionist war-mongers, race traitors, fags and mud races. White revolution is the only solution." These were the same leaflets the skins handed out on May Day, signed by the "American Front" and offering a San Francisco contact for more information. Ironically, the leaflets were adorned with clean-cut cartoon-whites sporting neckties and conservative haircuts.

Their 1984 manifesto threatened "Punks, Communists, Anarchists, Hippys, and Homosexuals . . . We the SKINHEADS will not tolerate your spreading of unwanted diseases both mental and physical . . . YOUR DAYS ARE NUMBERED."

The May Day parade marked the racists' self-congratulation for the ugly new mood they had brought to the Haight. Rudy, a Black gay Haight resident told JBAKC he was beaten once by five skinheads. Now, he says, gays and Blacks just don't go into Buena Vista Park or the east end of Golden Gate Park, the Haight's eastern and western boundaries and major recreational areas of San Francisco. At the June, 1988 Haight Street Fair—an annual celebration

of the neighborhood's diverse lifestyles and progressive community activities—the skinheads attacked interracial couples and gay men in drag. This time anti-racist bystanders fought back—only skinheads got hurt.

THE FRONT BEHIND THE HATE

The May Day White Power rally, brought out 60 racists. It was the first organized west coast appearance of the growing Nazi movement, and marked the public re-emergence of The American Front, a skinhead political group that garnered headlines in 1984 after vandalizing a Haight Street anarchist bookstore.

Their 1984 manifesto threatened "Punks, Communists, Anarchists, Hippys {sic}, and Homosexuals . . . We the SKINHEADS will not tolerate your spreading of unwanted diseases both mental and physical . . . YOUR DAYS ARE NUMBERED."

"The skinheads are so violent that I didn't want to be around them most of the time," says Clinton Sipes, a former Klansman.

"The skinheads are so violent that I didn't want to be around them most of the time," says Clinton Sipes, a former Klansman who worked closely with racist skinheads in the Bay Area for a year and a half. His distaste notwithstanding, Sipes was there when skinheads ran their car over a gay man in San Francisco and when they kidnapped and tortured a prostitute in Oakland, California. Many acts of skinhead violence—

and racist terror—go unreported or go down as random acts of violence," according to Sipes. "It surprises me how much stuff {skinheads} do that just goes unnoticed." Thus, the media picture of skinhead violence may show only the fin of the white racist shark.

The Nazis project an increasing confidence and strength—evidence of the money and organizing savvy supplied by Metzger's WAR. Appearing the next day on a network TV morning show, *People Are Talking*, Metzger praised the American Front's May Day rally. Skinheads, he said, are "soldiers in a white supremacist race war."

WAR WOOS THE SKINS

WAR and its youth wing, the Aryan Youth Movement (AYM), saw the potential of the racist skinheads. For the skinheads, WAR has much to offer: Nazi ideology and free literature, books on national socialism, a newspaper with a massive computer distribution list, weapons training, cross-burnings, white power rallies and a sense of importance. "Tom Metzger is an influence for any true white American," says Nazi skinhead Dave Lynch, now organizing in Newburgh, New York. "He's an inspiration for me, the top of my list."

While the WAR-AYM goal of a national skinhead confederation remains a way off, Metzger's son, John Metzger, is making steady progress. Three California WAR skin chapters (San Bernardino, Los Angeles and Orange County) work directly with WAR. Heick's American Front also works with Clark Martell's CASH (Chicago Area Skinheads); DASH (Detroit Area Skin Heads); SS Action Group, with chapters in Chicago and Pontiac, Michigan; the Con-

federate Hammer and Northern Hammer groups from Dallas and Minneapolis; and groups from Cincinnati, Tulsa and Portland. This alliance also includes Nazi gangs from Brooklyn, Philadelphia and New Jersey.

According to an article in the December, 1988 issue of *Rolling Stone*: The AYM newspaper, which pitches to skinheads, features comic-strip depictions of Jews, Black children burned at a stake, a communist teacher and an integrated class being blown to bits by a bomb. The paper salutes the "revolutionary efforts" of the Howard Beach mob "for hunting down and causing the death of Negro Michael Griffith, and for physically beating with baseball bats Negroes Cedric Sandiford and Timothy Grimes." Another recent issue announced "Operation Warlords," which aims to create "a new wave of Predatory Leaders among Aryan Youth . . . Our enemies understand only one message: that of the knife, the gun and the club."

For Nazi hackers there's even a computer bulletin board complete with lists of "race traitors."

Skinheads who don't like to read can call one of WAR's telephone "Hate Lines" and hear a tape produced by Metzger. One explains: "{The U.S. government} is a Jewish conspiracy. Once we get the white people's minds right and we get rid of all these white traitors, the Jews will be a week-end operation, baby!" Another requests callers to "Call WAR and tell us everything you know about the John Brown Anti-Klan

Committee, where they live, where they eat, where they sleep." For Nazi hackers there's even a computer bulletin board complete with lists of "race traitors."

For hard-core Nazis and the curious unconverted, Metzger's weekly cable-TV talk show, *Race and Reason*, airs on public access channels in over fifty cities. *Race and Reason* features skinheads regularly. Recent guest Robert Heick, founder of the American Front, reported on the May Day rally and vowed to bring thousands of white supremacists to San Francisco's Civic Center on May Day, 1989.

FÜHRER ON THE AIR

A blustering, sarcastic speaker, Metzger elbows his way onto network talk shows whenever he can. Metzger appeared on Oprah Winfrey's daytime show twice. Son John Metzger, who organizes skinheads but himself sports a Michael J. Fox look, appeared in February on the Winfrey show which featured a panel of racist skinheads; Tom Metzger and WAR organizer Carl Straight were in the audience.

"You think because she is black and because I'm black we're monkeys?" Winfrey asked.

"It's a proven fact," Cox replied. Shouting and shoving ensued.

So were many anti-racist skinheads and members of JBAKC. Debate was heated. The Metzgers and the Nazi skinheads finally marched off the set, right arms

extended in a Nazi salute, when Winfrey ejected Marty Cox. Cox had called a Black woman "a monkey."

"You think because she is black and because I'm black we're monkeys?" Winfrey asked.

"It's a proven fact," Cox replied. Shouting and shoving ensued.

Cox, on federal parole for an assault in California, attended the 1988 Aryan Nation's Congress in Hayden Lake, Idaho and is a frequent guest on Metzger's cable TV show.

In September, Metzger was back on the Oprah Winfrey show, on-stage this time, defending Klan access to cable TV. Racist TV is a Metzger innovation. TV appearances—and telephone and computer networks—are an important part of Metzger's plan for white revolution, not only attracting sympathizers but also serving as a national bulletin board, for hit-lists and hate-tracts. (See related story on Metzger)

SLIME SPREADS

The first skinheads were English working class youth reacting to the long hair styles and expensive clothes of '60s "mods."

In the 70s, England's economic crisis fueled the rise of the National Front, infamous for its violence toward African, Asian, and Caribbean immigrants. Attacked for its white supremacist politics by young people in Rock Against Racism concerts, the fascist National Front party sought to turn the tables and recruit skinheads through their own racist hardcore concerts.

This tactic met with a good deal of success; in England "skinhead" became a synonym for "neo-Nazi." Gangs of skinheads roamed London and other cities "bash-

ing" Asians and Blacks and fire-bombing their homes and shops. The leading skinhead band—in both England and the U.S.—is Skrewdriver, led by Ian Stuart, who has done prison time for racist violence. Among the groups's singles are "White Power," "Nigger, Nigger," and "Prisoner of Peace (Rudolph Hess)."

WAR embraced the racist skinheads, and the skinheads responded. It was a marriage made in hell.

Bob Heick's American Front is a direct descendant of England's National Front inheriting characteristics from both British working class fascist and American racists.

A MARRIAGE MADE IN HELL

Racism is as American as skateboards and rock and roll. The U.S. proudly entitles white people to racism. The Supreme Court enshrines racism every time it allows the KKK to march in public. White folks violently "defend" their neighborhoods, their schools, and their jobs from imagined Third World threats. White Americans grow up breathing racism, expecting to go to better schools, live in better houses, get better jobs, eat better food, and even live longer than Black people. White lives are privileged, and they always have been.

Now, for the first time in American history, the system cannot deliver the "American Dream" to all white people. Since 1980, half of all new jobs pay less than \$7,000 a year. While young Black people are looking at almost cer-

tain unemployment, young whites are looking at a future that is sharply divided between two classes. The college educated face a highly competitive scramble for professional and technical jobs. Working class white youth can expect little more than a dead-end minimum wage job at Burger King if they're lucky!

The Nazi message, thinly veiled as "affirmative action for whites," finds a receptive audience in young white people who grew up under Reaganism. Nazism, promoted as a "revolutionary" alternative to the "liberalism" that threatens white privilege, looks attractive to those already alienated, racist, and prone to violence.

Looking around the world of racism, the white supremacists saw the skins—outcast, leaderless—sticking out like a sore thumb. Dropouts from family and education, infatuated with violence, racist skins could be wooed by white supremacist ideology and fascist demagoguery.

San Jose skinheads made headlines when Scott Vollmer, a white 22-year-old rock musician was stabbed to death by Nazi-skins while trying to avert a racial attack on a Black friend.

WAR embraced the skinheads, and the skinheads responded. Metzger appointed his son John head of the AYM with the principal task of bringing the skinheads home to dad. It was a marriage made in hell.

RIISING TIDE OF RACISM AND VIOLENCE

Disaffection, violence and white supremacist ideology are a deadly combination. In the past several years, acts of Nazi skinhead racism, anti-Semitism and violence have increased all around the country.

In Chicago the racist street gang Romantic Violence joined with Nazi skinheads and formed CASH, Chicago Area Skin Heads, led by Clark Martell.

Martell is now in jail, after breaking into the home of his former girlfriend—who was leaving the gang—spraying her face with Mace, pistol whipping her and painting a swastika on the wall with her blood. "I'm a violent person," says Martell. "I love the white race, and if you love something you're the most vicious person on earth." Southern California, San Diego and Los Angeles are home to the Reich Skins, War Skins, and others who work closely with WAR and AYM.

Northern California saw a rapid increase in racist violence and skinhead organizing during 1987/88, starting in San Jose, spreading to San Anselmo, Fremont, San Francisco, and finally making headlines when former AYM leader Greg Withrow was crucified by Nazi-skinheads in Sacramento.

San Jose made news again in March, 1988, when Scott Vollmer, a white 22-year-old rock musician was stabbed to death by Nazi-skins while trying to avert a racial attack on a Black friend. Vollmer's attacker pleaded guilty to a lesser offense after the judge ruled that race was not an issue because the victim was white, and got sentenced to 4 years.

Mike, a Jewish skinhead in San Diego told JBAKC that his group of sixteen anti-racist skinheads have been involved in many battles with an estimated 150 skinheads under Metzger's leadership. Nazi skins broke Mike's arm with a baseball bat. He believes the Nazi skins are being trained in knife-fighting from Carl Straight, a WAR organizer who said, on *Race and Reason*, "There's a new white man in town {skinheads} and the n-----s better tiptoe. I trained in Vietnam and they don't call me the Bone Crusher for nothing."

Why has the old KKK, a bastion of redneck patriotism and straight-laced Americanism, embraced the wild and crazy skinheads?

Baseball bats are a favorite skinhead weapon. In Portland, Oregon, five Nazi skinheads beat a 27-year-old Ethiopian man to death with baseball bats on the night of November 14, 1988. Dave Mazella of WAR/AYM and Mike Barret of Southern California's WAR Skins were in Portland at the time recruiting for WAR/AYM.

OLD BATTLES, NEW KLAN

Why has the old KKK, a bastion of redneck patriotism and straight-laced Americanism, embraced the wild and crazy skinheads?

The old Klan suffered setbacks in the Civil Rights era, when Klan terrorism met Black militancy. The Klan lost members and political power.

In the early 1980s several key leaders of this weakened Ku Klux Klan joined forces with the growing neo-Nazi movement to build a high-powered, multi-level white terror formation. The new Klan, a product of violent American racism merged with Nazi fascism, brings together the most right-wing, reactionary and militant aspects of both the traditional Klan and the neo-Nazi movement.

Nazi skinheads are doing the talk-show circuit and getting enormous media attention. Any talk show host looks smart compared to a Nazi skinhead. Six months from now the media won't give them the time of day. Some of them may be in jail for their crimes, but many will have grown their hair and deepened their commitment to white supremacy.

According to the neo-Nazis, Jewish bankers who secretly control the U.S. government cause the problems in this society. They call this imagined conspiracy the Zionist Occupation Government—ZOG. The Nazis claim that ZOG uses Black and Third World people to anchor its power and line its pockets. ZOG must be overthrown, so that the Aryan race can regain control and send non-whites, Jews, gays, and communists to the ovens—Hitler's program triumphant.

Metzger and other leaders saw the potential of uniting the old Klan and the new Nazis—uniting the good ol' boys wrapped in the Confederate flag with the military fanatics with swastikas dangling from their shirts.

Among the top leaders in this Nazified Klan are Metzger; Richard Butler, a long-time Nazi and founder of the Idaho-based Aryan Nations; and Louis Beam, weapons expert and leader of the Texas Ku Klux Klan.

These leaders, particularly Metzger, realized that significant gains could be made by organizing among sectors or young people who were already racist, violent, and reactionary in their political outlook.

"If you're going to do anything, you need to have somebody with you who's going to stand their ground, and most conservatives won't," says Metzger. "The skinheads have already got the main thing, and that's guts."

Metzger on young recruits: "We got to get these young people, and we're getting them in the urban areas . . . They're coming out of the schools and they're not getting those jobs and they're mad as hell."

Metzger on international white supremacy: "We are Pan-Aryanists. We go far beyond the United States, wherever Aryan man is at—Australia, Europe, Canada, South Africa. What are national borders to Aryans? They talk about National Socialism, I think a better word is Racial Socialism. That is the future."

SOUNDING THE ALARM

When JBAKC started talking about skinheads several years ago, we were called alarmists. Now skinheads have everybody

alarmed. Beyond this alarm there is a job to do; defeat the white supremacist movement. The Nazified Klan was there before Oprah Winfrey and Geraldo Rivera discovered what good TV ratings Nazi skinheads get. The Nazified Klan will still be there when skinheads are no longer a television sensation.

Nazi skinheads are doing the talk-show circuit and getting enormous media attention. Any talk show host looks smart compared to a Nazi skinhead. But don't be fooled. Six months from now skinheads will be old news and the media won't give them the time of day. Some of them may be in jail for their crimes, but many will have grown their hair and deepened their commitment to white supremacy.

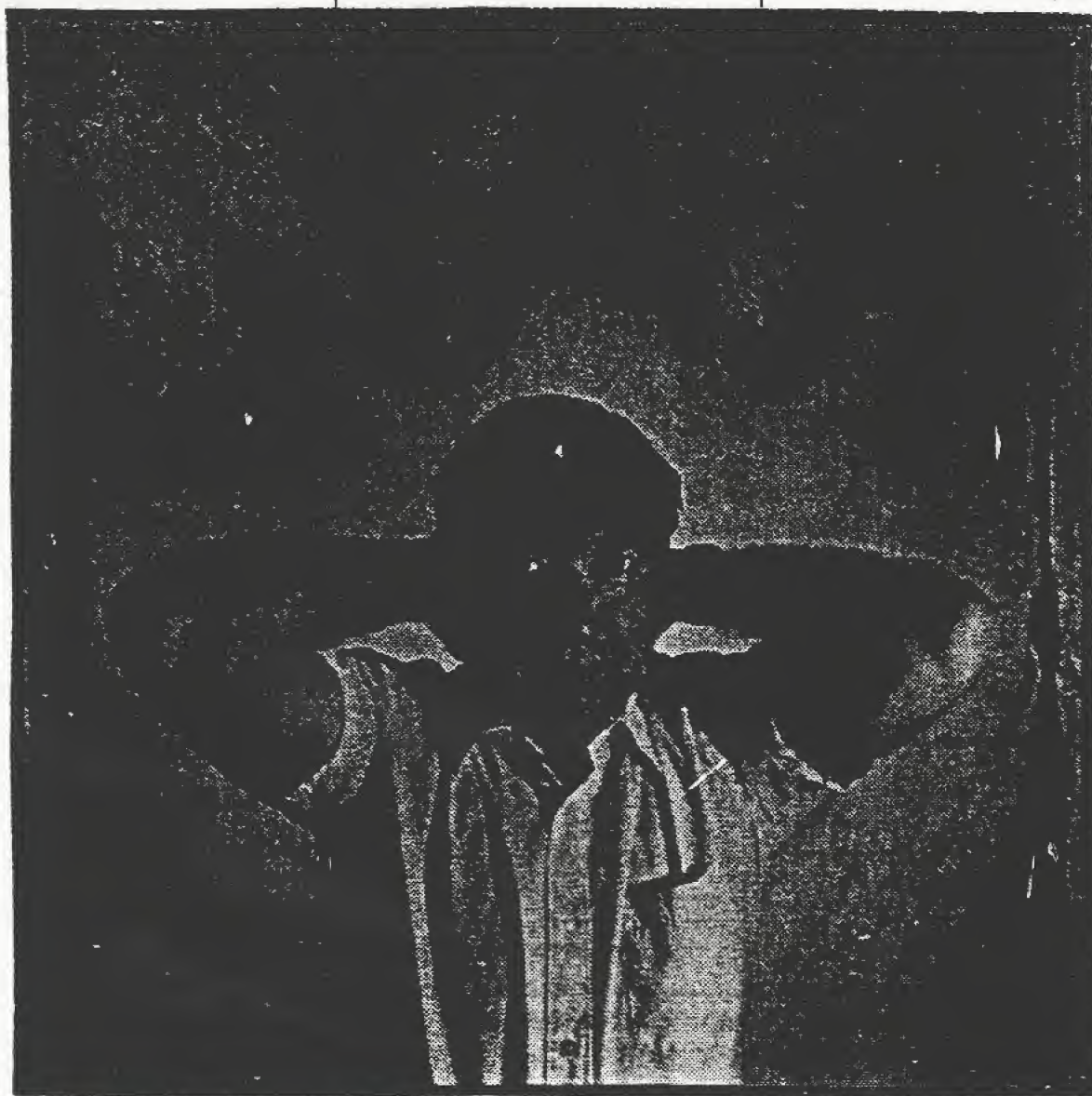
These leaders, particularly Metzger, realized that significant gains could be made by organizing among sectors or young people who were already racist, violent, and reactionary in their political outlook.

Tom Metzger enjoys the media spectacle. He helped to create it and when it's over he will still lead a fascist movement. John Metzger will keep on organizing young white fascists around the country.

A year from now Nazi skinheads may be a old news, but the violent, militarized, white supremacist movement, its thugs, its strategy and its leaders will still be active.

TOM METZGER

An American Fascist
Leader of the Nazified Klan



The TV camera moves in on a benevolent-looking man. In well-modulated tones, he begins; "Welcome. The show is *Race and Reason*, and I am your host, Tom Metzger."

Sponsored by the White American Political Association, *Race and Reason* puts the white supremacist movement on the air and in the living rooms of homes throughout the country.

Using a talk-show format, the show puts Nazis and the Klan in touch with a potential audience of millions across the country through community access cable TV.

TV is perfect for the Klan's goal of legitimizing racism and finding responsive audiences. *Race and Reason* has a slick, low-key format that avoids the open advocacy of violence and use of racial epithets found in WAR/Klan newspapers and rallies.

As a TV talk-show host, Metzger is getting his message out to the folks he wants to reach in the privacy of their homes, without at-

tracting much attention from potential opposition. Television casts a broad net that draws in new followers and sympathizers without exposing them to public identification. In a period when most fascist groups have turned away from public appearances, Metzger has hit on TV as one of the best ways to maintain a public presence for the white supremacist movement. It is the perfect complement to a level of Klan and Nazi organizing and training that is secret from the public eye.

Besides giving these Nazis a forum and an aura of respectability, Metzger's TV show allows him to project the Nazified Klan nationally. The show is an important vehicle for overcoming the regionalism that plagued the ultra-right in the past. It is part of promoting the national consolidation of the Klan and neo-Nazi movements under one united leadership. Metzger at the helm features guests on his show that include the Aryan Nation's Richard Butler, Texas Klan leader Louis Beam, Nazi skinheads and others of fascist persuasion.

TOM METZGER: AN AMERICAN FASCIST

In the decade since he first emerged from the militarized, right-wing suburbs stretching between Los Angeles and San Diego, Tom Metzger has become one of the most dangerous representatives of the new Nazified Ku Klux Klan.

He is a skilled political opportunist, propagandist and organizer. The twists and turns of his career provide a microcosmic view of how the KKK and other violent racists survived the setbacks brought about by the civil rights movement a generation ago, transforming themselves from old style segregationists into the ag-

gressive fascist movement of the 1980s.

In the atmosphere of Reagan's celebration of militarism and thinly disguised racism, the ideological and organizational development of a fascist movement rapidly accelerated. Today, a violent white supremacist movement is as much part of the Reagan legacy as is intervention in Central America, the plight of the homeless, the rising toll of dead from the AIDS epidemic, and of course George Bush. Movies like *Betrayed* and highly publicized convictions of a handful of racist terrorists from the Order convey the impression that the government is stopping this new generation of fascists. Analyzing the operations of men like Metzger reveals a different and far less comforting story.

After weathering the progressive era of the '60s in the shelter of the large, legitimate John Birch Society, Metzger was one of many who left this group because he wanted more action than the Birchers provided.

EVOLUTION OF AN AMERICAN FASCIST

Tom Metzger, now 50 years old, claims to have first developed his "segregationist" ideology while serving in the U.S. Army during the cold war. In 1964, after the assassination of President Kennedy and the rise of the Black Liberation and anti-war move-

ments, he joined with reactionaries of every stripe to support the failed Republican campaign of conservative standard bearer, Barry Goldwater.

With Goldwater's stunning defeat at the polls, the grand conservative coalition underwent a process of division, pitting those committed to remaining inside the Republican party against the more overt racists. Metzger joined the John Birch Society, a rapidly growing nationwide organization which professed the McCarthyite belief that there were "communist infiltrators" in the schools and behind many desks in Washington.

The Minutemen—a clandestine, militarized group of racists and anti-communists—trained, stockpiled weapons and waged armed actions, a full twenty years before the Order received nationwide attention for similar acts in the 1980s.

The John Birch Society was the granddaddy of today's New Right groups like the Moral Majority, Eagle Forum and Conservative Political Action Committees. It received millions of dollars in contributions from the very wealthy and thousands of ultra-conservative citizens who opposed not only civil rights but all progressive change.

Metzger stayed within the Birch Society for nearly a decade and rose to a leadership position. In

what would become a bloody thread running throughout his career, he was secretly and simultaneously working to build another organization: the Minutemen. The Minutemen was a clandestine, highly militarized grouping of racists, anti-communists and survivalists which trained, stockpiled weapons and waged armed actions—a full twenty years before the Order received nationwide attention for similar acts in the 1980s.

After weathering the progressive era of the '60s in the shelter of the large, legitimate John Birch Society, Metzger was one of many who left this group because he wanted more action than the Birchers provided.

In the early 1970s, he formed the White Brotherhood, the first of many organizations which would carry out his vision of combining mass racist movements with select cadres dedicated to armed terror. In 1974, this group merged with David Duke's Knights of the KKK. Duke is a product of the U.S. military and counter-insurgency expert with tours of duty in Southeast Asia, including work with the CIA in Laos. At the time David Duke was the rising star in the emerging new Klan, devoted to renovating the image of the KKK through the skillful use of television talk show appearances and the championing of "white rights in the age of affirmative action."

In 1979 Metzger pulled out of Duke's Knights of the KKK, and formed the California Knights of the KKK, with himself as Grand Dragon. This organization drew immediate national attention when it organized Klan "border patrols" to prevent undocumented Mexican workers from entering the U.S. Nearby Camp Pendleton became a focus of recruitment efforts, and in a move emulated

by others around the country, marines were brought into the organization.

Besides organizing the apparatus for violence, Metzger promoted the use of electronics, video and computers to the leadership of the national movement. While playing a central role in the Klan internal security organization, he also foresaw the potential for the racist movement to broaden its base by adding gray flannel suits to its wardrobe and engaging in electoral politics.

Far from being an alternative to violence, fascists like Metzger have always viewed working in the "legitimate" political arena as one part of a strategy dedicated to creating an Aryan nation.

TELEVISION, THE BALLOT AND THE GUN

With Ronald Reagan leading the wave of right-wing populism, Metzger campaigned in California's 43rd Congressional District Democratic Primary. Running a George Wallace-style populist campaign which emphasized the powerlessness of the "little white guy," he received 30,000 votes and won the nomination in one of the country's largest districts.

Although he lost the general election, his widespread support proved the efficacy of the electoral tactic. When the LA Times and San Diego Union canvassed the district, most Metzger voters said they knew who he was and voted

for him because he was a Klansman. After the election the Metzger renamed the California KKK the White American Political Association (WAPA), and Metzger was on his way to becoming a national leader whose views commanded increasing respect. By 1982, Metzger campaigned for the U.S. Senate and received 80,000 votes.

Running as a Klansman,
Metzger received 30,000 votes.
In 1982, running a George
Wallace-style populist
campaign, he campaigned for
the U.S. Senate and received
80,000 votes.

The embrace of electoral politics by members of the KKK and Nazi organizations is a source of confusion for many trying to understand what these racists are up to. Far from being an alternative to violence in building their movement, fascists like Metzger have always viewed working in the "legitimate" political arena as one part of a strategy dedicated to creating an Aryan nation.

Tom Metzger is an important and dangerous leader because he is able to conceive and carry out strategy on several levels at once. While broadening his base through electoral politics, he undertook a project to broaden the audience of white supremacist and Nazi ideology by creating Ku Klux Klan television shows that would be broadcast around the country. Using legislation which regulates access to cable television, Metzger created a show called

Race and Reason. Carefully cloaked in First Amendment rights to freedom of speech, *Race and Reason* has grown from a locally produced program to a full blown broadcast of hate, shown in roughly 50 cities every week.

ROBBERIES, BOMBINGS AND ASSASSINATIONS

It would be tempting to think that all this would be more than enough to keep any fascist busy. But the early 1980s saw deadly plans hatched in KKK and Nazi circles across the country. From the Aryan Nations in Idaho to the Texas Klan, from North Carolina to Michigan, the racist movement was growing both in numbers and in its commitment to building a paramilitary vanguard of "Aryan warriors" whose guns would blaze a trail for others to follow. The Order was born, and Tom Metzger was there to help give it direction.

In 1983, Metzger hosted a cross-burning, attended by Aryan Nation's leader Richard Butler and future members of the Order. As Metzger lit the crosses in a Los Angeles suburb, chants of "white victory" rang out. Shortly thereafter, the Order moved into action. The Order robbed banks netting millions of dollars, bombed synagogues and assassinated talk-show host Alan Berg. The entire country became aware of the racist underground. While the Federal Government arrested and convicted over a dozen members of this paramilitary organization, its leadership has completely escaped prosecution. One Order member, Bruce Carroll Pierce, told the FBI that Metzger received between \$250,000 and \$300,000 of the millions stolen by the gang. Pierce later recanted the statement and Metzger has never been prosecuted.

The years following the arrests of the Order were difficult ones for the fascist movement. It had operated in relative obscurity and was now facing government repression and press scrutiny. Throughout this period, and even now, Metzger continued to defend the Order, singing the praises of its fallen "Aryan warriors."

The Order robbed banks
netting millions of dollars,
bombed synagogues and
assassinated Jewish talk-show
host Alan Berg.

Moving away from electoral campaigns, he created a new organization: WAR, White Aryan Resistance, and intensified the work of spreading his television shows. Metzger and his son, John, also founded the Aryan Youth Movement, known for its work among Nazi skinheads. WAR is the leading edge of the Nazified Klan in the U.S. today, and Metzger is its leader. WAR is a quasi-clandestine organization which publishes a newspaper, runs telephone hate lines, organizes youth and has devoted itself to building a full-blown fascist movement.

IT CAN'T HAPPEN HERE: FASCISM AMERICAN STYLE

While refraining from parading around in brown shirts and swastikas, this movement has a clear ideology and vision. The Nazified Klan embraces the driving ideas behind Hitler's National Socialism and applies them to the current realities of U.S. life.

Focussed on the oppression of white workers, Metzger seeks to build a revolutionary "Pan-Aryan, racial socialist, not just national socialist," struggle. His goal is to unseat the monopoly capitalist fat-cats who are seen as responsible for the crisis this country faces. Profoundly racist and anti-Semitic, Metzger's WAR pitches to racist white workers and youth who are feeling more insecure about their futures every day.

Metzger's record makes it clear that all the television appearances, and newspaper articles and electoral campaigns only serve to build a movement with both armed and mass based components, whose aim is white power.

The old segregationist Klan, threatened by Black people's struggles for human rights, fought to "keep things as they had always been." The traditional Klan, known for its ultra-patriotism, supports U.S. policies down the line.

The new Klan, a product of violent American racism merged with Nazi fascism, brings together the most right-wing, reactionary and militant aspects of both the traditional Klan and the neo-Nazi movements.

The Nazis are racist to the core. This brand of White Aryan Nationalism declares that the white race is responsible for all that is good in civilization and that Africans, Latin Americans, Asians

and Jews—"mud races"—for all that is bad. To this they add virulent Nazi anti-Semitism, anti-communism, and vicious homophobia.

ZOG (Zionist Occupation Government) uses Black and Third World people to anchor its power and line its pockets. ZOG must be overthrown, so that the Aryan race can regain control and send non-whites, Jews, gays, and communists to the ovens—Hitler's program triumphant. They believe they can do it. We should too. These groups have international connections, guns, computers and a growing mass base.

Fighting for white rights and power is the central focus for renewing the glory both of America and the race. The enemy is sometimes ZOG, sometimes fat cats and cowardly conservatives, but it makes little difference.

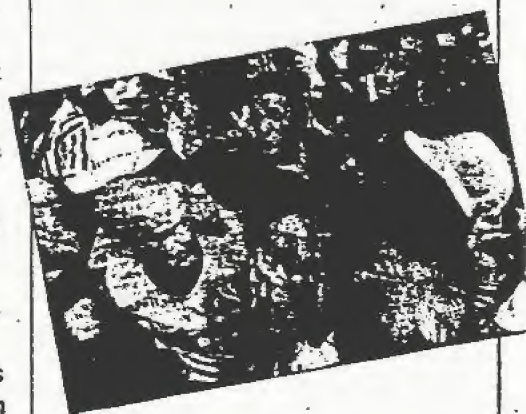
Metzger was one of the first to see that the Order needed new "Aryan warriors" if the military wing of the movement was to keep up with the public organizing. The potential of organizing racist skinheads was clear to him. One of Metzger's particular contributions to the process is his ability to learn from fascists the world over. Metzger's great success at organizing Nazi skinheads flows from the lessons of the fascist movement in Britain where skinheads have been the dirty street fighters of the National Front for the last decade.

These groups have international connections, guns, computers and a growing mass base.

The paramilitary commandos of the fascist movement appear to be

reconsolidating after the tactical defeat of the Order several years ago. When we look at Metzger's record we should be clear that all the television appearances, and newspapers distributed and electoral campaigns only serve to build a movement with both armed and mass based components, whose aim is white power.

Tom Metzger is surely playing a role in reorganizing the clandestine, disciplined fascist armed forces. Whether this terrorist force is primarily skinheads, survivalists, or alienated white workers makes little difference. If we don't oppose them today, their targets will be all oppressed and progressive people tomorrow.



Why Defenders Of "Spotlight" Are Nazi Apologists

Among the most influential ultra-right groups in the U.S. is the virulently anti-Jewish Liberty Lobby. With its newspaper "Spotlight," Liberty Lobby spreads racialism across the U.S., and serves as a bridge to the paramilitary and neo-Nazi right. The "Washington Post" has described "Spotlight" as a "newspaper containing orthodox conservative political articles interspersed with anti-Zionist tracts and classified advertisements for Ku Klux Klan T-shirts, swastika-marked German coins and cassette tapes of Nazi marching songs." That description is actually mild. "Spotlight," with a readership of some 200,000, claims it is neither anti-Jewish nor pro-Nazi, but one article referred to the Waffen SS, the elite corps of ideological Nazis, as a "multinational anti-communist mass movement, which was, in fact, the largest all-volunteer army in history." The "Spotlight" also celebrates neo-Nazi skinheads and the apartheid government of South Africa.

Liberty Lobby, "Spotlight," the International Revisionist Conference, the Institute for Historical Review (IHR), Noontide Press, and IHR's "Journal of Historical Review" are all projects of Willis Carto, one of America's most influential racial theorists. Carto is described by the London-based anti-fascist magazine "Searchlight" as the "leading U.S. publisher of anti-semitic, racist and pro-Nazi material."

Carto and Liberty Lobby were influential in creating the racist Populist Party and were primarily responsible for elevating David Duke to national attention as an electoral candidate. In the spring of 1985 the Populist Party held a major meeting in Chicago where the armed and confrontational activities of racist and anti-Jewish groups in rural America were saluted as "heroic," according to persons who attended the meeting. One group of rural farm activists from the Midwest left the meeting after complaining that too many of the attendees were obsessed with Jews. (A series of political and financial schisms has ended the direct relationship between Liberty Lobby and the Populist Party, although both groups still share many of the fundamental anti-Jewish and racist theories.) The forces around the Populist Party believe a conspiracy of rich and powerful Jews and their allies control banking, foreign policy, the CIA and the media in the United States. Like Duke, they also believe in an America controlled by white Christians of exclusively European heritage.

The pseudo-scholarly Institute for Historical Review is a "revisionist" research center and publishing house that popularizes the calumny that the historical account of the Nazi Holocaust is a Jewish hoax, an idea central to Carto's worldview. According to researcher Russ Bellant, early in his career Willis Carto produced the magazine "Western Destiny," which grew out of the Nordicist "Northern World" and a vociferously anti-Jewish magazine called "Right." "Right" recommended support for the American

Nazi Party and was edited by E. L. Anderson who was associate editor of "Western Destiny". Critics and co-workers of Carto claim E. L. Anderson was a pseudonym for Willis Carto.

Liberty Lobby staff and supporters helped stage the 1978 meeting of the World Anti-Communist League, a group that networks fascist movements around the globe. According to the "Washington Post," Liberty Lobby workers distributed publications including "Spotlight" at the WACL meeting. A few years later, after a change of leadership and some mostly-cosmetic housecleaning to oust a few ardent Nazi groups, WACL came under the leadership of retired General John "Jack" Singlaub. Singlaub used WACL to raise money and support for the Contras, and Singlaub and WACL were implicated in the Iran-Contra hearings for having served as a cover and money laundry for the activities of Oliver North.

While the John Birch Society trumpets jingoistic patriotism laced with conspiracy theories, according to scholar Frank P. Mintz, the Liberty Lobby voices "racist and anti-Semitic beliefs in addition to conspiracism." Mintz explains:

"Structurally, the Lobby was a most unusual umbrella organization catering to constituencies

spanning the fringes of Neo-Nazism to the John Birch Society and the radical right. It was not truly paramilitary, in the manner of the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis, but was more accurately an intermediary between racist paramilitary factions and the recent right."

Former staffers at both the Liberty Lobby and LaRouche's group claim both outfits have cooperated closely on several projects. In the March 2, 1981 issue of its newspaper "Spotlight," Liberty Lobby cynically defended the relationship this way:

"It is mystifying why so many anti-communists and 'conservatives' oppose the USLP [U.S. Labor Party - LaRouche's original electoral arm - ed.]. No group has done so much to confuse, disorient, and disunify the Left as they have...the USLP should be encouraged, as should all similar breakaway groups from the Left, for this is the only way that the Left can be weakened and broken."

More recently, "Spotlight" has distanced itself and Liberty Lobby from the LaRouchians over the issue of the LaRouchians' questionable and illegal fundraising activities.

Excerpt from "Spotlight," September 13, 1993, p. 22:

"But what was the Waffen SS really? You won't find out from reading the 'Times' or its cohorts in disinformation."

"By 1941 it was obvious to Europeans - but not Americans - that for Europe it was heads or tails; communism or anti-communism; Josef Stalin or Adolph Hitler. Stalin and his Bolshevik horde were ready to pick up the pieces—which they of course eventually did, with the help of the United States."

"In this atmosphere, thousands of young men made up their minds that the destiny of their native country was at stake. They would volunteer their lives to fight communism and create a unified Europe."

"In all, they would grow to be more than 600,000 non-German Europeans fighting mostly on the Eastern Front—not, as the 'New York Times' would have you believe, organized to stave off the Allied invasion of D-Day. The non-German anti-communists eventually numbered in the scores of divisions."

"The Waffen SS were ideological and military shock troops of a new unified Europe. The Germans, numbering 400,000 were actually the minority."

"European Army"

"The one million-strong Waffen SS represented the first truly European army to ever exist. After the war each unit of this army was to provide its people with a political structure free of the petty nationalism of the past. All the SS

fought the same struggle. All shared the same worldview. All became comrades in arms."

"It was the most important political and military phenomenon of World War II—and also the least known. And many of the Waffen SS died, on the vast and lonely Russian steppe, in the rubble-strewn alleys of Budapest and Berlin, in a thousand other places unmarked and forgotten. The last organized resistance in Berlin, in fact, was the French Charlemagne Division."

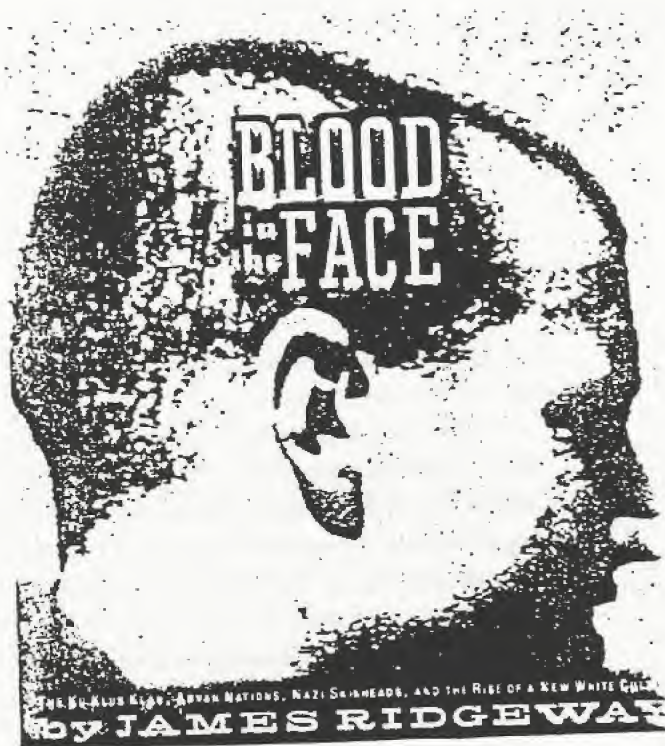
"They came from every country of Europe including Belgium and France, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Romania and Hungary, from Holland and Greece and everywhere young men were willing to sacrifice their lives to fight Godless communism."

"Why did they do it? Leon Degrelle, commander of the Wallonian Division of the Waffen SS, said it was to preserve 'the Europe of Virgil and Ronsard, the Europe of Erasmus and Nietzsche, of Raphael and Durer, the Europe of Iqantius and Saint Theresa, of Frederick the Great and Napoleon'."

The Waffen SS were the ideological Nazi collaborators throughout Europe. They gassed, shot, clubbed, and stomped the enemies of the Reich to death to help create a racial nation states based on mythical master races. They did this with great zeal and joy.

The Waffen SS were Nazis.

The "Spotlight" portrays them as heroes.



CHAPTER 1

The Worldwide Conspiracy

"The Jew is not a white man." Laverne sat musing on his Nebraska porch in the July evening. Beyond him lay the family farm, now the subject of a heatedly contested foreclosure proceeding with the local bank. "What's the saying, 'blood in the face?'" asked a visitor. "If you can blush you're not a Jew," Laverne nodded, taking a bite of a Dorito chip.

For Laverne, the hidden truth behind the increasingly ominous daily events of his life had been revealed by reading the Bible and subscribing to the biblical interpretations provided by a Christian Identity minister. The arcane theology of Christian Identity provides the underpinning for much of today's racist doctrine. The ideas behind Christian Identity, which originated in Great Britain during the middle of the nineteenth century, represent the most recent twist to the centuries-old myth that holds that Jews are at the heart of a world conspiracy aimed at undermining civil society.

The "Demon Jew"

The evolution of the myth portraying Jews as a demonic force in world history has been central to the spread of racism in Europe and America during the twentieth century. Its role has been to provide what seems to be a simple, sure-fire interpretation of events by which often chaotic and perplexing change can be explained. Christian Identity adds a theological embellishment to the myth, explaining not only that Jews are part of a grand political conspiracy, but also that they, together with people of color, are not really humans at all.

In *Warrant for Genocide*, Norman Cohn's finely detailed investigation of its history, the myth of a worldwide conspiracy with the demonic Jew at its center has been traced back to the early Middle Ages and to stories of plots by two secret societies to overthrow the established order. In its early form, the myth concerned Christian conspirators. Only much later did Jews become the focal point.



To fully appreciate the sweep and durability of this myth, it must be viewed in its entirety.

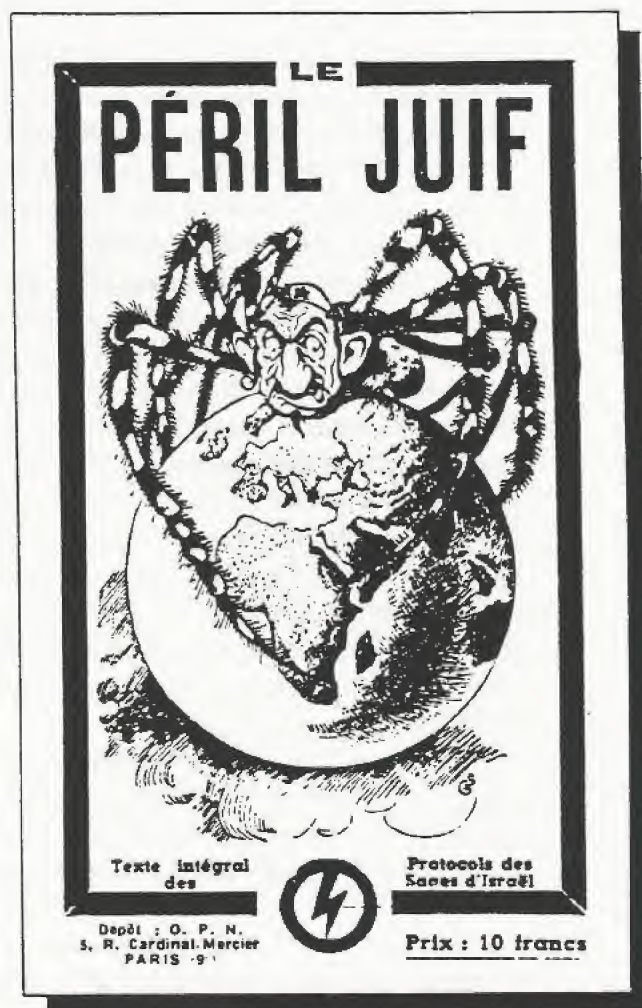
The myth begins in 1797 with the French cleric Abbé Barruel, who wrote a lengthy history on the rise of the revolutionary Jacobins, attempting to explain the causes of the French Revolution. Barruel argued that the Revolution was the result of a conspiracy hatched by the Order of Templars. Founded during the Crusades to protect religious pilgrims in the Holy Land, the secret order had gained great land holdings and financial power in Europe during the Middle Ages, posing a threat to established order until it was crushed and its leaders burned at the stake in 1314. Barruel insisted that the Templars were not really destroyed but continued on through the centuries, working toward the destruction of all monarchies, the overthrow of the Papacy, and the establishment of universal civil liberties for all.

According to Barruel, the Templars had captured control of another secret revolutionary group: the Order of Freemasons, an organization espousing liberal and democratic principles which grew up among the stone masons and cathedral workers during the Middle Ages. And yet another group, Barruel said, was involved in the grand conspiracy that culminated in the French Revolution: It was the Illuminati, established in 1776 by Adam Weishaupt, a Bavarian law professor. Members of this secret society were initiated in progressive stages, achieving "illumination" through the study of rationalistic philosophy and the humanities. Initiates first made confessions of their life histories, and then took oaths of absolute secrecy. Over time, the Illuminati spread through Germany and into France by infiltrating the lodges of Freemasons. However, dissident members eventually revealed the inner workings of the sect to authorities, and it was condemned by the Roman Catholic church

and finally dissolved by the Bavarian government in 1786. To some historians, the Illuminati amounted to a rationalistic movement of the Enlightenment. But others portrayed Weishaupt as a hellish fiend, aiming to abolish all authority, and thereby rediscovering and promoting liberty and equality — those basic, primitive human qualities that had been submerged by law and private property. (The Illuminati surfaced in Germany once more at the end of the nineteenth century, then was abolished, along with other secret societies, by Hitler.)

By the end of the eighteenth century, Barruel claimed, the Templars had also organized a secret literary academy whose membership came to include Voltaire, Condorcet, and Diderot. Its writings contributed to the breakdown of public morals and religion among the French, and its adherents went on to build a vast organization that came to be known as the Jacobins, and was instrumental in overthrowing the monarchy of France. Barruel wrote that unless the conspiracy was stopped, it would grow until it ruled the world.

As Cohn notes, Jews did not play any great part in the French Revolution — any more than they helped lay its philosophic foundations — and hence did not figure into Barruel's initial worldwide conspiracy theory. They first became entangled in the myth of conspiracy in 1806, when Barruel received a letter from J.B. Simonini, a retired army officer living in Florence. Simonini applauded Barruel for revealing the "hellish sects which are preparing the way for the Antichrist," and called his attention to the "Judaic sect," which was "the most formidable power, if one considers its great wealth and the protection it enjoys in almost all European countries." Simonini went on to tell how he stumbled onto this great conspiracy at a gathering of Piedmontese Jews in northern Italy. Pretending to be Jewish himself, Simonini



Title page of a 1945 French edition of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion.

said, he eavesdropped on their conversation, learning their innermost secrets. They confided to him that Jews had not only founded the Freemasons and the Illuminati, they had even disguised themselves as Christians and become clergymen, including cardinals and bishops. Soon they hoped to

have a Jew named Pope. Unwitting Christians had already granted these impostors full civil rights, allowing them to buy up land and houses to such an extent that true Christians would be dispossessed, their churches made over into synagogues, and they themselves reduced to slaves.

As time went on, Cohn explains, the myth of the "demon Jew" received further embellishment. Seventy-five years after Simonini's revelations, *Biarritz*, a novel by Sir John Retcliffe (a pen name for Hermann Goedsche, an official in the Prussian postal service), gained great popularity across Europe. It contained a spooky chapter entitled "In the Jewish Cemetery in Prague," which described how once every hundred years, the reigning elders of the twelve tribes of Israel gathered around the grave of the most senior rabbi and issued reports on the progress of the grand plot to enslave the gentiles and take over the world.

This story of the Prague cemetery was published in pamphlet form throughout Russia and then in France. At first it was treated as fiction, then gradually, through repetition, it became accepted as fact. Over time the form of the diatribe changed, and the different speeches were consolidated into one speech by the head rabbi, made before a secret meeting of Jews. It became known as "The Rabbi's Speech," and it was published as such across Europe.

These different versions of the Jewish conspiracy myth, printed over the course of the nineteenth century, provided the basic plot line of the notorious *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. Again, in the case of the *Protocols*, a fantastic fiction soon became widely accepted as fact. The *Protocols* are framed by a fantasy in which a world congress of leading Jews has gathered in Cracow, Poland in 1840 to plot the best means for spreading Judaism across the globe. The book itself consists of a series

of written lectures in which a member of the purported secret Jewish government — the Elders of Zion — lays out a plot for world domination. There are twenty-four chapters, about 1,200 pages in all.

In brief, the *Protocols* argue that people are incapable of governing themselves, and only a despot using armed force can rule effectively. For years, the *Protocols* say, the Jews have plotted this course, and now they must rise to power by pitting the gentiles against one another until, eventually, the Jews will be able to enlist the masses in overthrowing their indolent gentile leaders. Thereafter the masses will be kept under firm control through an efficient government that will banish unemployment, apply taxation in proportion to wealth, encourage small business, and promote education. During this messianic age the Jewish masters will shrewdly promise, but never deliver, liberty.

The *Protocols* appeared in Russia at the turn of the century, where they helped to whip up the emotion behind the pogroms. Later, they were the subject of articles, reviews, and editorials by the *Times* and the *Spectator* in England, and they were eagerly embraced in Germany, where the German defeat in World War I was widely blamed on a Jewish conspiracy. A correspondent for the *London Times* then discovered that, in part, the *Protocols* were a plagiarism, copied from an 1865 pamphlet attacking Napoleon III, written by Maurice Joly and entitled *Dialogue aux Enfers entre Montesquieu et Machiavel*. And it was revealed that a later version of the *Protocols* had probably been concocted on instructions from the head of the Czar's secret police shortly before the Russian Revolution, as part of an intrigue against revolutionaries living outside Russia. These bogus *Protocols* nevertheless became the version of the myth that has lasted to this day, the greatest continuing fabrication in history to withstand the scrutiny of an age of supposedly rational thought.

Front Man For Fascism: "Bo" Gritz And The Racist Populist Party

By People Against Racist Terror (PART), Burbank, California

Lie down with dogs, get up with fleas. "Bo" Gritz and his supporters must know the truth of this bit of country common sense.

Yet four years ago, Bo Gritz (rhymes with Knights) accepted a nomination to run for Vice-President of the United States on a ticket with "former" Ku Klux Klan grand dragon David Duke, from the Populist Party. And now, Bo is preparing to run as the Populist Party candidate for President in 1992. In 1988, Bo had the good sense to resign from the ticket and run for Congress from Nevada instead. But even as neo-nazi David Duke parlayed the credibility he got from his Populist presidential run into electoral success in Louisiana as a Republican, Bo Gritz has attached himself irrevocably to the Populist Party as its candidate for President.

In recent years, Gritz has re-established a good deal of the credibility he lost several years ago after his naked self-promotion for an abortive "raid" on south-east Asia. He claimed he was going to find and free MLA's supposedly still held captive. Whereas then, Gritz directed most of his fund-raising efforts at the Hollywood right, like Clint Eastwood and William Shamer, he has recently been focusing his speaking and fund-raising activities in California and elsewhere around the country more at progressives and others concerned about George Bush and the New World Order. Gritz has been speaking out about his discoveries of CIA involvement in heroin trading in south-east Asia and his awareness while heading Green Beret counter-insurgency efforts in Latin America of similar involvement in cocaine dealing.

As a result, he has been developing a wide audience, and to some degree a following, among opponents of U.S. intervention in the Third World. Leftists and even pacifists, who would otherwise be extremely suspicious of this militarist, have gone to hear him speak and been impressed by his exposes of government double-dealing and corruption. He has had substantial air-time on Pacifica radio; representatives of groups such as the Christic Institute have made joint appearances with him. Now, Gritz is trying to influence such people into supporting his Populist Party presidential bid.

The Populist Party, in spite of its friendly, democratic sounding name, is an amalgamation of "former" Klansmen, nazis, and other racist far-right wingers that was cobbled together in 1984 with the support of Willis Carto, long considered an anti-Semite and Hitler apologist, and his Liberty Lobby. Carto was a member of the Populists' National Executive Committee from its inception. The Party's first presidential candidate in 1984, Rev. Bob Richards, virtually ceased campaigning in embarrassment over the racist nature of the party apparatus. Duke, its 1988 nominee, of course had no such misgivings. Its first chairman, Robert Weems, a former Mississippi KKK

leader, described its strategy; "We Populists have adopted a tri-partisan approach... we share with Lyndon LaRouche..., within both major parties and through the Populist Party itself." (Lyndon LaRouche is another neo-nazi political figure backed by Carto who is now in federal prison.)

Carrying out this strategy, the KKK/Populist David Duke ran in the Democratic Presidential primaries, then in the general election as a Populist, then in a special election in Louisiana as a Republican. He used the notoriety, name recognition, and national fund-raising base he built with the Populists to win a seat in the state legislature and espouse his "sanitized" racism. Even after winning office as a Republican in 1989, Duke met with the Populists, including such party stalwarts as Chicago nazi leader Art Jones. "Bo" has been following the same multi-party strategy. Even after he resigned from the Populist ticket with Duke in 1988, to run in the Republican primary in Nevada, he wrote to the party, "I intend to offer the Populist Party platform in my campaign, and carry it forward in public office." Luckily, he lost in the primary.

What is the Populist Party platform and who are the Populist leaders? Racism and racists, only thinly disguised. Don Wassall, the Pennsylvania state chairman who became National Executive Director and now is locked in a power struggle with Carto—the latest in a series of faction fights over control of party finances—used the party's newspaper, the Populist Observer, to reprint explicitly racist material from the "National Democratic Front," an avowed white supremacist group based in Maryland.

Ralph Forbes, who ran Duke's Populist Campaign, is another "ex" nazi and "ex" Klansman, who then switched parties to run for office in Arkansas. While with the Populists, he ran a "Christian Identity"-oriented radio ministry called "The Sword of Christ." He recently filed suit to prevent a medical school in his state from teaching about abortions. Forbes continues to be closely associated with the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan leader Thom Robb, who recently declared that the KKK intends to train "one thousand David Dukes."

Van Loman, who chaired the Ohio chapter of the Populist Party, and ran under its banner for the Cincinnati City Council, was formerly the Grand Dragon of the Ohio Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Jerry Pope, once the state Populist chair in Kentucky, was an organizer of the National States Rights Party, the segregationist, anti-semitic grouping led by convicted Birmingham church bomber J.B. Stoner. (Interestingly, when Duke switched to the Republicans and won a seat in the Louisiana legislature, his opponent, endorsed by the "official" Republican apparatus from Reagan and Bush on down, had also been a member of the racist NSRP.)

In Washington State, in 1989, the United Front Against Fascism held several successful demonstrations against the Populists, thwarting their efforts to obtain ballot status in one county. As a

result, anti-racist organizers received death threats, The Christian Sons of Liberty, an "Identity" group central to Populist organizing there, put out viscous red-baiting and anti-gay attacks on UFAF leaders. The CSL published home addresses of UFAF organizers, in a clear attempt to foment violence.

Locally in California, the Populist Part is cut from the same mold. California has always been one of the strongest state affiliates of the Populists. David Duke raised 11% of the funds for his Louisiana legislative race in California. Half the money for his gubernatorial campaign came from outside of Louisiana, much of it from California. Local leaders of the Populists have included former San Fernando/Simi Valley Klan leader Dennis Hilligoss, and Harbor-area nazi activist Joe Fields, an associate of Nazi party chieftain Stan Witek and Tom Metzger of WAR (White Aryan Resistance). Fields is, in fact, a member of the party's National Executive Committee.

Behind the Gritz campaign, the Populists have become the most active neo-nazi group in southern California, and are successfully uniting a variety of racists in their ranks. This year, the Populists have sponsored several programs in Orange County, one featuring John Tyndall, leader of the neo-nazi National Front in England. Another spotlighted the impeached ex-governor of Arizona, Evan Mecham, whose reactionary forces have allied with fundamentalist preacher Pat Robertson to take over the Republican Party in his home state. Among the participants at the Populist parlay was Kim Badynski, head of the virulent Northwest Knights of the Ku Klux Klan based in Washington State. In Ventura County and up north to Alameda County, the California Populists have held party meetings to commemorate Adolf Hitler's birthday. Such Populist organizing legitimizes the fear and hatred of the privileged for the oppressed that generates hate crime.

The danger of the Populists and the Gritz campaign is not that he will win the presidency. As of this writing, the Populists have not yet achieved ballot status in any state; (although here in California, they will presumably run under the American Independent banner, a recognized state party still on the ballot since running George Wallace for President in the sixties). The real danger is that the Populists will succeed in further legitimizing racist and anti-semitic politics. They have a long-range goal, of unifying Christian rightists and Christian patriots, anti-abortionists and anti-semites, into an apparatus dominated by neo-nazis. With Gritz, they have the added bonus at the same time of coopting or at least disarming progressive forces that would have otherwise have exposed and opposed them. Unifying with Gritz would inevitably discredit the white left with the movements for immigrants rights, Black empowerment, women's liberation and gay and lesbian dignity.

No one concerned about conspiracies and abuse of government power, about spiritual de-

velopment or the survival of the planet, should offer the racist and fascistic oriented Populist Party a shred of legitimacy. The Ku Klux Klan has always been the number one racist conspiratorial group in U.S. history, seeking power to carry out its divisive and destructive program. The Populist Party is the latest hood these night riders have put on to mask their identities so they can win popular support for carrying out their racist terror. DON'T BE HOOD-WINKED!

The problem with "Bo" Gritz's Populist candidacy is not merely one of guilt by association with neo-nazis. Gritz himself openly embraces the Populists' politics of anti-semitism, racism, anti-immigrant hysteria and anti-gay bigotry. As criticism has begun to emerge of the Populists, Gritz has claimed in his speaking engagements that he has "cleaned house" since the Duke days. But this is an outright lie. Joe Fields, for example, the open neo-nazi who heads the Populists in L.A., is also a current national officer of the Party. What's more, Gritz's connections to racists and anti-semites extend beyond the ranks of the Populist Party itself.

For example, Gritz is a member of the board of the Populist Action Committee (PAC), established by Willis Carto of the Spotlight. Although Carto is on the outs with the current leadership of the Populist Party, accusing them of financial mismanagement, he supports Gritz, and Gritz in turn supports the PAC's approach of backing sympathetic Democrats and Republicans as well as Populists. While many of Gritz's southern California speaking appearances seem directed at progressives, the bulk of his organizing and speech-making is carried out through the apparatus of the "Christian Identity" movement, which preaches that Anglo-Americans are the true "chosen people" of the Bible, that Jews are satan-spawn, and that non-whites are "pre-Adamic," that is, sub-human. The Coalition for Human Dignity in Portland, OR has documented the involvement of the so-called "Christian Patriot" Identity churches in the Gritz campaign in that state, as well as participation by nazi skins.

In particular, Gritz is closely tied to the Rev. Pete Peters, a national leader of Christian Identity based in Ft. Collins, CO. Gritz has spoken at Peters' "Scriptures for America" Rocky Mountain Bible Retreat, also attended by such noted anti-semites as "Col." Jack Mohr and by KKK defense attorney Kirk Lyons. Lyons' Patriotic Defense Foundation has represented nazi boneheads, the Order white supremacy underground sedition defendants, and is now coordination Tom Metzger's appeal of his liability for the nazi skin killing of an Ethiopian refugee. Gritz has spoken at similar Christian Identity gatherings in the northwest, in Nampa, Idaho, and in North Carolina, where he has shared the rostrum with neo-nazis.

The connection to Mohr and Peters is particularly striking because the two were part of the incident which precipitated the murderous birth of the "Order" or "Bruder Schweigen," a neo-nazi underground, in the early 1980's. Richard Mathews and David Lane, the founders of this

clandestine, para-military outfit, hooked up at Peter's La Porte based "church." And it was the humiliation of Jack Mohr, a guest of Peter's in Colorado, by Denver talk show host Alan Berg, which prompted the Order conspirators to execute Berg and initiate their reign of racist terror. (This incident was dramatized in the films "Talk Radio" and "Betrayed.") Mohr, meanwhile, has been promoting the Populist Party since its inception through his para-military network, the Christian Patriots Defense League.

In a speech to Peter's retreat, Gritz acknowledged that the money to print his self-published campaign autobiography, "Called to Serve," came from Rev. Peters. "Called to Serve" spells out Gritz's own far-right views pretty clearly. He refers to the "Rockefeller/Rothschild" Federal Reserve System as being controlled by "seven Jewish families." This is not a momentary aberration or a slip of the tongue. At his "Call for Action '90" conference in Nevada, Gritz featured the anti-semitic views of Eustace Mullins in analyzing the Federal reserve, and he distributes the work of Mullins, who was a supporter of Erza Pound and the Italian fascists. Reflecting his Christian Identity beliefs, Gritz refers to America in "Called to Serve" as "the new Zion," and white Christians as "the gathering tribes of Israel."

These views are also reflected and expressed in Gritz's own campaign literature for his Populist candidacy. In a four-page brochure signed and authorized by Gritz, the ex-Green Beret couches his program less in electoral than in revolutionist terms. "We can, we will, we must oust 'the' government and restore 'our' sovereignty. We need a second American Revolution." The racist nature of this revolutionism is evident in the rest of the platform he puts forward. Referring to his enemy as "seditious bankers" and "satanic globalists," Gritz pledges to "derail their plans and send them back into the abyss." The platform is full of xenophobia and racism. "It's time to return America to the Americans,... halt the illegal immigration that is turning America into a Third World country,... end affirmative action,... and this country's decadent, degenerate ways. I've spent my life fighting for America, and now it's time to fight again. Will you be a part of my grassroots army?"

This militaristic rhetoric, wrapped in thinly-veiled code words for anti-Semitism, racism, sexism, and homophobia, is an invitation to his followers to engage in cross-burnings, gay-bashings and vandalism. Nor does Gritz try to separate himself from the party as a whole. He specifically tries to develop "coat-tails" in his campaign literature, calling on his backers to support other Populist candidates for state and local offices. The Populists have been using Gritz's candidacy to step up their racist organizing all around the country. PART learned about the Populists' L.A. organizing and its local anti-immigrant, anti-semitic activities while distributing a leaflet headed "Bo Knows the Truth About the Racist Populist Party," at an appearance by Gritz at the L.A. airport Hilton.

Typically, that event was sponsored not by the

Populists themselves, but by a local "new age" bookstore, Mandala Books, which has been running a conspiracy lecture series. They invited the Christie Institute to have a table after becoming worried about Bo's racist and rightist affiliates. But the Populists also had a table at the event, and were out in force. They began anti-Jewish harassment of the anti-racist activist who was distributing the expose of their racist nature, calling him alternately a Communist and an agent of the Mossad (Israeli espionage), and saying he looked like Jewish attorney Alan Dershowitz. Many of the several hundred people drawn to the event were evidently disturbed by the Populists' tactics and questioned Gritz about his connections with them during the event. Gritz defended the party and was more open about his won rightist politics than he has been in the past.

PART exposed and demonstrated outside gathering of the Populists at the Hastings Ranch public library in Pasadena, CA in September. They were meeting to plan a "Borderwatch" demonstration for later in the month. They had a speaker from a group called "Stop Immigration Now," which has been involved with "Light U the Border" demonstrations in San Diego. Another planned speaker, an Arab doctor who went on a delegation to Jordan led by Nord Davis, a white racist from North Carolina who was opposed to the Gulf War, canceled after PART exposed the meeting and the racist nature of the Populists. We expressed outrage that the Populists would be promoting anti-immigrant hysteria on the eve of Mexican independence day, an propagating anti-semitism in the midst of the Jewish high holidays. The following month, the Populists met at the library again under heavy police guard. Five counter-demonstrators were arrested, and several brutally wrestled down and struck by police in riot gear.

A contingent of about half a dozen Black men associated with the Self Determination Committee have attended the Populist events in Pasadena. The Self-Determination Committee, run by Black pseudo-nationalist named Robert Brock has been prominently allying itself with white supremacist in southern California for several years. Brock's most notable association has been with Daniel Johnson, author of the so-called Preamble Amendment to the Constitution, which would restrict U.S. citizenship to people of northern European extraction. The Populists have picked up members from the Preamble Amendment Advocates, which closed its Glendale, CA headquarters after Johnson moved to Montana to run for Congress. They also seem to be emphasizing the anti-Jewish and anti-immigrant aspects of their politics to cement an alliance of convenience with Brock's group. Fields tries to cite this opportunistic alliance to claim that the Populists are no racist.

Told they had to put up a bond to cover the costs of police protection and that they could not exclude people from the library, the Populists tried to meet elsewhere. In November, the Populists' youth front group, Students for America, tried to sponsor a Populist-inspired conference at Pasad

ena City College Featuring Fields, Brock and a speaker from the American Independent Party (the right-racist group with ballot status in California which ran both George Wallace and unreconstructed white racist Lester Maddox for president). The college canceled, evidently for reasons of security, after the nature of the gathering was exposed. (PCC students had been among those arrested at the library demonstrations.) The Populists then tried to secure the meeting hall of the American Friends Service Committee in Pasadena under false pretenses. The AFSC also canceled when they were informed of who it actually was trying to rent their facility.

The youth group which fronted for the Populists in Pasadena, "Students for America," is also organizing on at least one other campus in this area. Students for America was set up nationally as the shell of a youth formation for the Populists but now seems to be taking on a real existence. The chapter at Cal State University in Northridge, scene of several reason {[sic]} hat incidents directed against lesbians and gays, Jews and Mexicans, planned to bring embattled L.A. police chief Daryl Gates to the campus to speak on Wednesday, Nov. 13. Gates canceled at noon on the day of his scheduled appearance, supposedly because of fears of security problems, after students from the BSU, MEChA and SQUISH, a new lesbian and gay group, planned to demonstrate. Stefan Khachaturian, who described himself as a regional coordinator for Students for America, vowed that Gates would come to speak to a private, closed meeting of the group. Students for America is also reportedly organizing in the "Inland Empire" area of Riverside and San Bernardino counties, east of Los Angeles.

Joe Fields: The Face Of The Populists

The head of the L.A. County chapter of the Populists, also a member of its national executive committee, who chaired the Pasadena meeting, is Joe Fields. One Joe Fields in national leadership is more than enough to discredit any political formation, and Fields is typical, not exceptional, in the ranks of the Populists. Fields has been a nazi activist of long-standing in the L.A. Harbor area. He has also become a national "footnote" to the story of David Duke's campaign for governor of Louisiana, after a tape recorded interview with Fields and Duke was widely circulated. On the tape, Fields openly asserted his nazi identity and beliefs, such as that the Jews deserve "everything they get, even extermination," while Duke admonishes him to be more discreet. It's ironic that Fields, who boasts on the tape that he would "never deny" he is a nazi, now is denying it, having taken Duke's advice to heart. Fields specifically opposes democracy on the tape, noting that it allows "anything that can claim to be human to vote." His speech is riddled with references to "kikes" and "niggers." Now Fields professes to be a supporter of the Bill of Rights, but on the tape he declares matter of factly that he would suppress any speech that he deems not in the interest of the white race.

Like David Duke, Fields has made a career

since his youth of his neo-nazi politics. On the tape he expresses the admiration he has had for Hitler and the nazis ever since he saw war movies as a little boy. While a student at L.A. Harbor College, Fields ran a series of articles in the student newspaper calling the Holocaust a hoax, some taken without attribution from right-wing publications. He was disciplined for meeting on campus with Tom Metzger to plan the distribution of "holo-Hoax" material.

Later, openly acknowledging his nazi affiliation, Fields joined three other nazi party members in wearing swastikas into an Oktoberfest celebration at a German restaurant. The nazis were expelled after refusing to remove the nazi regalia (and because the bathroom had been vandalized with nazi graffiti on their previous visit.) Fields sued, represented by the ACLU, and won. (On the tape, Fields refers to his defenders as the "ACL-Jew".) One of Fields' co-plaintiffs in the swastika case, nazi party chieftain Stan Witek, was convicted on weapons and assault charges and more recently for conspiracy for burning crosses in L.A. along with Tom Metzger during this same period of time. Fields himself got into a brawl with Jewish activists at a City Council action in 1988 on the swastika case.

After "leaving" the nazis, Fields was closely associated with the Institute for Historical Review, set up to question Hitler's genocide by Willis Carto, publisher of the Spotlight and founder of the Populist Party. He married a South African woman. Like David Duke, who underwent plastic surgery, Fields has changed his appearance; he has trimmed down from a weight that once exceeded 300 pounds. But neither man has changed his white supremacist politics. Remember - a vote for "Bo" Gritz is a vote for Joe Fields and the politics of hate he represents.

PART is planning a continuing campaign against Gritz and the Populists. Gritz and such backers of his as Craig Hulet (a/k/a K.C. De Pass) have been getting a lot of air time on KPFK here in L.A. and other Pacifica Stations. His material has been reprinted and promoted by the progressive oriented conspiracy catalog from Prevailing Winds Research in Santa Barbara. Hulet, who also has been involved in Spotlight and Liberty Lobby circles, claims to be apolitical but against racism himself, and to have his disagreements with Gritz. Yet he is urging the left to disregard or mute criticism of Gritz, claiming such criticisms are really coming from George Bush and the "globalists." Gritz returned the favor by promoting a Hulet meeting in Seattle in October 1991. The PWR promo for Gritz's literature includes a pamphlet by long-time anti-semitic Eustice Mullins. The Christic Institute, for another example, allowed itself to be used to give Gritz credibility, at the same time that it presents itself as an anti-racist organization.

After several exposes and criticism of this connection, Christic has begun to back away from Gritz. They issued a somewhat self-contradictory disclaimer of their involvement. After saying that Christic "does not form alliances with racist or anti-semitic extremists," Sara Nelson, the na-

tional director of the Christic Institute in a letter to In These Times objecting to an article documenting Christic participation in Gritz-sponsored activities, goes on to say, "we can be accused of not having severed our relationship with him earlier than we did." Christic needs to more forthcoming about what that "relationship" was, and why they were unaware of this years-long involvement with the Populists. Even in this letter, Nelson says only that "the charges against Gritz, if true, are extremely serious." In reprinting the letter in their own newsletter, Christic frames it with the assertion that they had no formal relationship with Gritz and were "saddened and shocked" to hear of his affiliation.

In another chilling example, progressives associated with "Vox Populi", an attempted anti-intervention coffee-house in the Venice area, helped a local activist who calls himself "Tom Beveille" to start up a "pirate" radio station, a mini-transmitter not covered by the FCC. Rev-eille turned out to be a follower of Willis Carto, the notorious anti-semitic. He has received funds with which to continue broadcasting from Carto, and devotes his air time to questioning the Holocaust. Rev-eille has admitted meeting with Joe Fields and with open members of the Nazi Party. Meanwhile, programmers at KPFK and KPFA continue to grant substantial air time to Gritz and other who advocate an alliance of the left and right (including racists) against George Bush, while denying access to their air to researchers and activists who would expose these dangerous developments.

The "new age" movement is another area where Gritz, the Populists, and other racists have been recruiting. The Alexandria II bookstore in Pasadena has held a book-signing party for Gritz, to peddle "Called to Serve." It has distributed "Phoenix Express," a bizarre "new age" publication with supposedly "channeled" writing from spirits which support Gritz and have regurgitated the vicious anti-semitic forgery "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." Mandala Bookstore in Santa Monica, despite expressing misgivings about the Populists, continues to sponsor Gritz and other similar speakers, mixed in with John Stockwell or Daniel Sheehan as if there were no distinction.

Another area of intense Gritz/Populist recruitment is among "conspiracy buffs." The Spotlight crowd, through Carto's "Noontide Press," has always mixed claims of CIA double-dealing with theories about Jewish/Masonic domination. Thus Willis Carto has promoted Mark Lane's conspiracy theories about the Kennedy assassination and rightist Fletcher Prouty's "insider" exposes of the CIA; Craig Hulet relies on Anthony Sutton, whose books are mainly marketed by neo-nazi, for a critique of the Trilateral Commission. Some people are swallowing this bait, and getting hooked for the rest of the Populist politics. Prevailing Winds Research's catalog continues to offer Gritz's material without any disclaimer or warning, as if it were equivalent to the anti-imperialist analyses of Michael Parenti or the anti-fascist exposes by Russ Bellant which they also offer. Groups in Portland, Colorado, San

EUGENICS = RACIST SCIENCE

by Lisa Roth & Davis Mogglin

While groups of white students expressed their racism with vandalism and violence, Black and other students of color fought for ethnic diversity programs, or faculties that reflect the population at large and student bodies at many schools and for some back-up from the university administrations, which often seem to turn a blind eye to racism on campus.

As students of color and their anti-racist white supporters cry out for equality on campus, we think the ivory towers of racism deserve further scrutiny. Some of the nation's leading racist intellectuals and ideologues are ensconced with full tenure at prestigious universities and colleges. One of the racists hiding out in the halls of academe at Stanford University, was the late William Shockley, the Nobel Prize-winning scientist, known for his theories of Black inferiority. [See *No NAKK!* Winter/Spring 1990.]

In the spring of 1990 New York's City College began an "inquiry" into the practices of several of its tenured professors, including Dr. Michael Levin, ap professor of philosophy, who has written



Dr. Michael Levin, professor at New York's City College, who promotes theories of white superiority.

several articles for academic journals contending that "it has been amply confirmed over the last several decades that on average, blacks are significantly less intelligent than whites."

Dr. Levin has argued that a deficiency in intelligence, rather than discrimination or poverty, accounts for the underrepresentation of black people in medicine, engineering and philosophy.

While his statements would be controversial anywhere, they have been particularly destructive on a campus whose student body is 39 percent Black, 28 percent Latino, and 16 percent Asian.

Dr. Levin, 46 is fully tenured and has taught at the college since 1969. He has a Ph.D. from Columbia University in philosophy. Dr. Levin, who is not a psychologist, began writing on intelligence in the early 1980s because of his interest in the "moral philosophy" of affirmative action. The argument for affirmative action, he said in an interview, has been that blacks need preferences because of a history of exclusion. But if, he said, their underrepresentation was due to something besides deprivation, then whites can stop compensating.

Data on such I.Q. tests as the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale, he said, shows that the average black lags 15 points behind whites. The common rebuttal to such viewpoints is that intelligence tests measure only performance on a test, and are culturally biased in favor of a white, middle-class experience.

If Levin was only one racist nut-case who managed to land a teaching job at a major urban institution, that would be bad enough. But Levin is one of many eugenicists on campuses around the country. Is it any wonder that university administrators can't meet the needs of

students of color when they permit these racists to teach, study and spread their doctrine, protected by the myth of academic freedom.

EUGENICS—SCIENCE OF RACISM

"Eugenics" is a term first made popular by Francis Galton (1822-1911) in 1883, in his widely read book *Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development*. Galton, an enthusiastic eugenicist, took the term from the Greek word "eugenēs."

Eugenicists in the U.S., Germany and England argued that most behavioral traits were genetically determined. They reasoned that these traits could be modified by controlled breeding. They advocated compulsory sterilization for "criminals, sex deviants, and the feeble-minded."

In the U.S. this movement was, and is, supported by professors at prestigious schools such as Harvard, Columbia and the University of California. Financial support came from major American foundations like the Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations and many smaller ones.

Between 1900 and 1930 eugenicists in the U.S. successfully lobbied for eugenic sterilization and anti-miscegenation laws as well as harsh criminal codes. Over thirty states passed eugenic sterilization laws and some 70,000 Americans were eventually sterilized under these laws. In Europe the early eugenics movement culminated in Nazi breeding farms and death camps.

Despite its thoroughly discredited history, a modern-day eugenics movement has emerged in the United States, Germany, England and South Africa. The aim of this movement is a world of "racially pure stocks" living in separate geographic areas, with strict apartheid practiced in areas where racial groups share one geographic land mass. The extreme wing of this movement openly advocates the elimination of non-white races, Jews, and homosexuals. The new eugenics movement is supported by a growing network of foundations, associations, journals and academicians.

THE PIONEER FUND

Founded in 1937, by Frederick Osborn, Secretary of the American Eugenics Society, and Harry Laughlin, Director of the Carnegie Institute's Eugenics Record Office, the Pioneer Fund, which promotes theories of Black inferiority, is still active today.

During the 1950s and 60s the Pioneer Fund was directed by Rep. Francis E. Walter, who was the chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Two other Board members were Henry Garrett, then head of the Psychology Department at Columbia University, and James O. Eastland, the right-wing Senator from Mississippi. The Fund's resources came from by Wyndell Draper, who died in 1972 and left the Fund \$1.4 million. By 1981 the Fund's assets had increased to \$4.2 million.

Directors of the Pioneer Fund in 1981 included John B. Trevor, a founder of the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies and an advisor to Billy James Hargis' Christian Crusade. In the mid-1970s the Pioneer Fund helped bring Roger Pearson, British author of *Eugenics and Race*, to the U.S. Pearson received Pioneer funds and worked with Willis Carto, who runs the ultra-conservative Liberty Lobby and publishes the right-wing and anti-Semitic newspaper, *The Spotlight*.

Other recipients of Pioneer grants include the late William Shockley of Stanford University (\$179,000 over 10 years) and Arthur Jensen of UC Berkeley, leading proponents of Black inferiority. Dr. Frank McGurk, and R. Travis

Osborn of the University of Georgia, who is a leader of the new eugenics.

Currently the Pioneer Fund is financing the racist "English Only" Movement, which is attempting to make English the only language permitted in the United States. This would do away with bilingual education, all information flyers and pamphlets from the federal government would be published in English only, and official signs in government buildings would be printed in English only.

Pioneer has also funded Dr. Audrey

Shuey, whose book *The Testing of Negro Intelligence*, has been the basis for many racist studies including those of Arthur Jensen, and R.J. Herrnstein, Professor of Psychology at Harvard. Modern eugenics arguments are typified in *Human Variation: The Biopsychology of Age, Race and Sex*, one of the new eugenics texts available in college libraries today.

Published by the Academic Press in 1978, the text contains 11 original essays by authors like Arthur Jensen and Audrey Shuey. Academic Press is not a

vanity publisher, but a subsidiary of Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich — one of the largest and most reputable publishing houses in the U.S. A similar text by John R. Baker, entitled *Race*, was published by the prestigious Oxford University Press in both London and New York. American and West Indian plantations, they all had work. There was neither famine nor unemployment, and there was very little war. The environment was more favorable than anything they had experienced in Africa. As slaves, they improved in health and increased in numbers.

"The intellectually well-endowed races, classes, and societies have a responsibility for the problems of race mixture, of immigration and exploitation, that have arisen from their exercise of economic and political power. They may hope to escape from these responsibilities by claiming an intellectual and therefore, moral equality between all races, classes, and societies. But the chapters of this book, step by step, deprive them of the scientific and historical evidence that might support such a comfortable illusion."

From *Human Variation: The Biopsychology of Age, Race, and Sex*, R. Travis Osborn, Clyde E. Noble and Nathaniel Weyl, eds. Academic Press, New York, 1978, pp.383-384.

RACIST IQ THEORIES

Dwight Ingle, Professor Emeritus at the University of Chicago, and a contributor to *Human Variations* says "If we accept the 'Negroid-Caucasoid IQ gap' as a characteristic of these diverse hereditability, we might stop telling Ne-

EUGENICS TEACHER PLANS RETURN TO CLASSROOM IN CANADA AMID STUDENT PROTESTS

Toronto, Canada — Controversial professor Philippe Rushton's planned return to the classroom for the Fall, 1990 term has students across Ontario outraged.

Last spring, several hundred students chanting, "One race, the human race," occupied the department of psychology at the University of Western Ontario. They came from University of Toronto, York and Guelph to protest with the Academic Coalition for Equality (ACE) at Western.

Rushton's theory, which states "orientals" (Asians) are racially superior to whites who are superior to Blacks has been widely denounced as bogus and unscientific. Rushton plans to integrate his theories into a core psychology course he will be teaching at Western this during the fall 1990 session.

"We're not allowing him to enter classrooms to teach," said ACE spokesperson, Kizito Senemaga. "We can march, sit in, put out a call and have 200 people. We have the power to disrupt. The level of negative publicity will be very high if that man starts teaching."

Tom Collins, Western's vice president of academic affairs, disagrees. "I have dealt with this at length. Rushton is tenured. He has academic freedom. He will not be fired."

Rushton first proposed his theory of racial hierarchy in 1989. He based it on statistics like criminal capacity, IQ, ovulation rate and penis size.

Many scientists have disputed his theories, including those whose research he used for his own conclusions. Neil Vidmar, a Western psychology professor, calls Rushton's work "racist and pseudo-scientific."

ACE co-founder Geraldine Stephenson said the spring time demonstrations were just an "appetizer" for what would occur if Rushton is allowed to continue teaching.

Western's vice president Collins commented, "Students have the right to boycott classes. It is not fair to say that the university is not concerned with racism. We are working on all kinds of policies that deal with race relations." ■

The Theology Of Christian Identity

The Theology Of Christian Identity

Identity is a quasi-theological movement of small churches, tape and book distribution houses, and radio ministries which seeks to broaden the influence of the white supremacist movement under the guise of Christianity. Because many of its core beliefs are now held by members of different Klan and neo-Nazi organizations, Identity binds the movement across the country. Instead of Mein Kampf, Identity uses the Bible as the source of its ideology. It teaches that people of color are pre-Adamic, that is, not fully human and are without souls. Identity followers believe that Jews are the children of Satan and that the white people of northern Europe are the Lost Tribes of the House of Israel.

The racial identity of the Israelites in the Old Testament is the central turning point for this quasi-religious movement - hence the name, Identity.

According to Identity believers, their true lineage has been hidden for the past 2,000 years, supposedly since white people migrated out of Biblical Israel. They believe that their racial identity is important because of the fate of various racial groups during the period they refer to as the End Times.

Identity groups also refer to themselves as Kingdom Identity because of their belief that the Second Coming of Christ will occur prior to the establishment of His Kingdom here on earth.

Some Christian denominations believe that true Christians will leave the earth and meet Christ at the time of the Second Coming, escaping a period of war, plagues and disasters known as the Tribulations. This process is known as the Rapture. Unlike these Christians who believe the Second Coming will occur prior to the establishment of the kingdom, the Identity movement considers the Rapture a hoax and a Jewish fable of "marshmallow Christianity." According to this reasoning, if there is no Rapture, Christians can expect to suffer through the Tribulations in order to reach the Kingdom. Identity teaches that the "elect" people of the Anglo-Saxon nations have a special role to play throughout the period of the Tribulations and until the establishment of the Kingdom. In Identity Christianity, election is determined by race, not by the redemptive grace of God.

Since many Identity believers think that humankind is now in the period of the Tribulations, current events are interpreted as the fulfillment of dire prophecies. Some believe that social security numbers and drivers licenses are the Mark of the Beast, and should not be used.

The Tribulations, they believe, are divine retribution for their sins; they have sinned by allowing the stranger - Jews and others - to live amongst them. They have sinned because society allows interracial marriages. They have sinned by allowing the sodomites (homosexuals) to continue their "evil practices." Since Identity followers believe that the Bible commands racial segregation, they

interpret racial equality as a violation of God's Law. If Christian ministers advocate racial equality, they are advocating breaking God's Law.

Identity And The Christian Republic

The creation of a white Christian republic in the United States is a shared goal within the white supremacist movement, from the hard-core neo-Nazis of the Aryan Nations to the many Christian Patriot groups. The Identity movement provides a theological justification for this racism and breach of the constitutionally-mandated separation of church and state.

For example, William Potter Gale, an influential Identity leader who died shortly after being indicted for conspiracy to kill IRS agents, wrote: "The Church is composed of the many-membered body of Jesus Christ. This Republic was founded as a Christian Republic. The government is nothing but an expansion of the Christian church! It was founded by a compact... known as the Articles of Confederation, Perpetual which have their source in the Holy Bible. Since the Constitution was lifted from the Articles of Confederation, the source of the Constitution is the Bible."

Identity, like other sections of the white supremacist movement, teaches that an international Jewish banking conspiracy is behind many of the world's events. Sheldon Emry, who led the Lord's Covenant Church in Phoenix, AZ, before his death, spelled it out for his followers: "God Almighty warned in the Bible that one of the curses which would come upon His People for disobeying His Laws was: The stranger that is within thee shall get up above thee very high [Deut. 28:44-45]. Most of the owners of the largest banks in America are of Eastern European ancestry and connected with the Rothschild European banks."

Emry's themes are now a staple of Identity theology and form part of the basis of its appeal: America is the new Promised Land; Jews and other non-whites are aliens in this land; the Federal Reserve and interest (usury) are violations of God's law; the price that the true House of Israel pays for violating that law is dominations by the Jews.

The same themes are echoed by Pete Peters, a minister of the LaPorte, CO Church of Christ. Peters believes that "Once God's laws are obeyed by His people, the body of people shall be healed. Healthy bodies throw off parasites. When there is repentance and obedience to His laws, the porno shop will no longer be on Main Street, the Jewish Hollywood filth will no longer be tolerated... the homosexual and the murderer will be removed, the Jewish banker will no longer be allowed to charge interest..."

Identity And Mass Influence

During the 1970's and early 1980's, Identity was used as a rationale to establish paramilitary survivalist camps far removed from the main-

stream of society. During the 1990's, some Identity leaders have attempted to rid their movement of its paramilitary image and establish a larger following with broader influence.

Chief among these Identity leaders has been Pete Peters. Peters is developing new methods for the Identity movement to expand. From his home in LaPorte, he has built a radio ministry with many followers, who regularly purchase his literature and taped sermons. Each summer Peters runs a family-style Bible camp in the Colorado Rockies. When he convened the 1990 camp almost 500 adults and small children participated. Similar events were held in 1991 and 1992. Peters also holds a regular camp session in Virginia. He has purchased 1,000 acres of land in Wyoming.

In 1989, 1990 and 1991, Peters led a delegation of his followers to Washington, DC, to lobby against gun control and other issues. In November 1989, Peters led the opposition to an amendment to a Ft. Collins, CO, ordinance that would have outlawed discrimination based on sexual orientation. The anti-discrimination measure failed.

Although a Clergy Coalition organized to support the anti-discrimination measure, no one challenged Peter's claim to be a legitimate Christian leader of his adherence to the racist theology of Identity. As a result, Peters successfully cast himself as a community leader and gained new adherents. Peters' success has served as a model for other Identity leaders.

Bo Gritz article continued...

Francisco, and L.A., are marketing video and audio tapes of Gritz and/or Hulet on a similarly co-equal basis with those of anti-war and anti-imperialist speakers. This is highly irresponsible.

Progressives and anti-racists must draw a clear line that exposes and condemns Gritz and his racist and neo-fascist allies in the Populist Party. The Christie Institute, for example, needs to recognize that the "unity" Gritz and the Populists are talking about is the same unity as that of the nazi-klan united front which took the lives of five anti-klan protesters in Greensboro, North Carolina - a case where Christie represented the families of those killed by the nazis. Christie's association with Gritz and the rest of the racist Populists, even if unwitting, is an unjustifiable insult to the memory of those martyrs and must end immediately and totally. Christie should join the campaign to expose Bo's campaign for the fascist vehicle it is. Christie should take the lead in condemning the Gritz campaign, rather than demanding retractions from those who have raised criticisms and concerns. It should share frankly and self-critically with its followers in the process of deception and rationalization by which it was hoodwinked, so that other can escape the same fate.

For more information about the campaign to oppose Gritz and the Populists, contact PART, People Against Racist Terror, P.O. Box 1990, Burbank CA 91507.

The far Right: building its European power

Next June's European Parliament elections will be held at a time when the far Right's electoral strength is growing (particularly in Belgium, France, Germany and Italy).

CARF gives a brief survey of the local, regional and national elected representatives that the far Right has in these countries.

What elected representation means to the far Right

- **Money:** Access to public funds and publicly-funded resources to be used for political campaigning.
- **Recruitment and growth:** Access to local, regional and national networks.
- **Publicity:** Access to local, national and international media.
- **Power and influence:** Gaining a single seat for a racist party encourages other established right-wing parties to be more racist. Far-right control of a local authority means direct implementation of overt racist measures.
- **Legitimacy and protection:** Having representatives gives a platform to racism and fascism which then becomes both legitimated and legally protected.



BELGIUM

Far-right parties Vlaams Blok (VB), Belgian Front National (BFN)

MEPs VB one

National parliament VB 12; BFN 1

Other elected representatives VB: 6 senators, 5 provincial councillors, 23 municipal councillors.

Share of the vote (1991 general election)

Nationally: VB 6.6%; BFN 1.1%

Flanders region: VB 10.3%

Antwerp Province: VB 16.7%

Antwerp City: VB 25.5%

Local bases Antwerp City and the Flanders region. The October 1988 local elections gave VB its first electoral breakthrough. In Antwerp City, it won 10 municipal seats (it also won 42 seats on district councils within the city). Another 13 seats were won in towns and cities close to Antwerp in the Flanders region. From this local base, the VB was able to build up the level of support it achieved in November 1991. Indications are that support has continued to grow since then, and success in the European elections could lead to yet greater gains for the VB in the local elections in autumn 1994.



FRANCE

Far-right party Front National (FN)

MEPs 10

National parliament None

Other elected representatives 239 regional councillors, 804 municipal councillors.

Share of the vote

Regional elections March 1992: 13.9% (3,396,141)

Parliamentary elections March 1993: 12.5% (3,158,843)

Local bases The FN has several local electoral bases solidified by concentrations of local representatives in either a local or regional council. For instance, in March 1992, the FN won 34 of the 123 regional council seats in the Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur region. These local bases stood in good stead a year later in the general election. In areas where it polled well in 1992 (eg. the Île-de-France region, which includes Paris), the FN vote was only slightly down in 1993. Despite not gaining any seats, the FN did better than ever before in terms of votes at a parliamentary election. The regional local councils are providing an alternative electoral political base to parliament for the FN. There is every reason to suppose that this local base will serve a similar role in the European elections, where the PR voting system could translate 3 million votes into a number of seats.

base



GERMANY

Far-right parties Deutsche Liga; Deutsche Volkspartei (DVU); Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands (NPD); Die Republikaner (REP).

MEPs 6 (originally all REP. Due to splits, now 1 REP, 1 Deutsche Liga, the rest formally unaffiliated).

National parliament 1 REP (defection from CDU 1993)

Other elected representatives (Note: There are 16 regional states in Germany. Each has two separate elections, one for the regional parliament, the other for local councils.)

Regional parliaments: *Bremen:* 6 DVU out of 100 MPs, DVU vote 22,878 (6.2%) (September 1991 election); *Schleswig-Holstein:* 6 DVU out of 89 MPs, DVU vote 93,295 (6.3%) (April 1992 election); *Baden-Wurtemberg:* 15 REP out of 146 MPs, REP vote 539,014 (10.9%) (April 1992 election); *Bayern:* No seats won, REP vote 538,615 (4.9%) (October 1990 election); *Berlin:* No seats won, REP vote 62,041 (3.1%) (December 1990 election).

Local councils: The DVU and NPD have very few councillors. The DVU, with 20 out of 458 seats in the Bremen region, has the most significant concentration. The REP has 370 councillors in eight states, only 0.5% of the seats available.

Local bases In addition to the three state parliaments with fascist MPs, the concentrations of the 370 REP councillors provide limited local bases. For instance, in the Hessen state local elections in March 1993, the REP won 36 of 387 town council positions; 10 of these were in the principal city of Hessen, Frankfurt, where the city council has 93 members. In West Berlin in the May 1992 local elections, the REP won nearly 10% of the seats in local councils.

Therefore, mindful of the large-scale regional variations, we can say that fascist electoral parties have small bases in at least five regional states: Baden-Wurtemberg, Bremen, Berlin, Hessen and Schleswig-Holstein. With the most significant fascist electoral gains having come in the last two years, it is very probable that the REP, at least, will be in a position to use its local bases in the European elections and in the national elections due in autumn 1994.

ITALY

Far-right parties Movimento Sociale Italiano-Destra Nazionale (MSI-DN); Northern League
MEPs MSI 4; Northern League 2 (last elections 1989).

National parliament MSI 35; Northern League 55 (last elections April 1992).

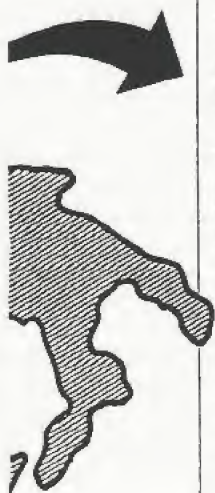
Regional councils In August 1993, the Northern League gained joint control of its first regional council, Friuli-Venezia-Giulia in north-eastern Italy, through an alliance with other parties.

Municipal councils In the extreme south of Italy, in the local/mayoral elections of June 1993, the MSI-DN gained control of nine small community councils, with a further 16 effectively controlled by the far Right. (The fascists had not had control of any local authority since 1945!) In the north, the Northern League gained control of the principal cities (with the exception of Turin), including Vercelli, Lecco, Novarra, Pavia, Pordenone, Gorizia and, most significant of all, Milan.

Share of the vote In 1987, the Northern League could only muster enough votes to win one seat in parliament, while the MSI gained 35. Two years later, the League could win only two seats in the European parliament against the MSI's four. Since then, the League's vote has grown enormously in the wake of the anti-corruption scandals. By the 1992 general election, it had attracted 8.7% of the national vote, taking 24% of the vote in Lombardy in the north. This year's local elections, though they involved only one-quarter of the electorate, confirmed the electoral growth of the League and gave it unprecedented local power.

While the MSI's vote has declined slightly (from 5.9% in 1987 to 5.4% in 1992), in some localities it has registered significant gains (eg. Naples in 1992, the far south in 1993). Reform of the PR system would appear to favour larger parties (of which the Northern League is now one). The MSI hopes to compensate for any losses by the introduction of voting rights for overseas Italians.

Local bases Local authorities controlled by the far and fascist Right have already used their power against immigrants. With a general election expected in the next few months, the councils under far-right control could serve as a springboard for the MSI and the Northern League. It is clear that while the MSI is viewed as fascist, the League, despite its racism, is treated as a legitimate party (even by the Left), with whom alliances and pacts can be made. With the fluid situation in party politics, some are speculating that, by next June's European elections, the League could be a major component of the national parliamentary opposition.



Build mass opposition

The continued success of the far Right is by no means a foregone conclusion. In Italy, the Northern League is a fissiparous regionalist protest movement led by racists. In Germany, the fascists are split and quarrelsome. Even in France, where the fascist movement appears solid, the Front National is for ever flaking. One key ingredient in the growth of European fascism has been the absence of effective mass opposition. If, in the midst of the political turmoil of the next few months, a militant anti-racist, anti-fascist movement can be made to work together, the trend of fascists' growing abuse of democratic representation can be halted and reversed.

Fascism In Germany Today

By Rick Kuhn

Fascist organisations have been increasing their influence in the developed world during the 1990s. Such a widespread growth has not occurred since the 1930s. During the post World War II period right-wing extremist organisations had sporadic successes in a series of western European countries including the United Kingdom (the National Front), Germany (Sozialistische Reichspartei, SRP; Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands, NPD) and France (the Poujadist movement, Organisation Armee Secrete). There were the authoritarian but increasingly moribund regimes in Spain and Portugal, but only in Italy was there a significant, though small right-wing extremist party, the MSI which consistently attracted votes and held parliamentary seats in a western European democracy.

The 1980s saw such organisations grow in strength in Germany (Deutsche Volkunion, DVU and Republicans) and France (Front National) in particular. The economic and social chaos which followed the anti-stalinist revolutions in 1989 have also provided fertile ground for fascism in Eastern Europe. The extreme right made progress during the 1980s and 1990s across western Europe, including in Italy (MSI, elements of the Northern Leagues), Norway and Denmark (Progress Parties), Sweden (New Democracy), Austria (FPÖ), Belgium (Vlaams Blok) and the Netherlands (Centre Party and Centre Democrats). Nor has North America been immune from this trend, as the level of support for David Duke, with his Klu Klux Klan associations, in US Senate, the Louisiana House of Representatives and gubernatorial elections indicated. In Canada the Reform Party represents a similar phenomenon. (1)

The resurgence of fascism in Germany since unification is not, therefore, an isolated phenomenon. Any discussion of German events must draw attention to this international trend in order to avoid attributing the growing significance of fascism there simply to local factors, peculiarities of German institutions and history or, most misleadingly, to the German psyche. A discussion of developments in Germany can, however, throw light on the international trend and help in assessing the adequacy of different approaches to understanding and combating fascism. It should also be noted that while fascist movements have undergone rapid growth recently, their impact on social and political life has increased and propitious circumstances for continued expansion of their influence remain, they are as yet a long way from taking power in Germany or elsewhere in the economically developed world.

Five publications are considered here in some detail. Together they provide an overview of the development of fascism in Germany since World War II and represent a broad range of analytical

perspectives. Richard Stoess's "Politics against Democracy: Right-wing Extremism in West Germany" (2) is a discussion of the development of right-wing extremism in Germany between the end of World War II and 1989, the year the original German edition was published, from a liberal perspective. The largest section of Thomas Assheuer and Hans Sarkowicz's 1990 "Rechtsradikale in Deutschland: die alte und neue Rechte" (Right-wing Radicals in Germany: the Old and the New Right) (3) covers similar ground. The book is overwhelmingly empirical, a relatively early example of the cascade of journalistic accounts of the extreme right published during the 1990s. In "Auferstanden aus Ruinen: Rechtsextremismus in der DDR" (Resurrected from the Ruins: Right-wing Extremism in the GDR) (4) Bernd Siegler focuses on the background to con-



temporary right-wing extremism in the east of Germany, to mid-1991. His position can probably be best described as "new left". The collection "Wehrhafte Demokratie und Rechtsextremismus" (Vigilant Democracy and Right-wing Extremism) (5) was published by the Bundesminister des Innern, (BMI - Federal Interior Ministry) in March 1992 but written at least six months earlier. Most of its eight essays are official and/or conservative accounts of right-wing extremism and justifications for state repression of both the extremist left and right in Germany. The argument in the pamphlet "Stoppt die Nazis" (6) by Werner Halbauer and Volkhard Mosler derives from Trotsky's analysis of fascism and deals with events up to December 1991.

The use of the term "fascist" to describe right-wing extremist organisations is controversial. Apart from Halbauer and Mosler, these publications prefer "right-wing extremism". This is partly because the term is associated with the official "anti-fascism" of the stalinist east Ger-

man state. But, in the west, it also gives legitimacy to the idea of an anti-fascist movement, as opposed to exclusively state initiated measures against right-wing extremism which Stoess and most of the BMI authors advocate. In fact Jesse implies that anti-fascism is a cover for left-wing extremism (7). "Fascism" can, however, be understood as having an analytical content which highlights some fundamental similarities between certain contemporary movements or parties and interwar National Socialism/Nazism in Germany and Fascism in Italy. In ideological terms, postwar fascist currents in Germany adhere to anti-democratic, anti-union, anti-socialist and racist, especially anti-semitic, ideas like those of the Nazi Party. They also defend the National Socialist regime. Today the use of the terms fascist and neo-nazi are less controversial when applied to usually small groups of politically motivated skinheads or thugs or organisations which claim to stand in the tradition of Nazism or Fascism (or the national equivalents in other countries). The tactics of these jackbooted groups (Stiefelfaschisten) parallel the street violence and public displays of strength of the Nazis and Fascists. They are designed to impress potential supporters with the fascist organisations' power and ability to intimidate their enemies. Currently, however, the most successful fascist organisations in Germany concentrate on electoral tactics, which were also employed by the fascist organisations of the 1920s and 1930s, though not to the exclusion of public mobilisations. They play down, if in ambiguous terms, associations with pre- or World War II fascism. But this emphasis on electoral or violent methods is a matter of tactics rather than strategy. The same political outlook, social base, and orientation underlie both uncouth skinhead political thuggery and the suit and tie wearing respectability of much of the electoralist extreme right (Krawatte- or Wahlfaschisten). The organisations which constitute the two tactical faces of contemporary fascism also share members. (8)

Fascism In Germany Since 1945:

The West

Stoess, and Assheuer and Sarkowicz provide detailed and useful outlines of the organisational history of postwar west German right-wing extremism. Stoess, a Berlin political scientist, also deals with the main themes in right-wing extremist thought and contributes some theoretical assessments of developments (9). "Rechtsradikale in Deutschland", by journalists Assheuer and Sarkowicz is really two books. The first and more useful, by Assheuer, examines the main right-wing extremist organisations and currents in west Germany and, very briefly, in the DDR.

Stoess explains how the policies pursued by the western occupying powers and West German

governments, "repressing and glossing over the past" facilitated the survival of fascist ideas. Denazification (the punishment or removal from positions of responsibility of people compromised by the National Socialist regime) was only briefly and unevenly pursued. Soon after the Cold War started the western occupation powers, especially the United States, concluded that such measures could only weaken an important ally. Nor was the Adenauer Government any more single-minded in weeding out Nazis from the bureaucracy, politics or business. It pursued a policy of integrating such elements into its electoral support base.

Right-wing extremism has experienced several periods of rising influence in West Germany. The first, examined by Knuetter (10) as well as Stoess, was associated with growing electoral support for the SRP, between 1949 and 1952, particularly in Lower Saxony, Schleswig-Holstein and Bremen. During the early reconstruction period, with widespread privation, this party provided a focus for some dispossessed German refugees from Communist countries and former beneficiaries of the National Socialist regime. The success of reconstruction together with a ban on the SRP in 1952 and subsequently on successor organisations dispersed the bulk of its supporters, though its core moved on to other right-wing extremist groups. Right-wing extremism had little impact during the following decade.

Germany's first post-war recession coincided with the formation of a Grand Coalition of the Christian Union Parties and the Social Democrats in December 1966. These circumstances favoured the rapid growth of the NPD, which gave form to right-wing dissatisfaction with the economic downturn and hostility to the Government. The NPD entered parliaments in seven states between 1966 and 1969, with between 5.8 and 9.8 per cent of the vote. Three factors contributed to the collapse of support for the NPD from 1969. As Halbauer and Mosler emphasise, militant anti-fascist mobilisations confronted NPD rallies, meetings and marches during 1968 (11). When the 1969 Federal election took place the level of support for the NPD, forced by the anti-fascist movement to call off all large public meetings, had already been declining for several months. The NPD achieved only 4.3 per cent in the election, the best result for the extreme right at a national level since 1949, but still below the 5 per cent hurdle a party must clear before it can win any seats. The election ushered in a Social-Liberal coalition, with the conservative Christian Union parties going into opposition and providing a more respectable focus for right-wing discontent. The resumption of economic growth also undermined one of the causes of that discontent.

"Rechtsradikale in Deutschland" outlines the background and evolution of militant neo-nazism since the War in slightly greater detail than "Politics against Democracy" whose attention, as far as such groups are concerned, is focused on the rapid growth of right-wing terrorism and storm trooper units during the mid-1970s. These organisations did not, however, organise more than

1,500 people between 1975 and 1987. "Drahtzieher im braunen Netz", edited by ID-Archiv im ISSG, provides a more systematic examination of neo-nazi organisations, particularly those involving the most prominent figure in the jackbooted scene during the late 1970s and 1980s, Michael Kuehnen. (12) It highlights the connections between old nazis, neo-nazis, holocaust deniers and the "respectable" fascist organisations.

Stoess, Assheuer and Sarkowicz neglect the efforts of the NPD to reestablish its influence during another recession by means of extraparliamentary mobilisations, particularly in Frankfurt, between 1977 and 1979. Perhaps this is because the NDP did not make major electoral gains at this stage. Intimidatory demonstrations and marches are, however, like electoral campaigns and other forms of violence, notably assaults by individuals and small groups, part of the strategic repertoire of fascism. Halbauer and Mosler argue that the failure of the NPD to sustain its activity on this occasion was overwhelmingly due to militant counterdemonstrations, which mobilised 7,000 people on 17 June 1977 and 50,000 on 17 June 1979 to prevent the NPD from marching (13). Neither parliamentary changes nor the resumption of impressive levels of growth played a significant role in undermining the NPD on this occasion.

During the late 1980s two other right-wing extremist organisations, concentrating on electoral tactics achieved some successes. One DVU member entered the Bremen parliament in 1987 and the Republicans won six seats in the European Parliament and 11 in the Berlin Senate in 1989. Both organisations are based in Bavaria (though the DVU's successes have been concentrated in northern States) and target foreigners as the source of economic and other problems in Germany.

The East

Siegler's treatment of the background to right-wing extremism in eastern Germany complements the account of developments in the old Federal Republic in "Politics against Democracy" (14). A discussion of fascism, anti-fascism and guest workers in the DDR follows. A journalist with the left-wing daily Tageszeitung ("Taz"), he includes useful material from interviews with people involved in, affected by or responsible for dealing with right-wing extremism.

Over half a million ex-Nazi Party members in the Soviet Occupation Zone were sacked between the end of the War and March 1948. This was used by the communist regime to emphasise its anti-fascist credentials compared to West Germany, where limited de-nazification had left nazis in prominent positions in business and the public sector. The Adenauer Government responded in kind, in 1960, with an extensive list of ex-Nazis holding important positions in the DDR (15). Siegler, Knuetter (16) and Rosen (17) contend that the regime's ideology of institutionalised anti-fascism sheltered the population from settling accounts with National Socialism. Siegler also makes important points, though imprecisely,

about the weaknesses of German Communist policy during the 1930s (18). Halbauer and Mosler provide a better account of the disastrous effects the rise of Stalinism had for working class resistance to National Socialism (19). In the early 1930s it was crippled by the Communist International and hence the German Communist Party's characterisation of social democracy as a wing of the fascism. Later the Party followed the Comintern in supporting the Hitler-Stalin Pact and persecuted members who criticised it. After the War the Soviet military very rapidly repressed anti-fascist committees set up spontaneously by rank and file German Communists and Social Democrats, in favour of authorities under reliable German Communists flown in from Moscow. Suppression of the east German working class took its most overt form when the uprising of 1953 was put down with tanks. Nor did the Communist Party (SED) shrink from using anti-semitism (20).

Since the 1970s fascist organisations have existed in the DDR. They have experienced a greater tolerance than left-wing and liberal critics of the "communist" system. Skinheads and right-wing extremists in the DDR expressed the same virtues stridently promoted by the regime: order, discipline and dedication. Instances of co-operation between fascists and the state authorities were therefore not coincidental. In the mid-1970s there was a neo-nazi group in a paramilitary police unit in Basdorf. Subsequently the police have used skinheads and neo-nazis to clear out occupied houses, harass oppositionists and in drug investigations. A particular focus for right-wing radicals was the stewarding group of the Free German Youth (FDJ), the youth arm of the SED. This organisation provided scope for right-wingers to impose their conception of acceptable behaviour on others, sometimes with violence, to maintain order at FDJ events (21).

The treatment of foreign workers, employed in relatively small numbers in the DDR in an effort to overcome a chronic shortage of labour, indicates that racism was a feature of the communist regime. The largest group of such workers were from Vietnam. They were isolated in separate, crowded apartment blocks and their lives were highly regimented; women were forbidden from becoming pregnant and were subject to deportation if they did. The isolated living conditions of foreign workers and the fact that they were permitted to send home some items in short supply made them racist scapegoats for sections of a population suffering from chronic shortages of many goods.

The racism experienced by foreign workers in the east worsened after the fall of the Berlin Wall and political liberalisation, as right-wing extremists operated more openly and confidently. These developments are discussed in the first section of Siegler's book, which is particularly valuable for its portrayal of the neo-nazi scene and the circumstances of racist attacks in the east. The period after the revolution saw considerable activity by local fascists and others coming or returning from West Germany. From late 1990 there were rising

numbers of assaults against foreign workers and students in east Germany. The first racist murder by neo-nazis occurred in the village of Eberwalde in Brandenburg in November. Neo-nazis protested against the opening of the German-Polish border in April 1991, attacking Polish visitors at some border crossings. The city of Dresden became a particular focus for neo-nazis in 1990 and 1991. In June 1991 two thousand neo-nazis marched unhindered through Dresden in a funeral procession for a murdered leader, Rainer Sonntag.

Developments Since Unification

The revolution in East Germany and German unification, presided over by conservative Chancellor Kohl, took place after the publication of the German edition of Stoess's book, on which the English translation is based. These events sidelined the right-wing extremists in the West Germany for a period. A key aspect of their program, unification, was being implemented, at least in part, by a mainstream party, as Halbauer and Mosler. (22) Lange and Sippel, officials of the Bundesamt fuer Verfassungsschutz (Federal Office for the Defence of the Constitution) intelligence agency draw attention to this phenomenon too. (23) Their contributions are the most useful in the volume. Lange's essay is essentially an account of the legal arrangements for and procedures of the Verfassungsschutz. Sippel surveys right-wing extremist organisations since unification, providing a useful, though brief, update of material in "Politics against Democracy", "Rechtsradikale in Deutschland und Auferstanden aus Ruinen" to about September 1991. He draws attention in particular to the favourable prospects facing the electorally oriented DVU and NPD. This assessment also applies to the Republicans party which has been more cautious in expressing sympathy with the Nazi regime. On this basis it is not classified as right-wing extremist by the Verfassungsschutz and is not therefore subject to its surveillance.

Jesse's and Knuetter's chapters in the BMI volume are instructive as symptoms of the inability of some conservative academics to come to grips with a right-wing extremist movement. Jesse, in an essay devoted to justifying repressive state action against extremists, focuses on the threat from the left, vindicating the 1970s Berufsverbot, a ban on the employment of leftists in the public sector. Knuetter after an historical survey of right-wing extremism in the east and west of Germany, argues that "prospects for right-wing extremism are negative for the moment". (24)

Racist violence in east Germany reached a highpoint in late September 1991 in a sustained assault on a refugee and guestworker accommodation block in the Saxon town of Hoyerswerda. The attacks by skinheads and organised neo-nazis were applauded by onlookers over two nights. (25) Hoyerswerda triggered a still uninterrupted series of attacks across the east and west of Germany. Published in December 1991, "Stoppt die Nazis", deals with the events in Hoyerswerda

and subsequent advances by electoral fascists in the western states of Bremen and Lower Saxony. Mosler and Halbauer discuss the social basis of racism in capitalist economies, including that of the DDR, the class nature of fascism and assess different strategies for combating it.

Embarrassingly for the police chief of Rostock in his contribution to the BMI volume, the violence reached a new crescendo in August 1992 in his home town when, over five nights, up to 1,000 thugs, again supported by significant numbers of onlookers, attacked the central asylum seekers refuge for the State of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. (26) Siegfried Kordus's essay maintained that "the potential for right-wing extremism in Rostock should not be underestimated. The police are, however, prepared in terms of organisation, personnel and equipment for any possible further escalation".

It quickly became apparent, after the first post-unification elections in December 1990, that Kohl's promises of a relatively painless integration of east Germany were baseless. He was obliged very rapidly to increase taxation across Germany and the rate of unemployment in the east continued to rise. The Christian Democratic Union performed very badly in the January state election in Hessen and lost office in the April 1991 poll in Rhineland-Palatinate (Kohl's home state). During the first half of 1991 there were also mass protests by western coal miners and eastern workers defending their jobs and wages. In August 1991, in the run-up to the Bremen elections, the Kohl's Christian Democratic Union initiated a major public debate and distracted attention from its problems by calling for a change to the asylum clause in the constitution (article 16) to deal with the "flood" of asylum seekers coming to Germany. (27) This paid off in Bremen where the Social Democratic Party lost its majority. But by appealing to racist sentiments Government leaders made them and their most extreme advocates, the fascists, more respectable. The DVU increased its representation from one to six in Bremen, while the Republicans did well in the Lower Saxon communal elections in October 1991. This was not the first time, Halbauer and Mosler point out, a German government had made tactical use of racism. (28) The Social Democratic/Liberal coalition did so in the mid-1970s, the Christian Union/Liberal coalition in 1984 and again in 1986. The prestigious political weekly, Der Spiegel pointed out early in 1992 that "the [conservative] union parties have used the so called flood of asylum seekers for years for their electoral purposes." (29) It should be added that institutionalised racism, in the form of German nationality laws and the treatment of foreign workers, are longstanding characteristics of the Federal Republic. (30)

A few weeks before the Rostock pogrom, the Government again gave a melodramatic account of the asylum "problem". On 4 August 1992, Interior Minister Seitzers had contended in the Federal Parliament that Germany's "capacity to absorb newcomers... [has] been strained to the limit by misuse of the asylum law." The fascist

GET CRACKING



AGAINST FASCISM!!

attacks on the Rostock asylum refuge set off another, more determined round of assault across the country. The Social Democratic Party's national leadership dropped its opposition on the question and for the first time agreed to discuss the possibility of a revision of the asylum provision of the German constitution in January 1992. A special Party conference in November endorsed the leadership's new position on article 16. In early October the Free Democratic Party, the liberal junior partner in the Kohl Government, followed suit. On 23 November three Turkish women were murdered in a firebomb attack in Moelln, near Hamburg. This triggered a major anti-racist mobilisation and decline in the level of support for the Wahlfaschisten, as indicated in opinion polls. In the run-up to the Bundestag (lower house of parliament) vote to drastically water down the right to asylum in the constitution, at the end of May 1993, Rudolf Krause left the CDU to become the Republicans' first member of the Bundestag. (31) The vote was a major morale boost for the extreme right. Three days later, five long term Turkish residents of Solingen were killed in firebomb assault on their house. Another round of racist violence across the country followed.

Today, despite horrific scenes of arson, racist riots and street violence, the fascist current which attract the most support in Germany, and elsewhere in developed countries, are electoral in their current orientation. These, for the time being, electoral fascists, have better prospects than the Stiefelfaschisten of implementing fascist policies, including the persecution and deportation of foreigners and major border revisions, at national level. The Krawattefaschisten also have a symbiotic relationship with their jackbooted co-thinkers who are already putting racist elements of their common program into practice in a small way. While in the east of Germany there have been proportionately more acts of racist violence compared to the size of the population, a larger absolute number of attacks have been made in the west. And compared to the drawing power of the small groups of Stiefelfaschisten, the DVU and Republicans have a mass base which is disproportionately located in the west. Opinion poll results

published in *Der Spiegel* since September 1991 have shown both more widespread sympathy for racist violence and a greater preparedness to consider voting for electoral fascist organisations in the west than the east. (32) In Schleswig-Holstein in April 1992 the DVU won almost seven per cent of the poll and entered the state parliament. The Republicans won 11 per cent of the vote in the Baden-Wuerttemberg state poll on the same day and achieved gains in the Berlin and Hessen communal elections of May 1992 and March 1993.

There is in Germany today a "brown network" of overlapping neo-Nazi, skinhead, old Nazi groups and the larger "respectable" right-wing extremist parties (according to the Verfassungsschutz's 1991 estimate, it involved about 40,000 right-wing extremists). (33) It provides a framework for occasional cooperation and common ideological reference points for rival organisations and individuals. But it lacks coherence, focus and a common perspective for building fascist influence. The Stiefelfaschist groups are small and fragmented. The big organisations which concentrate on elections are internally unstable and lack reliable candidates. (34) In this sense, while German fascism is a dangerous movement capable of rapid growth, it remains vulnerable to counter-mobilisations.

Causes And Countermeasures

The books considered here offer various explanations for the growth of fascist organisations in Germany during the 1980s and 1990s, some more coherent than others. Stoess understands right-wing extremism as a set of ideas held by individuals for essentially social-psychological reasons. (35) For him, right-wing extremism involves antipathy towards democracy, aggressive nationalism and historical revisionism. He argues that "democratic nationalism has not found any response in Germany in the long term". It is true that "nationalism" as a label has elicited hostility across a wide political spectrum, and is a central concept for fascists. But this misses the point that, in practice, the "democratic" parties have all appealed to national interests in their pursuit of domestic and foreign policy. Fascists do reject democracy as inimical to national interests, embodied in a particular fascist party or leader. Their conception of national unity is intimately bound up with appeals to race, a concept which is not considered in Stoess' discussion of the characteristic ideas of right-wing extremism. By way of contrast, Lange, a Director of the Verfassungsschutz, who also defines right-wing extremism in terms of ideas, is clear that racism is a key characteristic of right-wing extremism. (36)

Stoess argues that "the expression of anti-democratic attitudes can be traced back mainly to an authoritarian, prejudiced character formation. This results from shortcomings and mistakes during early childhood socialisation". (37) Following Wilhelm Heitmeyer, Stoess attributes these problems of socialisation to the breakdown of institutions which gave people a sense of identity, notably the family. The interaction of

social and individual factors in generating right-wing extremism is noted. But the analysis that emerges has as its core the conception that right-wing extremism is essentially a form of individual thought and consequently behaviour. This is reinforced by the confusion in Stoess's treatment of social factors. Thus he maintains that "the significance of economic crises for the success of right-wing extremism is frequently overstated", though "Favourable conditions for work, production and income are an important requirement for people's personal satisfaction". (38) "Social crises" are of "greater significance". But social crises, "affecting housing, neighbourhood relations, social contacts and social care, cultural infrastructures and opportunities for leisure" (...) "are largely determined by economic factors". (39) It can be similarly argued that the crises of "democratic means of social integration" Stoess discusses are frequently an effect of major economic problems. Finally, he suggests, "political culture" can facilitate anti-democratic activity. This is an allusion to his earlier discussion of the repression and glossing over of National Socialism in the Federal Republic. Racism is mentioned in this connection but only in a long list of other factors which are "bridges to the right". (40) Attitudes to the Third Reich are a factor in the current appeal of fascism, but a very subordinate one. Stoess does not grasp how racism and nationalism are both far more important points of contact between mainstream German politics and the extreme right (and this is true in most other liberal democracies) which speak more to the direct experiences of postwar generations than historical judgements about the Third Reich.

Historical revisionism is, nevertheless, the intellectual cement that ties contemporary fascists to the Nazi regime and plays an important role for the cadre of fascist organisations. The arguments assembled under this heading either deny or downplay the atrocities of the National Socialist period, particularly in relation to the genocide of Jews, Gypsies and other groups. On the other hand the "positive" aspects of Hitler's rule - national pride and greatness, low unemployment, law and order - are emphasised.

Jaschke also offers a methodologically individualist analysis of right-wing extremism. (41) But he also explicitly identifies the importance of continuing cultural and organisational traditions in several neo-Nazi youth groups in the contemporary growth of right-wing extremism. (42) One might add that this fascist cadre extends to the core members of the DVU, NPD and Republicans.

Stoess examines several countermeasures against right-wing extremism. He maintains that bans on right-wing extremist groups, though not parties, can be effective if undertaken in the context of other measures to reduce their attractiveness. Jesse and Lange, as strong advocates of the theory of *Streitbare Demokratie* (Combative Democracy) and the importance of repressive measures against extremists, concur. The other measures Stoess advocates include steps to "expand historical knowledge, communicate democratic norms" and to "create acceptable

economic and social opportunities, as well as a political order with which people can identify". Recommendations at such a high level of abstraction are more like the amorphous political goals of any mainstream politician (conservative or social democratic) than a specific anti-fascist strategy. But Stoess does assert that "When confronting right-wing extremism, the main concern is to protect youth from anti-democratic forces" (43), and this priority derives most directly from his individualist analysis of fascism. His proposals about social work amongst youth and education on National Socialism are a little more concrete than his other suggestions. (44) Jaschke adds the promotion of multiculturalism to his recommendations for youth work (45) and Rosen, an official in the Interior Ministry, outlines similar measures advocated in official reports. (46) Endlich, Grix and Willberg have produced a teaching resource book on right-wing extremism for schools. The impact of the approach it embodies to counteracting fascism through education is likely to be very limited. Cramping information into small packets in documents and brief introductions to different themes, the book operates purely at the level of abstract ideas and does not confront the practical reasons why people might be attracted to fascism or offer convincing counterarguments. (47)

The favourable effects of economic instability and crisis for the extreme right are widely recognised (Stoess and the contributors to the BMI volume Jaschke, Knuetter, Rosen, Sippel). Rosen (48) illustrates in particular an important strand of thought in mainstream German politics regard strategies premised on restoring sustained economic growth as crucial in undermining the appeal of the extreme right. (49) Certainly, economic growth and the elimination of unemployment would decisively undermine, though not eliminate, the attractiveness of right-wing extremism. But if German fascism develops a wider base during the current recession it will be able to sustain the loyalty of a larger and more committed cadre during the subsequent economic recovery. And, to the extent that fascist organisations are more able to exercise influence and demonstrate their political effectiveness at a national level, they will be better placed to grow even as the economy picks up and during future recessions or social crises.

There is, however, a major problem with attempts to address unemployment, poverty and their consequences directly, if economic crises are a characteristic and unavoidable feature of capitalism or, at the very least, if Germany in the 1990s cannot avoid deep recessions. As Wilfried Herz has argued in "Die Zeit": "Germany is slithering into an economic crisis and no-one knows how to pull it out". (50)

The countermeasures discussed above all rely on the state, either to repress the extreme right or to fund and organise schemes that shield people from the influence of right-wing extremists. (51) Halbauer and Mosler point out that the state is not a neutral institution. The police in Hoyerswerda (and Rostock) took action against anti-fascist

demonstrators with much greater alacrity than when their task was to stop assaults on foreigners which lasted days. This is not difficult to understand given the racist sympathies of sections of police forces in east and west Germany. (52) The Government's recourse to racist tactics also casts doubt on a strategy of relying on the welfare arms of the state to eliminate the attractiveness of right-wing extremism. Some state-funded efforts to undertake social work amongst neo-nazi youth have even ended up providing them with the means for more effective efforts to politically organise and recruit. (53)

Siegler does not look to the state for a solution to the problem of right-wing extremism, but then the picture he paints is, apart from the pressure of international opinion (54), depressing. His explanation for the growth of fascism in Germany amounts to an identification of a continuing tradition that goes back to the Third Reich. There was, he believes, throughout the post-war period, insufficient effort to persuade east (and west) Germans of their responsibility for Nazism. (55) This reproduces an aspect of Stoess's analysis. As Siegler makes only minimal reference to the material conditions that can make fascism attractive, his analysis has a moralising flavour. He sees German unification and the reemergence of Germany as an independent power as responsible for the resurgence of this tradition. Siegler is sceptical about the use of right-wing extremism as a justification for strengthening the police, given the priorities of the state and federal governments. He also offers a moral critique of Heitmeyer's analysis of the basis of right-wing extremism as exonerating those guilty of politically motivated racist violence. Similarly Farin and Seidel-Pielen point out a counter-strategy which stresses social work depoliticises racism: "That youth and social work place neither structures of domination nor structural racism in question, makes them even more popular with those in political authority". Their moralising alternative, "the will to discover and not ignore the little racists with ourselves", is less than convincing. (56)

Halbauer and Mosler systematically relate the experience of individuals and shifts in the ideological climate to Germany's economic difficulties, to ground an argument for countermeasures

against fascism which neither rely on the state or the utopia of uninterrupted capitalist growth. Economic problems are not simply a matter of personal satisfaction (Stoess 212-213) but of survival. The search for solutions and explanations in the face of a reality or threats of unemployment and falling living standards is rational rather than a social pathology. When alternative strategies have declining credibility the attractiveness of racist and fascist ones increases. The plausibility of the Government's explicit response to the crisis in east Germany, as opposed to the message implicit in its recourse to racism, started sinking soon after it was articulated. Despite criticisms, from business interests amongst others, (57) the Kohl regime continued to articulate an optimistic economic prognosis until at least September 1992: "I am certain we will be able to resolve our economic problems - not overnight to be sure, but within a reasonable period of time." This assessment, given by Chancellor Kohl on October 2 1990, the eve of German political unification, continues to be correct two years after that historical date." (58)

Fascism can best be understood, according to Halbauer and Mosler, in terms of the social conditions which generate it and the social class at its core (27-29). The social base of fascism is middle layers in society. This does not mean that all members of fascist organisations are exclusively drawn from the new and old middle classes. Rather their ideology expresses the experience of these layers. The old middle class, particularly in economic crises, is squeezed between large enterprises which compete with family concerns on unequal terms and unions which endanger their existence by pushing up wage, transport and other costs. Similarly the new middle class in large public and private corporate hierarchies, may be pressured both by senior managers to whom they are subordinate and by the demands or resistance of subordinates whose confidence and power is enhanced by union membership. In east Germany declassed middle level and some senior functionaries of the old Stalinist apparatus have additional cause for discontent.

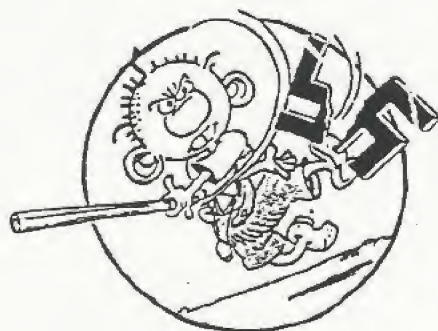
Fascists reject both organised labour and capital (generally equated with only a segment of the capitalist class, particularly financial capital, rather than the system of generalised commodity exchange). They blame social problems on racially identified scapegoats, the Jews or foreign workers, who can be thwarted by fanatical nationalism and pogroms. Fascist organisations therefore offer simple, if false, solutions to real problems. On this basis they can mobilise people adversely affected by economic crises and left hopeless by the failure or lack of alternative responses. This applies particularly to the unemployed and youth with no reason to have faith in the future. The appeal of fascism to organised, employed workers is far less, especially when they can respond to their problems through their unions or works councils. This has been the case in Germany recently, where unions in the west achieved partial victories in wages campaigns early in 1992, action by unions in the east has

secured improvements in wages and groups of workers across the country have resisted shut-downs and redundancies with different degrees of success.

Using this framework, Halbauer and Mosler argue the Government's appeals to racism, to distract attention from economic problems it was unable to solve, have played a crucial role in the rapid growth of fascist organisations and activity. The Government's naturalisation of racism and victim blaming behaviour is in effect reproduced by Sippel and Lange. They assert that the arrival of refugees has itself generated a racist response or deepening social problems and hence expanded the scope for right-wing extremist activity. This is reflected in their use of the pejorative term "Asylanten" for asylum seekers. (59) To translate Halbauer and Mosler's argument into the jargon of political science: in pursuit of gains within the established party system, the conservative regime, despite its condemnation of racist violence, is shifting the political culture (or more fashionably, "public discourse") in a direction which serves to legitimate the claims of fascists and thus, to an extent, undermines the democratic party system itself.

Developments since their publication appeared have borne out Halbauer and Mosler's analysis. The world recession hit the west of Germany in 1992. In April public sector workers engaged in their biggest ever strike campaign, preventing governments from unilaterally shifting the burden of unification costs onto their and other workers' wages. In the face of its continuing difficulties the Kohl Government repeatedly raised the asylum question. A series of election and opinion poll results, as well as campaigns of violence and even racist murders indicate that the fascists are the main beneficiaries.

"Stoppt die Nazis" deals seriously with mass anti-fascist movements and mobilisations. Stoess briefly mentions the movement against the NPD during the late 1960s. (60) But he conflates such actions with individual acts of violence against fascists (61) and on this basis rejects them, as do several of the BMI authors for whom organised anti-fascism is a (left-wing extremist) problem rather than a suitable response to right-wing extremism. (62) Halbauer and Mosler distinguish between elitist actions by anti-fascist fighters, preoccupied with the neo-nazis, and mass mobilisations to confront events organised by storm trooper and especially "respectable" fascists. Sections of the autonomist movement (sometimes called "anarchist" in the English language press) regard the bulk of the German population as incapable of confronting fascism, because it is compromised by racism, and see little distinction between the police or existing state and the fascists. There is no space, in such an approach, for involving the large numbers of working people, whose interests the fascists threaten, in activity against right-wing extremism. Drawing on the experience of the struggle against fascism in Germany during the late 1960s and the 1970s, "Stoppt die Nazis" rejects this position and argues that it is possible both to confront the fascists



publicly and politically and draw wider sections of the population into activity around defence of their own interests. This is particularly true of workers who not only have a great deal to lose from the growth of right-wing extremist organisations but also collectively have a great potential power, based in the workplace, which can be directed against fascism. Halbauer and Mosler therefore emphasise the importance of already committed antifascists engaging in joint activity with the unions and SPD and especially their rank and file. (63)

Challenged by big counter-demonstrations when they try to march or rally, fascists lose several of their most important means of attracting support. The acceptability of their ideas is challenged when large numbers of people publicly demonstrate their hostility. The cultivated image of fascist strength, ability to intimidate political opponents and hence the credibility of their racist programs is deflated when they are unable to dominate the streets. Even massive moralistic displays of anti-racism or anti-fascism, such as the demonstrations in France over the last couple of years, cannot do this if they are removed in time or space from the fascists' attempts to rally support. But Halbauer and Mosler maintain the large anti-racist marches and rallies after Hoyerswerda indicate that a bigger anti-fascist movement with more effective tactics is possible. Subsequently 20,000 anti-fascists and anti-racists marched in Rostock shortly after the pogrom there. An anti-racist rally in Berlin on 8 November 1992 drew 350,000 people (64) and a 14 November mobilisation saw 200,000 demonstrate in Bonn against proposals to change the asylum article of the constitution.

Even more significant was the reaction to the Moelln outrage in late November 1992. (65) Starting with a protest of 10,000 in Moelln itself, a series of huge candle-lit demonstrations took place in German cities. In the period to the start of 1993 Munich saw a mobilisation of 300,000, Hamburg 250,000, Essen 300,000, Nuremberg 100,000. In Frankfurt 150,000 attended an anti-racist rock concert and a week later 100,000 demonstrated. In the east there were very large events in Berlin, Leipzig and Dresden. The Government subsequently banned several small storm trooper groups and the prospect of a counter-demonstration by 30 anti-racist groups led authorities to forbid a Republican rally in Otobergen. By late January the demonstrations reached Vienna. The protest in Austria was directed against Joerg Haider and his Freiheitliche Partei Österreich, which has similarities to the German Republicans but a greater political weight. These mobilisations briefly isolated the fascists, but they had significant weaknesses. First, they failed to generate sustained organisations or networks capable of involving even a significant minority of those who had mobilised on the streets. Secondly, by focusing on the contrast between neo-nazi violence and moralistic anti-racism, they let the "respectable fascists" off the hook. By March 1993, the wave of revulsion and mobilisation had largely subsided and the

Republicans, distancing themselves from the violent implications of their own policies, were able to win 8.3 of the vote in the local government elections in Hessen. Nevertheless, the demonstrations of December 1992-January 1993 and the more militant, though smaller ones which followed the Solingen murders underline Halbauer and Mosler's point that there is scope for organising a large and militant anti-fascist movement. Such a movement, to the extent that it identified both the Stiefel- and Wahlfaschisten as nazis and confronted their public appearances, could reduce their combined support from the present tens of thousands of thugs and hundreds of thousands of passive followers to a few handfuls of obsessed fanatics.

Footnotes:

1. For surveys of some of these developments see P. Hainsworth (ed) "The Extreme Right in Europe and the USA", Pinter, London 1992; Parliamentary Affairs 45(3) July 1992; G. Ford "Fascist Europe", Pluto, London 1992; F-W. Shlomann "Rechtsextremismus als internationales Phaenomen" in Bundesminister des Innern (BMI) Wehrhafte Demokratie und Rechtsextremismus Bonn 1992 pp107-124.

2. R. Stoess "Politics against Democracy: Right-wing Extremism in West Germany", Berg, Oxford 1991 pp xvi+272. Index. figures. Maps.

3. T. Assheuer and H. Sarkowicz "Rechtsradikale in Deutschland: Die Alte und die neue Rechte", C.H. Beck, Munich 1990 pp222. Index.

4. B. Siegler "Auferstanden aus Ruinen: Rechtsextremismus in der DDR" Edition Tiamat, Berlin 1991 pp191.

5. "Bundesminister des Innern Wehrhafte Demokratie und Rechtsextremismus" Bonn 1992 pp124.

6. W. Halbauer and V. Mosler "Stoppt die Nazis: Argumente fuer den Kampf gegen Rassismus und Faschismus Sozialistische Arbeitergruppe", Hannover 1991 pp49.

7. E. Jesse "Der Verfassungsauftrag der abwehrbereiten Demokratie: Theorie und Praxis" in BMI op. cit. p17. The theoretical basis for Jesse's approach is the concept of "totalitarianism". See U. Backes and E. Jesse "Totalitarismus und Totalitarismusforschung - zur Renaissance einer lange tabuisierten Konzeption", Jahrbuch Extremismus und Demokratie 1992 4 pp.7-27. Backes and Jesse have edited this academic journal, which embodies totalitarianism theory in its treatment of both left and rightwing extremism, mainly from conservative perspectives, and also publishes some material by senior officers of the Bundesamt fuer Verfassungsschutz, the domestic intelligence agency. They also produced the substantial three volume "Politischer Extremismus in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland Wissenschaft

und Politik", Koeln 1989.

8. Also see M. Schmidt "The New Reich: Violent Extremism in Unified Germany and Beyond", Pantheon, New York 1993 p9; this book draws on the experience of the author in producing the television film "Wahrheit macht Frei". One of those arrested for the firebomb murders in Solingen at the end of May 1993 was a member of the DVU.

9. An Appendix to Stoess's book provides interesting illustrations of the propaganda and preoccupations of several right-wing extremist organisations between 1953 and 1978. But they are, for some reason, untranslated.

10. H-H. Knueuer "Die Entwicklung des Rechtsextremismus in Deutschland" in BMI op. cit. pp46-49

11. Halbauer and Mosler pp41-43

12. ID-Archiv im ISSG (ed.) "Drahtzieher im braunen Netz: Der Wiederaufbau der NSDAP. Ein Handbuch des antifaschistischen", Autorenkollektivs Berlin Edition ID-Archiv, Berlin 1992 also draws on the research done in the preparation of the TV film Wahrheit macht Frei.

13. Halbauer and Mosler op. cit. pp43-44

14. Also see P. Koedderitzsch and L. Mueller "Rechtsextremismus in der DDR", Lamuv, Goettingen 1990 and Stern journalist Andreas Borchers's more sensationalist "Neue Nazis im Osten Belt", Quadriga 1992, which acknowledges an intellectual debt to Siegler.

15. Siegler op. cit. pp99-110, also see Assheuer and Sarkowicz op. cit. pp99-102 on "the cold war and former nazi officials".

16. Knuetter op. cit. pp56

17. Rosen "Bekaempfung des Rechtsextremismus durch wirtschaftliche Massnahme" in BMI op. cit. pp96-97

18. Siegler op. cit. p112

19. Halbauer and Mosler pp20-23

20. Siegler op. cit. pp120-137, Halbauer and Mosler op. cit. pp22-23

21. Siegler op. cit. pp74-88

22. Halbauer and Mosler op. cit. p45

23. H-G. Lange "Verfassungsschutz in der Demokratie - ein Instrument zur Sicherung des inneren Friedens" in BMI op. cit. pp30, 73

24. H. Sippel "Rechtsextremismus im vereinten Deutschland - Aktivitaeten und Tendenzen" in BMI op. cit. pp62

25. B. Schroeder "Rechte Kerle: Skinheads, Faschos, Hooligans", Rowohlt, Hamburg 1992 provides a lively and informative observations of groups of young rightwing extremists.
26. For a detailed account of the police debacle in Rostock see Der Spiegel 28-12-92 pp34-37.
27. For a recent account of the Government's campaign over the asylum law see Schmidt op cit. pp148-153. V. Pfaff "Die Scheindebatte" B. Nirumand (ed.) "Angst vor den Deutschen", Rowohlt, Hamburg 1993 pp170-192 provides a convincing critique of the Government's use of statistics in the course debates over political asylum.
28. Halbauer and Mosler op. cit. pp11-13
29. Der Spiegel 17-2-92 p21. Juergen Peters, spokesperson for the massive IG Metall union has made a similar point, Sydney Morning Herald 9-11-92 p13.
30. For an account of the nationality issue and the realities of the refugee intake see L. Hoffmann "Die unaufhaltbare Einwanderung: drei Grundirrtuemer der Asyldebatte" in Blaetter fuer deutsche und internationale Politik #12, 1991 pp1469-1481 and his "Die unvollendete Republik", PapyRossa Verlag, Koeln 1990
31. The CDU includes a right wing current, known as the Stahlhelm Fraktion (= steel helmet faction. The Stahlhelm was also the name of an extreme right wing ex-soldier's organisation during the Weimar Republic), whose members' political positions are often indistinguishable from those of the Republicans. The same applies to the right if the CSU, whence the founders of the Republicans came. See F. Oswald "Catch-all Party or Heterogenous Coalition?" paper presented at the Australasian Political Science Association Conference, Canberra 30 September-2 October 1992.
32. See Der Spiegel 25-11-91 and 26-10-92.
33. "Bundesminister des Innern Verfassungsschutzbericht", 1991, Bonn 1992 p72. This figure excludes the Republicans who claimed 25,500 members in 1989 and 24,000 in 1993, Der Spiegel 21/6/93 p59.
34. See, for example, Der Spiegel 21-6-93 pp58-59 on the Republicans' problems.
35. The second part of "Rechtsradikale in Deutschland" op. cit., by Sarkowicz, deals in some detail with the "New Right", an intellectual current modelled on its French namesake. Sarkowicz provides some insights into the internal structure of a particular "intellectual" current, without examining its wider political and organisational influence in German society or even the wider fascist milieu in any depth. H. J. Schwagerl, on the other hand questions the usefulness of the
- concept of a "new right", in the context of his systematic discussion of the characteristic themes of right-wing extremist thought and propaganda tactics in "Rechtsextremes Denken", Fischer, Frankfurt 1993 p15.
36. Lange op. cit. p30
37. Stoess op. cit. p208
38. Stoess "Politics against Democracy" pp212-213.
39. ibid. p214.
40. ibid. p217.
41. H-G. Jaschke "Rechtsextremismus im vereinten Deutschland - Einigen Thesen ueber Ursachen und Erscheinungsformen" in BMI op. cit. p217
42. ibid p 68.
43. Stoess op. cit. p235.
44. The general tenor of the liberal and social democratic analyses of the origins of racism and proposed responses in essays by Duve, Thierse, Bischoff-Pflanz, Geissler and especially Leggewie, an authority on rightwing extremism, in Nirumand op. cit. are similar to Stoess's. Maaz's contribution to this collection is an extreme example of an psychological explanation, focusing on the effects of authoritarian upbringing on individuals.
45. Jaschke op. cit. pp70-71.
46. K-H. Rosen op. cit. pp100-102.
47. H. Endlich R. Grix and K. Willberg "Extremismus, Radikalismus, Demagogie von rechts", Diesterweg, Frankfurt 1990.
48. Rosen op. cit. p197.
49. Thus Heinz-Peter Finke argues that "Society must give [young right-wingers] new hope for the future, above all a job, and then the chance to do something meaningful without using violence". (Stuttgarter Nachrichten 14-8-92, translated in German Tribune 28-8-92).
50. Die Zeit 14-8-92 translated in German Tribune 28-8-92.
51. See A. Merkel, Federal Minister for Women and Youth, "Jugendliche Gewaltbereitschaft und Rechtsextremismus, Ursachen, Formen Therapien" Bulletin of the Press and Information Office of the Federal Government #28 3-4-93 pp239-243 for explanations of racist violence which emphasise individual values and loss of orientation and a cocktail of countermeasures, all of which rely on the state.
52. Halbauer and Mosler op. cit. 40-41, also see Enzensberger's essay in the Nirumand op. cit. which contrasts the treatment of the left and rightwing extremists by the state.
53. See T. Leif and R. Fromm "Neonazis als Sozialarbeiter" Erziehung und Wissenschaft (magazine of the trade union which covers social workers) October 1992.
54. Siegler op. cit. p186.
55. ibid. pp7, 105-106, 111-112
56. K. Farin and E. Seidel-Pielen "Rechtsruck Rassismus in neuen Deutschland", Rotbuch Berlin 1993 pp102 and 114.
57. WirtschaftsWoche's 25-10-91 cover story argued that migrants make a significant net contribution to public income. This magazine is Germany's premier business weekly. Both a report from the Cologne Institute for the German Economy and the President of the Confederation of German Industry have subsequently offered positive assessments of the economic role of migrants in Germany, Rheinischer Merkur 23/10-92 translated in German Tribune 6/11/92.
58. Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany Information Service Canberra 24-9-92.
59. Sippel op. cit. pp76, Lange op. cit. p31. Jaschke uses the term in a somewhat different context op. cit. 65. For its connotations see Schroeder "Rechte Kerle" p213.
60. Stoess op. cit. p148.
61. ibid. p226.
62. Jesse op. cit. p16, Lange op. cit. p33, Knuette op. cit. p60.
63. Drazzieher im braunen Netz, from within the autonomist spectrum, also criticises the elitism of some antifascists and stresses the importance of people acting in their own interests. Its analysis, however, tends to overplay the significance of the Stiefel - as opposed to the Wahlfaschisten and the conscious encouragement of fascist activity by senior policy makers. The absence of the working class from the book's shopping list of elements which could contribute to building an antiauthoritarian and anticapitalist movement means that its conception of the struggle against fascism still excludes the involvement of the vast majority of the population.
64. The rally was organised by the Christian Democratic Union with an international audience in mind.
65. For the radical shift in public opinion, as reflected in opinion polls just before and after the Moelln attack, see Der Spiegel 7-12-92.

(From: "Debatte" 1(2) 1993 pp131-151)

Authorities bust Third Reich & roll GERMANY STOMPS SKINHEAD MUSIC

By Karrie Jacobs

HATE CRIME IS ON THE rise across Europe and America. In the last three years in the United States, 22 murders were allegedly committed by racist skinheads, according to the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. In Germany, where vicious attacks on non-Germans by neo-Nazi youths are practically a daily occurrence, the best orchestrated — and best publicized — police actions have targeted not the actual perpetrators but the rock bands whose music is said to inspire the violence.

Unlike the U.S., Germany has no First Amendment. Certain types of speech, perceived as dangerous or disruptive, are banned. There, an intelligence agency, the Office for the Protection of the Constitution, monitors skinhead bands, transcribing the lyrics so they can gather legal evidence.

Since the beginning of the year, the German police have staged regular raids, searching the homes of skinhead band members and a variety of record distributors. The first happened in January; 1,500 records and 250 CDs were seized in southwest Germany from businesses and private homes. A month later in a nationwide raid, records were confiscated from businesses such as Rock-o-Rama, a former punk label that mutated into Germany's most notorious publisher of fascist records. In mid-July the police raided the offices of the publishers of skinhead fanzines.

The bands routinely violate German laws forbidding the use of Nazi language and symbols and the spreading of propaganda that incites violence or racial hatred. And unlike the youths who beat up foreigners or burn down their houses, the bands are relatively easy to catch. As Graeme Arkinson, a Frankfurt-based editor of the British anti-fascist magazine *Searchlight*, puts it: "The bands are the most visible element on the scene. They're like a cucumber in a bag of strawberries."

Confiscating truckloads of recordings and fanzines has not made the fascist thugs magically disappear. However, the violence continues unabated. "[The raids] are not very dangerous for the skins," argues Michael "Moses" Arndt, the editor

of a well-established leftist German fanzine, ZAP. "The police say, 'Look, we are doing something.' In fact, they do nothing."

The most tangible result of the raids is what could be called a Hot 100 of skinhead songs: a long list of recordings banned for sale to those under 18, issued by a German government office called the Federal Examiner for Warning Which Endangers Youth.

Arndt and other music-industry sources claim that these police actions only turn the neo-Nazi band members into heroes. They insist that



from an earlier incarnation of their band called Giftgas (German for "poison gas").

Radikahl argued that they were just guys who like to play rock & roll. "We simply want to be a band," guitarist Peter U. said. "I'm only interested in the feel of the guitar," said guitarist Thomas S. The band members were convicted of spread-



Germany targets Störkraft (left), their fans (above) and skinhead albums (above, left) but also threatens leftist Rumble Militia (below).



the sales of a record by Störkraft (whose name means "disruptive force" and who are one of the best known skinhead bands) have multiplied tenfold to 50,000 since the raids began. (The number is impossible to verify, since neo-Nazi records, sold only by underground mail-order distributors, don't appear on industry charts.)

In March the band Radikahl was tried in their hometown of Nuremberg for "disseminating propaganda for organizations adverse to the state." At issue was the band's repeated performance of a song called "Hakenkreuz," which means "swastika." "Put the Nobel Prize on Adolf Hitler," lead singer Mandi W., 22, would sing. "Hoist the red flag with the swastika."

Radikahl members, in what has become a key legal strategy for such bands, denied that the song was really theirs. They testified that they picked it up, unthinkingly, the way one might lift a pen from someone else's desk,



ing propaganda but were only given fines ranging from about \$4,500 to \$6,700.

Some skinhead rockers were clever enough to start reinventing themselves well before their day in court. For example, in the May issue of a slick, neo-Nazi fanzine, *Moderne Zeiten* (Modern Times), Störkraft's Jörg Petritsch, who is notorious for leading his audience in the Nazi salute, claims that his legal problems (and bad press) can be blamed on his fans. They were the ones who had the brawls, cried "Sieg heil" and destroyed property while the band innocently played "songs against drugs and for friendship."

Petritsch reportedly tells fans, "Use

your brain, for talk is silver, and silence is gold." With this supposed message of tolerance, he could be sharing the lesson he learned from the police raids: Discretion pays off. In September, Petritsch was sentenced to two-years probation.

According to Cologne-based rock journalist Ralph Christoph, Petritsch got off easy because he told the judge he didn't want to sing about hate anymore. Christoph, who has co-authored a book on rock and politics in Germany, argues that xenophobia can't be solved through censorship because the extremist rock bands are only expressing, albeit crudely, anti-foreigner sentiments held by more mainstream elements of German society. He also points out that until recently censorship was used primarily against those with left-wing views. Those who speak out against the neo-Nazis are also subject to censorship.

"They are blind in the right eye," asserts Staffi Agoropoulos, the singer and guitarist of a thrash-metal band from Bremen, Rumble Militia. Agoropoulos says that the German government excuses the crimes of right-wing extremists and goes after leftists, such as the militant anti-fascists, who fight back.

Rumble Militia's latest CD is an outcry against neo-Nazi violence. The title song, "Wieviel Hass Wollt Ihr Noch?" ("How Much Hate Do You Still Want?"), lists the locations of the most infamous acts of skinhead terror and declares, "I've had enough!" It then challenges the skinheads with a question, "Why not throw Molotov cocktails at bigwigs?"

The CD was pressed in Norway and shipped back to Germany. In Hamburg, a customs officer read the lyrics on the back cover of the CD and called the special bureau which deals with left-wing terrorism. In June the police visited Robert Kampf, who runs Century Media Records-Germany in Dortmund, Rumble Militia's label at the time. According to Kampf, the police knew it would not be good publicity to prosecute a band for a song against skinhead violence so soon after a deadly arson attack by right-wing youths on a Turkish home in Solingen in May. Kampf recalls being told, "If you don't sell the album anymore, we don't make an issue."

"To call publicly for violence, that's what they said I did, and it's against the law," says Agoropoulos. Rumble Militia — consisting of Agoropoulos, who's Greek, a Turkish guitarist, a Bulgarian bassist and a German drummer — are the perfect multicultural retort to neo-Nazi rock, and they've been censored. Unlike Störkraft, Rumble Militia haven't learned to speak in code. "For the last time, we printed the lyrics on the cover," Agoropoulos says. "Maybe that was my fault." JJ



Neo-Fascist Fashion: Emblems of the New

By Steven Heller

The downfall of communism in Eastern Europe left a vacuum that a virulent nationalism is filling, replete with the old Nazi iconology.

For 75 years, the bannered emblems and icons of communism that waved in parades and draped public buildings in Moscow were inviolable. Their desecration was a criminal offense. Then, virtually overnight, they disappeared. With the startling collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, the hammer-and-sickle, dominant symbol of Bolshevik revolution and communist rule, was replaced throughout the Soviet sphere by flags and coats-of-arms dating back to pre-communist monarchies. In the absence of new images, these older ones provided a strong, if not archaic, alternative to the visual trappings of communist totalitarianism. Although some of the old symbols were as abhorrent in their day as the hammer-and-sickle had become, for a generation born under the Red Star it was better to identify with the vagaries of the old nationalism than the realities of decayed communism.

Other of the former Warsaw Pact countries replaced fealty to communism with nationalism, the latter synonymous with patriotism. Nationalism was a predictable refuge and a convenient way to channel decades' worth of seething resentments, allowing those who felt oppressed by the state to redirect their pent-up passions inward toward personal renewal. Yet, as the French writer André Gide once noted, "the nationalist has a broad hatred and a narrow love." And as the communist bloc fell apart, these components of nationalism soon evidenced themselves. The breakup of the Soviet republics, the partitioning of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, and the reunification of East and West Germany demonstrated that communism had only temporarily muted the concentrated tribal/nationalistic loyalties and prejudices that were naively believed to have been eradicated by World War II. Perhaps because of communism's stern measures to suppress ethnic and religious identification, the current revived nationalism exhibits the fierceness of a wild animal too long caged, suddenly let loose. The consequences can be deadly, as the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina attests.

Ironically, the same extreme nationalist rhetoric that helped propel the Nazis to power in the 1930s is a key ingredient of the nationalism of the 1990s. In this spirit, the swastika, and the emblems inspired by it, are being recycled in many former communist countries. In some, they have even been given legitimacy. Where the dismantling of communist apparatus has left chaos, the promise of a new order (a term associated with fascism) has great appeal. This resurgence of Nazi-inspired sym-



bols and regalia in Russia, Germany, and Eastern Europe is astonishing, given their historical connotations. That most of the groups, movements, and paramilitary militias adopting these images are on the radical fringe does not mean that they are ineffectual. As we have seen, they

1. Front page of The Russian New Order, a Pamyat ("memory") newspaper that supports the military overthrow of the Yeltsin government. The newspaper's emblem is that of the Russian National Unity Party and is a variation on the Nazi swastika.
2. This swastika emblem illustrated an anti-Semitic article in The New Russian Order.
3. Symbol on cover of anti-Semitic Pamyat pamphlet. Title of pamphlet translates roughly as "Yid."
- 4, 5. Front pages of Pamyat publications. In Fig. 5, Boris Yeltsin is represented as a "Yid."

Nationalism



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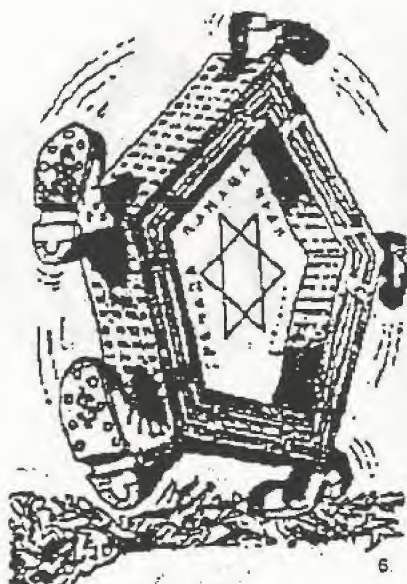
can be quite successful at fanning public resentment toward targeted minorities like foreigners and Jews.

Scapegoats are indigenous to nationalism, which feeds on grievance. While the Soviet Union, like Czarist Russia before it, was rife with anti-



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Semitism, there has emerged a new virulent strain among ultra-right-wing groups, who openly call for pogroms and ethnic cleansing. This well-organized mélange of monarchist, neo-fascist, and Pamyat ("memory") organizations openly hawked their ideology on the street until



НАРОДНОЕ ДЕЛО

НАРОДНО-СОЦИАЛЬНОЕ ДВИЖЕНИЕ

русское ВОСКРЕСЕНИЕ

№ 8/16

ГАЗЕТА РУССКОГО НАЦИОНАЛЬНО-ОСВОБОДИТЕЛЬНОГО ДВИЖЕНИЯ



Boris Yeltsin's October 1993 emergency decrees banned their activities. Polemical newspapers with the titles *Russia Arise*, *The Russian New Order*, and *People's Business* featuring heroic drawings of blackshirted Russian stormtroopers, anti-Semitic caricatures, and Adolf Hitler himself were prominently displayed at sidewalk tables throughout Moscow and St. Petersburg. Various iterations of the swastika, sometimes combined with historic Russian iconography, were also in full view. An American visitor to Moscow last summer reported that it was impossible to walk a block without running into at least one of these displays.

While the long-term political objectives of Russian fascist groups is unclear, their immediate mission is stated in their literature: They are massing their forces and training their bodies for "when the power comes." The largest, though most factionalized, right-wing group is the Pamyat organization dedicated to preserving and recalling a past that it claims the communists have rewritten. While some of its factions deny fascist leanings, and rather than the swastika have adopted the double-headed Czarist eagle as their symbol, others are visibly tied to the Nazis through their regalia, including black shirt, leather shoulder strap and belt, combat boots, and swastika armband. The Pamyat swastika combines an ancient Russian design with the hooked cross, similar to that used by their antecedents, the Russian fascists, who emerged in 1939 after the signing of the Nazi-Soviet Pact and were purged by Stalin only after the Nazis invaded Russia in 1941. Today's Pamyat membership includes former members of a youth gang known as the *lyubery* (named for a dangerous low-rent suburb of Moscow), whose mission, in the words of one, is "ridding Russia of the Jews, the Chechens, the Georgians, the Tatars, the Armenians and the other black asses." In an interview in the *Moscow Guardian*, another member admitted, "I became a fascist to help revive Great Russia. It's been turned into an American colony by the Yids and the Masons. We'd never have allowed the Americans to meddle in our lives—and we'll make the Yankee go home!"

The most militant of the Pamyat factions have adopted many Nazi slogans and icons. "He who puts on a black shirt today pledges allegiance to the homeland and the nation with the words *Russia or Death*," states an anonymous Pamyat member in an article titled "About Russian Nationalism, or Why We Wear Black Shirts" that appeared in a 1992 pamphlet. In their appropriation of the black shirt (originally adopted in 1922 as the uniform of the Italian fascists) and the red, white, and black swastika armband, they are returning to the 1930s when shirt colors delineated fascist groups in Germany (brown), Ireland (blue), and the U.S. (gold). They are also recalling the period when graphic emblems were considered powerful weapons and variations of blood-and-iron symbols like the Nazi swastika and Italian *fasci* were adopted in Rumania (the iron cross), Croatia (the *U* for Ustashi), and even Switzerland (a nazified variation of the Swiss cross). Russian fascist graphics are further modeled on the heroic realism of the Third Reich.

Other Russian right-wing "liberation movements" have adopted kindred images. Some have revived Czarist and pre-Czarist symbols; others combine the Nazi swastika with the Russian Orthodox cross. The St. Petersburg Men's Club, which publishes *People's Business*, uses the Imperial double-headed eagle in which is inset a hooked cross resembling a Nautilus scepter. The Russian National Unity organization, which publishes an anti-Semitic newspaper titled *Family* (referring to the family of Russia), uses a twisted variation of the letter *Y*, akin to a distorted swastika.

Russia is hardly alone in its fascist resurgence. Since its reunification, Germany has been the scene of neo-Nazi violence against foreigners (mostly Turkish immigrants, but also citizens from Eastern bloc countries who had fled before the fall of communism). The perpetrators of



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6. Anti-American cartoon from Pamyat pamphlet asserts that U.S. military is dominated by Israel.

7. Masthead of People's Business, a fascist newspaper that employs the Czarist double-headed eagle as its logo.

8. Masthead of Russia Arise, a fascist newspaper that incorporates both the Nazi swastika and the Russian Orthodox cross.

9. Front page of Family, with swastika-inspired emblem. The headline over the Jewish caricatures reads: "Invitation to the Sale of Russia."

10. This variant of the swastika is worn by members of outlawed German group Aktionsfront Nationaler Sozialisten.

11. Symbol of the neo-Nazi German student group Bundes Nationaler Studenten.

12. This symbol used by the Aktionsfront Nationaler Sozialisten/ Nationaler Aktivisten adapts the lightning-bolt S of the Hitler Youth. 13. Members of the Bundes Nationaler Studenten and the allied workers' party Freien Deutschen Arbeiterpartei at a rally outside Munich, 1992. Their emblems include the Odalrune shoulder patch and the gearworks similar to that of the Nazi worker brigades.

14. Members of the neo-Nazi Wehrsportgruppe Hoffmann wearing the SS death's-head insignia on their caps (not clearly seen here) during military exercises in 1978 on the property of their leader and financial backer Karl-Heinz Hoffmann. The group was banned in 1980. Photo: UPI.



15.

these assaults, called skinheads, are typically disaffected young working-class men primarily from the former East Germany. Their terrorist actions are not unlike those of their brown-shirted forebears in the early days of the Nazi party, and are supported by organized neo-Nazi groups. Before reunification, small, well-armed, right-wing paramilitary groups posing as sports and hunting clubs existed in West Germany in defiance of federal law. The leaders of the new generation of storm troopers, many of whom seem to have no sense of what National Socialism was, come from these older outlawed political groups. In a public show of solidarity, the American Ku Klux Klan announced it was providing "advisers" in the art of street brawling to their German fascist counterparts.

Since 1946, when the swastika was outlawed by German constitutional law, fascist groups have had to adopt new symbols and regalia. Black shirts have been replaced by light blue or gray ones, worn over black pants. The National Front marches under the Imperial flag last used during World War I; members wear shoulder patches with a symbol that looks more like the AIDS ribbon than a swastika. This diamond with feet, called an Odalrune, is also the mark of the Bundes Nationaler Studenten (BNS), a neo-fascist organization based on the Hitler Youth. Other outlawed groups that echo Nazi Germany are Volkssozialistischen Bewegung Deutschlands/Partei der Arbeit, whose symbol resembles a gun sight, and Aktionsfront Nationaler Sozialisten/Nationaler Aktivisten and Jungen Front, both of which sport symbols that resemble the lightning bolt or S used by the SS.

The German government, which had been accused of treating right-wing violence too lightly, has banned neo-Nazi organizations from demonstrating publicly. Three groups—The National Front, The Deutscher Alternativ, and The New Front—who together were blamed for over 1800 criminal acts against foreigners in 1992 alone, have been placed under surveillance by Germany's Federal Office for Protection of the Constitution. "Whoever thinks that they can change our land with a climate of intimidation and fear, they are fooling themselves," said German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. And yet, according to observers, before The Deutscher Alternativ party was banned, it had gained considerable power at the local level, particularly in eastern German towns near the Polish border, where widespread unemployment has been exacerbated by the illegal entry of foreigners.

Because neo-Nazis are prohibited from exhibiting inflammatory iconography, the propagation of their faith often comes through music, which is protected under the constitution. The driving, pounding discordances of German hate-rock songs have moved fans of neo-Nazi rock, known as "Oi musik," into the streets to vent their resentments. A band called Böhse Onkelz (Evil Uncles) had one of its songs reach number five on the German pop charts. Störkraft (Destructive Force), a Düsseldorf-based skinhead band, has made television appearances, although it is careful not to air its most popular lyrics, which advocate violence against Turks and others. According to the New York Times, "Oi music's allure appears strongest in formerly Communist lands of East Europe, where the economic and social structures that young people grew up with collapsed almost overnight. . . ." The Times also reports that some East European bands make the German groups seem benign. In Hungary, which does not appear to have suffered as much transitional turmoil as other Eastern bloc countries, a band called Cigany Pusztító Garda (Gypsy Destroyers Guard Regiment) openly displays Hungary's World War II fascist emblem and plays to packed houses with songs like "Gypsy-Free Zone," whose lyrics are:

The flame-thrower is the only weapon

With which I can triumph.

Exterminate the Gypsies.

Whether child, woman, or man.

In war-ravaged Yugoslavia, the Croatian fascist paramilitary group known as Ustashi (meaning "stand up," as for the cause) is a government-sanctioned combatant. During World War II, Ustashi was a black-shirted Croatian fascist party whose leader, Dr. Ante Pavelić, ran the country as a puppet regime for the Nazis. Since the breakup of Yugoslavia in 1992, and the recognition of Croatia (first by Bonn) as an independent nation, the U symbolizing Ustashi has also re-emerged as a semi-official emblem for military irregulars. Photographic stickers of Dr. Pavelić's official portrait have also been "unofficially" pasted onto government vehicles and army weapons. In addition, swastikas, which were never outlawed in Yugoslavia, have appeared on walls in combat areas and on uniforms of paramilitary combatants. In Zagreb, the Croatian capital, black-shirted auxiliary police help patrol the streets and occupy a headquarters building (commandeered from the local society of graphic artists) in the center of the city.

The upsurge of nationalism in Eastern Europe, with its consequent turmoil, can be seen as inevitable, given the sudden disappearance, almost into thin air, of the all-controlling ideology that for many years had held the region in its grip. Vacuums, after all, are meant to be filled. The fact that a heavy dose of fascist ideology has accompanied the nationalist revival may also be seen as inevitable—which makes it no less disturbing a development. The Nazi-inspired emblems and icons now being defiantly displayed in public in Russia, Germany, Croatia, and other countries of the region, suggest that the new fascist acolytes enthusiastically accept the tenets and philosophy of a regime that embraced racism and genocide as viable instruments of policy. Members of these organizations flaunt their graphic symbols under the eyes of authorities who may be either hostile to their purposes or sympathetic. In either case, the symbols are meant to intimidate and terrorize. Just like in the 1930s.

Steven Heller is co-author with Louise Fili of Dutch Moderne: Graphic Design from De Stijl to Deco and Italian Art Deco: Graphic Design Between the Wars (Chronicle Books).

1. A young member of the Afrikaner Resistance Movement in Krugersdorp, South Africa, carries a banner with the AWB emblem. The slogan on the banner (not shown) reads "We claim our fatherland."
 20. T-shirt design worn by a white supremacist at a neo-Nazi rally in Georgia.
 21-24. Symbols of U.S. white supremacist groups: White Aryan Resistance (Fig. 21), American Front (Fig. 22), National Front (Fig. 23), and the Ku Klux Klan (Fig. 24).

25. Ku Klux Klan men at a recruitment drive in Ocean City, Maryland, 1992. Photo: AP.
 26. Symbol of Aryan Nations, a U.S. group, borrows its design from Nazi heraldry.
 27. Another U.S. group, Supreme White Power, uses a swastika composed of axes. Ironically, this image was originally an anti-Nazi emblem designed by John Heartfield in 1934.
 28. Symbol of the Federation Fasciste Suisse, dating from 1936, has currently been revived by the Swiss Neo-Nazi Front Patriotique.



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World Class Icons: Blood and Iron



Eastern Europe is not the only part of the world where neo-fascism has stirred to life—just the most currently conspicuous. And wherever its adherents are found, one can also find the familiar emblems and icons: black shirt and swastika or other hooked-cross variants.

In June 1993, when armed members of the South African Afrikaner Resistance Movement (AWB) stormed their way into the Johannesburg World Trade Center where negotiations concerning the end of white-dominated rule were in progress, they were all wearing swastika-inspired emblems composed of three 7s in a circle surrounded by a red field. The attack was repelled, but the blatant symbol with its Nazi connotations portends a difficult future when majority rule becomes a reality.

Racist and hate groups in the U.S. are also aware of the value and power of symbols. These groups use evocative emblems both to distinguish between themselves and to signify their goals. The Ku Klux Klan uses a cross on which a symbolic drop of blood is inset, suggesting an amalgam of martyrdom, brotherhood, and terror. WAR (White Aryan Resistance), of Fallbrook, California, uses a skull and crossbones with an eye-patch (a perversely comic Jolly-Roger version of the SS death's head) on a heraldic shield to indicate the guerrilla nature of this group, whose skinheads are trained in urban violence. The Aryan Nation's symbol carves through an expanded N with a sword, on which lies a crown set on a heraldic shield that emits rays suggesting religious roots (not unlike the Nazi NSV symbol). The American Front weds a gun-sight with its initials; though awkwardly designed, the emblem clearly indicates the group's preferred means of redress.

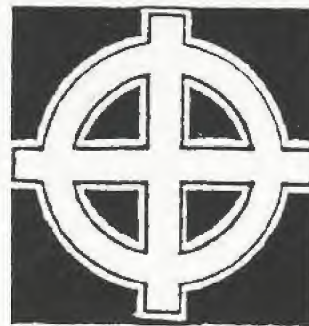
The propagation of American fascism comes in many forms. WAR publishes a newspaper that advertises "Racist Video Tapes," "Suggested Reading for Aryans," and "Blood and Honor Merchandise." Among the merchandise offered are the usual swastika patches and pins, but also one rather ironic item: One of the swastikas in the package is appropriated from John Heartfield's famous anti-Nazi collage published in 1934, "The Old Motto in the 'New Reich': Blood and Iron," showing four axes forming a swastika. In its day, it was an indictment



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of a bloodthirsty regime; today, it has apparently been co-opted by a segment of the American ultra-right as a badge of honor.

It might come as a surprise to learn that even Switzerland—benign, pacific, perpetually neutral Switzerland—harbors a neo-fascist movement. During World War II, a small political party called the Federation Fasciste Suisse was allied with Italy's fascists. Its symbol, a nazified variation of the national Swiss cross, is currently used by the Front Patriotique, an organization with ties to national fronts in England, France, and Belgium.—SH



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THE CHURCH OF THE CREATOR IS A US
WHITE SUPREMACIST GROUP THAT SELLS
HATRED TO THE MASSES. AUSTRALIANS
ARE AMONG ITS DISCIPLES.

BEYOND THE FRINGE

By Sarah Henry

GOOD WEEKEND APRIL 9, 1994

RICK MCCARTY favours business attire: tan briefcase, navy blazer, white shirt, pressed trousers and vibrant red tie with a fish-hook pattern — a fashionable motif, no doubt, on Florida's Gulf Coast.

McCarty, a former Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh devotee and a self-described psychotherapist, claims to have a doctorate in philosophy from an East Coast university he won't name. He appears most comfortable, however, talking in the jargon of a marketing mogul.

What he's selling, McCartney says excitedly, is "like Coca-Cola. As far as positioning [it's] No. 1." But the product is nowhere near as innocuous as soft drink.

McCarty is the proud peddler of prejudice. He is the current leader of an international white supremacist group called the Church of the Creator (COTC) — "The only racist religion known to mankind right now", as the businessman is wont to boast. McCartney's official title is Pontifex Maximus (Latin for "high priest"), though in keeping with his preference for corporate culture, he prefers the title of executive director. He says it makes "the whole thing a bit more acceptable and recognisable".

The COTC espouses a race-based religion known as Creativity, which worships Nature — not a higher God — and is "dedicated to the survival, expansion and advancement of the white race". It is virulently anti-Semitic, racist and, unlike most white supremacist groups, anti-Christian as well.

Church of the Creator dogma dictates that a racial holy war, or RAHOWA in COTC parlance, must ensue to rid the world of "parasitical Jews" and the so-called "mud races" (coloured people). A "Jewish conspiracy", according to the COTC, controls the US government, international banking and global media.

McCarty took over the Church of the Creator in January 1993, and readily concedes that his mission is to make it



Marketing prejudice: the Church of the Creator is big business.

profitable. Asked if there is anything unique about running a business that preaches hatred of Jews and ethnic minorities, he responds: "It's all the same thing. It doesn't really matter. It's just a different commodity."

Long a bit player in the already marginal world of white supremacists, the Church of the Creator has recruited heavily since the late '80s — and with some success. McCartney brags of a following in the thousands, including members throughout the US and in 37 countries, with strong chapters in Germany, South Africa and Sweden.

The group also has a modest following in Australia. McCartney won't reveal how many Australian COTC devotees there are — or their names or where they live. What he will say is this: "We don't have a big group over in Australia, but they are very racially aware down

there," McCartney adds that Australian supporters regularly contribute items to the COTC's newspaper, *Racial Loyalty*. They send us a lot of newspaper clippings. In fact, a lot of the anti-Christian stuff comes from Australia." He says the COTC prints between 20,000 and 40,000 copies of the monthly propaganda sheet, and that Australian members are among its subscribers.

White supremacist watchdogs say McCartney's numbers are inflated. They estimate the church's following in the hundreds, not thousands, which accords with statistics on hate groups: there are some 25,000 active white supremacists in the US. But the COTC has been especially successful in reaching the most active, impressionable and violent disciples of the hate movement: young, racist skinheads.

Numbers don't tell the whole story. Indeed, the group's real strength may lie not in signing up supporters, but in pumping out propaganda with a powerful message. They're dangerous in that they influence young kids," explains Danny Welch, director of Klanwatch, an Alabama-based organisation that monitors hate-group activities. "The No. 1 reason why we go after the COTC," adds Welch, "is because they instil violence in people through their rhetoric."

The COTC membership is so violent that the group has leaptfrogged to the top of the list of organisations that Klanwatch tracks — superseding the Ku Klux Klan in the South, California-based White Aryan Resistance and Aryan Nations, based in Idaho.

THE MOST obvious sign of the group's higher profile is the growing list of criminal acts committed by its followers. The group has an international prison-based "brotherhood", many of whom are doing time for racially motivated crimes. In a June 1991 letter to Chris Bartle, a COTC "reverend" in Fremantle prison in Western Australia, a US colleague wrote: "We are sure that ... you will do everything possible to spread the great pro-White ideas of Creativity in Australia. Please let us know how we can help you in that supremely important mission."

Bartle was one of six members of the Australian Nationalists Movement convicted in September 1990 for crimes against minorities. The ANM, a neo-Nazi group intent on driving Asians and Aborigines out of Australia, was responsible for 159 crimes including the bombing of five Chinese restaurants in Perth.

COTC members have been linked to terrorist conspiracies and violence including murder — against minorities

both in the US and overseas. In July, 1992, a Florida jury convicted George Loeb, a COTC minister, of murdering Harold Mansfield, an African-American who had served in the Gulf War. Loeb shot Mansfield after a car park argument. And at least five of the COTC's Canadian members have been arrested on charges ranging from kidnapping to assault.

Last July, a skinhead who recently pleaded guilty to firebombing an office of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, in Washington State, confessed he was a COTC minister. Along with two other white supremacists, the COTC supporter intended to start a race war on a battleground ranging from Oregon to the US-Canadian border. The trio also planned to murder black rap artists Ice-T and Ice Cube and to bomb synagogues and military installations.

Also in July, two Southern California residents associated with the COTC were arrested on weapons charges in conjunction with a Federal undercover sting that revealed a separate skinhead plot to kill Rodney King and other prominent black and Jewish people. As part of the covert operation, the FBI infiltrated the COTC.

Ironically, the COTC's emergence as a big-league player in global racist circles coincides with potentially self-destructive growing pains. The group has been embroiled in leadership struggles and faces financial uncertainty, as well as mounting scrutiny by law-enforcement officials and hate-group monitors.

COTC elders, however, are confident they have provided a basic framework of beliefs for a younger generation of racists, who are encouraged to start a worldwide white revolution on their own. Church of the Creator founder Ben Klassen implored his young followers to "pursue our goal with a militancy, energy and dedication that will drive our congenital enemies into oblivion".

For more than two decades, Klassen, an immigrant from Ukraine who lived first in Florida and then in North Carolina, was the driving force behind the Church of the Creator. Although not considered a charismatic leader, Klassen wrote more than 15 books, including the organisation's three sacred texts: *The White Man's Bible*, *Nature's Eternal Religion* and *Salubrious Living*, a guide to healthy habits for white warriors.

Although Klassen didn't know it at the time, his propaganda would later position the COTC as a frontrunner in the new world order of racism. Some of his books are considered classics in today's white-power movement, and *Racial Loyalty* is regarded as "good" hate literature both in the US and

abroad, where such publications are hard to come by or illegal.

The paper has features such as "Cupid's Corner", a matchmaking service for COTC members in the US, Europe, Australia and South Africa who are looking for the right (white) mate. "White Men and Women, be fruitful and multiply! This planet is all ours!" And it includes letters from supporters all over the world, including correspondence from "Robert in Australia", who writes: "We have a good group that is responsive to the Creativity philosophy. We would love to become ministers of the COTC, can you send us a couple of copies of your ministerial applications?"

Klassen, who in public appearances sported a painted-on, Hitler-style moustache, committed suicide last August. Speculation surrounding his suicide has swelled in recent months. Some say Klassen feared a lawsuit in the wake of violent crimes committed by COTC members. Others contend it was simply a matter of his life's work being done, as Klassen's gravestone makes clear: **HE GAVE THE WHITE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD A POWERFUL RACIAL RELIGION OF THEIR OWN.**

Just months before he killed himself, Klassen picked out of the blue Dr Rick McCarty, as he prefers to be known, as the new COTC leader. McCarty runs the COTC "world headquarters" from a town with the unlikely name of Niceville, Florida.

It is apparent this Pontifex Maximus is far from being a fire-breathing racist. McCarty confesses he doesn't have "a good, solid answer" for why he even leads the organisation. His main motivation seems to be in marketing hate to the masses - especially a younger, consumer-driven audience.

He has trademarked the church's name, emblem and rallying cry, RAHOWA. McCarty calls the COTC's symbols powerful marketing tools that must be protected. He sells the group's books, T-shirts, stickers and other paraphernalia.

As a true believer in the wonders of the marketplace, if nothing else, McCarty sees a future in capitalising on Klassen's death.

"You know, most religions don't get off the ground until their founder dies," he says. "That's when they really take off. I see the COTC as a religion that's not quite there yet. It needs a soul. But a lot of times a founder of a religion leaves an open window when they die. You can make mythical heroes out of them when they're gone."

Sarah Henry, an Australian, is a staff writer at the Center for Investigative Reporting in San Francisco.

Fascism in France

The rise of the extreme right in France has been marked over the last ten years by the dramatic rise of the Front National (FN), led by Jean-Marie Le Pen, who has made a name for himself across Europe as the man who dares to say what other fascists were only thinking. He has built his reputation as the „reasonable voice“ of the extreme right, presenting himself in a suit as a national populist who speaks for the people. This makes him possibly the most dangerous man in Europe at the moment, and his style has influenced every other serious fascist leader in Europe from Germany's Schönhuber to Belgium's Filip de Winter.

However, the FN isn't the only fascist party in France. There are several others of note, plus the Nazi skinhead movement is currently undergoing something of a revival. In this article we will give a general picture of the main forces in French fascism at present, followed by an analysis of the anti-fascist opposition.

Le Pen is still here

With 12.9% of the vote, the FN took third place in the national elections of April 1993. While they lost their only parliamentary seat, against all expectations, this was the best ever result in a national election for them. It is hard to predict if their vote will continue to rise further, but one thing is certain - the FN is here to stay.

At regional level, the FN is more securely established - they now have 239

representatives in the regional parliaments (compared to 137 seats in 1986). Even if the total of votes for the FN is less than Jean Marie Le Pen collected in the presidential elections of 1988 (14.4%), these elections demonstrate that the FN is fully established in all regions. In some like Alsace (17%), Provence Alpes Cotes d'Azur (23%) and Paris region (16%) they were the second party, beating the Socialist Party. In some towns like Nice, Perpignan, Vaulx-en-Velin (suburb of Lyon) and Mantes-la Jolie (Paris suburb) the FN took more than 30% of the vote which puts them in a position to take over the town halls in the next municipal elections in 1995.

The FN generally obtain their best score in the working class towns and working class neighbourhoods in middle class towns. The proportion of the vote is high amongst workers and lower middle class employees (19% of them vote FN, according to the post-election polls) and artisans and businessmen (16% vote FN). These figures show the different social classes attracted by the FN:

- a working class electorate, formed of the underclasses, and generally living on the big housing estates, who previously have voted for the left. It is notable that more workers now vote for the FN than either the Socialist Party or the Communist Party (11% of workers vote Communist, 19% for FN).
- a middle class electorate, reactionaries living generally in city centres or districts close to the housing estates. These classes voted previously for the traditional

right wing parties (Conservatives etc).

As well as the FN taking nearly 13% in the recent elections, this is their current state of play - they are estimated to have 30,000 militants, that are active members of the party, many of whom have backgrounds in more violent fascist groups of the past. They have 237 regional and over 600 local representatives on the municipal councils. They own a chunk of the media - the daily newspaper *Present*, two weekly newspapers, *National Hebdo* and *Minute*, plus a Parisian radio station, *Radio Le Pen*. Additionally, there are around fifty „fringe“ groups - professional circles, clubs and associations which are directly linked to or close to the FN.

Thus we can see that the FN is indeed a potent force in French society, with roots in every section.

An interesting facet of the Le Pen Phenomenon has been his ability to draw in to the party fascists of almost every persuasion and unite them his banner - pagans, Catholic fundamentalists, National Socialists, Nazis old and new, wartime collaborators, hardline Conservatives, National Bolsheviks, New Right and even ultra liberals. The effect of this has been to severely weaken the rest of the extreme right groups in France.

The state of the Rest of the French Extreme Right

Nouvelle Resistance (New Resistance): their orientation is terrorist/strasserite/national Bolshevik. This group was formed from a split from the more traditional *Troisième Voie* (Third Way, which is no longer particularly important now that their leader Jean Gilles Malliarakis has quit to work with the FN although he stopped short of joining them). *Nouvelle Resistance* is gaining in influence in eastern Europe, although it remains small.

PNFE (French and European Nationalist Party): a neo-Nazi group which in 1988 carried out a bombing campaign in the south of France. This group successfully infiltrated and took over one of the top trade unions for the police, the *FPIP*. They

have close links with the FN but were in a period of decline until recently.

FANE (Nationalist European Fascists): a mere shadow of its former self this nazi terrorist organisation is now thought to have as little as ten members, and producing an irregular newsletter. A recent development has seen them and the **PNFE** meeting together, and a merger is expected to be announced shortly.

Other groups: most of the other French fascist groups remain small or in decline, while still capable of carrying out the odd terroristic attack or producing propaganda. Nearly all of them have links of some sort with the FN.

Skinheads

The nazi skinhead movement in France reached a peak in the late 1980s, when it was estimated to have around 2.000 adherents. After that it went into a period of decline, and we now think there are only around 500 Skinheads left. One of the reasons for this decline was hatred of skinheads by the police who took every opportunity to harass them, additionally, skinhead was for many just a style to follow for a few years, and these people left the movement.

The most famous fascist skin in France is **Serge Ayoub**, known as **Batskin**. He has been a key leader for a number of years, and recently has been involved in the attempted revival of the nazi skinheadscene here, for instance developing links with *Blood and Honour* (GB), *Deutsche Alternative* (BRD) and *Veneto Fronte Skinhead* (I) amongst others. He opened a shop in Paris in September 1992 called **Darkside**, which sold skinhead clothes and records, plus illegal nazi memorabilia. In June 1993 the shop was bombed by unknown people and it is out of action for the present. Ayoub also produces several skinzines and has his own political party, the *Jeunesses Nationalistes Révolutionnaires*.

The word skinhead in French refers only to nazi skins, as over 95% of French skins are involved in fascism. The French section of **SHARP** collapsed several years ago, and the number of redskins (leftwing skins) remains tiny.

Conclusions

After more than 12 years of Francois Mitterand as President, there is no need to underline that the political situation has worsened. Incapable of satisfying the

needs of the poorest French, of resolving the problems of 3 million unemployed, abandoning the union ground and local work in favour of the profit of the big institutions, the government and Socialist Party, with "liberal" economic politics, permitted the FN to firmly establish itself. Even more than that the FN has become a dangerous force for French society, the socialist government attempted to use the FN to divide the right - for example, by re-establishing the proportional ballot. This strategy has failed for the moment - if the FN attracts votes away from the conservative parties, it also attracts votes away from the left. The socialist government set up a policy of restriction on immigration, strengthening the police and administration of the exclusion policy, which instead of reducing support for the FN, merely reinforced it. The eruption and establishment of a racist and authoritarian political party has brought a shift to the right across the whole French society, and has created a complete consensus of all the French political parties on the stopping of immigration and the training of police. The recent victory by the right in the April 1993 national elections has worsened the Situation. New laws have been rapidly introduced, restricting immigration and nationality rights and increasing police powers. The new Interior Minister **Charles Pasqua** is a hardliner bordering on the fascist, although he hates the FN. His latest idea is to deport illegal immigrants on specially commandeered trains, disgustingly reminiscent of the 1940s when the French collaboration government deported French Jews to Nazi Germany and the death camps by train. Opposition to this move is strong though, especially among railworkers, and it will be hard for the government to implement this.

Anti-Fascism in France

After a long absence from the anti-fascist, since the 1992 regional election campaign - people began helping to mobilize against the fascists. We have pinpointed three types of people involved in the anti-fascist movement.

-an "electoral" current, linked to the socialist party, like the "demonstrate against the FN" campaign of socialist MP **Cambadélis**, the aim being to form a republican front against the FN. This group refused to criticise the government. But these organizations seek at all costs unity with the maximum number of organizations at the risk of watering down their politics. The opposition to the FN is

made according to its values, its humanism and not on social grounds.

-the radical anti-fascist current, born in 1984 out of the **SCALP** and other collectives of which we are a part, and which is the smallest, but perhaps the most important. Our opposition to the FN is concentrated on street activities, organising demos against FN meetings and rallies in various cities. For us the struggle against the FN is accompanied by the struggle against social exclusion, for equality between the French and immigrants - the only possible responses to curb the progression of the FN amongst the people. This is evident by the denunciation of government policies, because for us, "the danger is not only that **Le Pen** is coming to power, but that so many of his ideas are already here".

REFLEX

REFLEX (Network for Studies, Information and Action Against the Extreme Right and Xenophobia) was created in June 1988, when different collectives working on the extreme and immigration issues linked up to pool resources and information. In 7 years we have published 39 issues of our magazine "Reflexes" which informs on the extreme right, immigration and Europe. We have also organized some demonstrations of which one was on Europe, two on murders by the police and three First of May demos against the FN. We also participate in the **National Anti-Fascist Network** of militant groups, which publishes a monthly infobulletin called **No Pasaran**.

Our links with other militant anti-fascist groups across Europe are good and we continue to build on these foundations, having created a **Europe Commission** whose mandate is to liaise with other groups abroad, to report on fascism in other countries in our magazine and to disseminate information abroad on the situation in France. We welcome contact with other groups, and can provide speakers for public meetings.

Reflex: 14 Rue de Nanteuil, 75015 Paris, France

Tel: (Paris) 42 50 99 43 Fax: (Paris) 45 31 64 37

The International Links of the Front National

In the autumn of 1984 the FN, the Italian MSI and a Greek Neo Fascist MP formed a group in the European Parliament called "The Group of the European Right". This allowed them to participate in Parliamentary Commissions, to have access to information and to use the Parliament's printing and distribution facilities. (451) It also made available to them considerable amounts of money.

In early 1987 the Group was strengthened by the addition of Ulster Unionist MEP John Taylor, bringing its total strength up to seventeen. (452)

During the autumn of 1984 Le Pen made trips to various west European countries seeking to strengthen links with extreme right wing and anti immigration groups. He was in Belgium at the invitation of Roger Nols, he also approached the Liberal Christian Party, some of whose members, inspired by Le Pen, went on to create the Belgian Front National. (453) (227)

Also that autumn he met in Antwerp with members of Flemish ultra right groups such as Were Di, (ibid) who in their monthly journal Diestland Europa have stated that a race disappears when the composition of its blood changes, and have deemed blood to be the foundation of white European culture and creativity. (561) The fear of debasement of blood and race is a common theme in Mein Kampf.

He also travelled to Lausanne, Freiburg and Zurich, and in Geneva was guest of Action Nationale. (ibid)

At the end of 1984 the far right group strengthened its profile through a conference in Greece headed by Jean Marie Le Pen, which ended with a joint statement calling for the release from prison of former members of the Greek junta (see below).

The conference also launched the "European Friendship Front", with the aim of bringing together the European Far right. Already made up of the Greek EPEN, the Italian MSI and the French Front National the objective was to gain the adherence of similar groups in other countries.

The secretary of this group set up at a conference headed by Le Pen, Jean-Marc Brissaud, is a hardliner formerly of Ordre Nouveau (banned in the Seventies for its violence) who then moved on to the Parti des Forces Nouvelles, and was involved in another pan European organisation, l'Europe des Patries, comprised of the Parti des Forces Nouvelles, the Spanish Fuerza Nueva and the MSI. (454) (455).

Of these three groups the least well known is the

Spanish Fuerza Nueva (New Force) led by Blas Pinar, whose members as well as attending a religious mass for "the repose of the soul of Adolf Hitler", and smothering the walls of certain parts of Madrid with graffiti and posters proclaiming "The holocaust is a Zionist lie", have raised their arms in fascist salutes and cheered to the rafters the speeches of dedicated Nazi and ex SS officer Leon Degrelle, Belgium's most wanted Nazi collaborator, who has often been invited to address rallies of the Fuerza Nueva. (571)

In addition Fuerza Nueva has been responsible for a horrendous catalogue of violence and murder.

For instance the head of security of Fuerza Nueva organised the kidnapping and murder of a nineteen year old girl opponent.

At the same time several members of Fuerza Nueva, including some of Blas Pinar's personal bodyguard, were dragged from court giving the Nazi salute and singing the fascist anthem "Cara al Sol" after being convicted of the mass murder of five people and shooting four others in what became known as the Antocha massacre. (456) (457) (458) (459) (460) (461) (462)

Neither his association with Fuerza Nueva nor any of the other groups, nor his personal political history, served to jeopardise Jean-Marc Brissaud's choice as leader of the FN's European Friendship Front in the eyes of Le Pen or the others.

Indeed the connection goes much further for the Fuerza Nueva later reconstituted itself as the Frente Nacional - FN, or Front National, and at the constitutional meeting of the new party Blas Pinar was accompanied by MSI general secretary Giorgio Almirante and Jean Marc Brissaud. (572)

However most significant of all is the fact that the closing event of Frente Nacional's election campaign on 8th June 1987 was attended by Nino Tripodi, then president of the MSI, and by Jean Marie Le Pen himself. (573)

After the 1989 Euro-elections the Group of the European Right was joined by the German Republikaner Party and the Belgium Vlaams Blok, who had made spectacular breakthroughs. The Republikaner added six MEP's and the Belgians one to the FN's total of ten and the five from the Italian MSI. (The EPEN candidate had been eliminated this time round.)

Almost immediately there was a dispute between the MSI and the Republikaner and Le Pen threw his weight behind the Germans.

These are the groups with which the French Front National is associated and with which it has formed a bloc in the European Parliament. They are his natural allies and co-thinkers; it is therefore both prudent and

instructive to briefly examine each in turn.

EPEN

The Greek MEP in the Group of the extreme right, C. Dimitriadis, belonged to a movement called EPEN, the National Political Union, which was established in 1984 with the stated aim of "cleansing" the parliamentary system and establishing an economy based upon private initiative (463).

EPEN has made no secret of its ideological and political links with the military dictatorship of Papadopoulos which ruled Greece from 1967 to 1974. It has advertised its continuing links with Papadopoulos and played a tape secretly recorded by him in prison at its founding meeting. (463)

EPEN campaigned for the "rehabilitation" of the image of the military dictatorship and for their release from prison.

In 1984 Le Pen attempted to visit Greece with the intention of visiting the former Greek dictator Papadopoulos in prison, as part of EPEN's election campaign. (464)

The MSI

Until the late 1980s every group on the far right in western Europe aspiring to become a serious political force looked towards the Italian MSI for support, and from the moment of its creation the French Front National sought links with them.

The MSI has been the fourth largest party in Italy since the late 1940s. It was formed immediately after the war by former leaders and officials of Mussolini's "Salò Republic", the statelet created by Mussolini with German military help in 1943 which fought a last ditch stand in Northern Italy against the rising resistance movement.

The MSI has never accepted the post war Italian constitution, and it has never seriously tried to hide its loyalty to the fascist tradition, for instance at their convention in 1970, to the enthusiastic applause of the delegates Giorgio Almirante boasted - "the word fascist is written on my forehead." (574)

Similarly in 1983 they produced a poster commemorating the centenary of Mussolini's birth, and in 1986 the MSI began a celebration of the fortieth anniversary of its foundation with a rally at the Teatro Lirico in Milan with Almirante in his keynote address alluding to the historic significance of the location. (575)

The Teatro Lirico is where Mussolini made his last speech.

The MSI closed its national congress in January 1973 by resurrecting the image of dictatorship, Benito Mussolini. (576)

At a major international rally in Madrid in July 1978, all four speakers, Almirante, Blas Pinar, Tixier Vignancour and Ricardo Curutchet, editor of the Buenos Aires based openly Nazi magazine *Cabildo* and secretary of the *Movimiento Nacional Argentino*, attacked not only communism, but also and in particular "Liberal democracy" which they described as "the ante room of communism, displeasing to God, aiding and abetting licence, destroying the family and damaging public morality." (577)

When Almirante brought a libel action against a Socialist Party official in Modena who described him as a "mass murderer and torturer of Italians" Almirante lost the action on the grounds that - "the allegations had been proven to be true." (578)

On December 7th 1970 the MSI president, Prince Valerio Bourghese, attempted a fascist coup in Rome (574), a date deliberately chosen because it marked the anniversary of Pearl Harbour, and was codenamed "Tora Tora" in memory of the Japanese attack. (579) It was led by Stefano delle Chiaie the international terrorist, himself a member of the MSI in the 1950s. (580) at the head of a commando of veterans of the *Avanguardia Nazionale*. (579)

Within the MSI there has always been some disagreement between one wing of the party wanting to continue the Squadristi side of fascism - armed attacks on the labour movement and putschist politics along with a radical fascist demagoguery - and the other wing seeking to establish alliances with the Christian Democrats and to present the party as simply the hardest and most vigorous element on the anti communist right.

In the early post war years the first wing of the party was dominant, under the leadership of Giorgio Almirante. During the 1950s and most of the 1960s the second wing held supremacy.

But in the late 1960s Almirante returned to the MSI's leadership and the party adopted a twin track policy known as the "strategy of tension": this involved a combination of terror attacks, especially bombings, to create an atmosphere of fear and chaos, combined with an electoral drive to present the MSI as the only force that could establish law and order through forming an authoritarian government.

The terrorist side of the party's work was carried out in the name of formally independent movements such as *Ordine Nuovo*, founded and led by MSI militant Pino Rauti, while Almirante presented the party as the force to save the country from chaos (and thus terror bombings).

The *Ordine Nuovo*, and its successor organisation the *Armed Revolutionary Nuclei* (NAR), implemented this "strategy of tension" with the most horrendous catalogue of bombings, murder, mass murder, assassination and terrorism, culminating in the bomb outrage at Bologna railway station in which more than eighty people were blown to pieces. (465)

Despite initial successes in the early 1970s the MSI has stagnated, never winning more than 9% of the vote. At the end of the 1980s, after the retirement and death of Almirante, and some internal warfare, the MSI made Rauti its new leader. His declared intention has been to return the party to the purity of its fascist roots, stressing in particular the fact that anti communism is only part of the MSI's heritage.

In the early 1970s the FN's predecessor *Ordre Nouveau* claimed the MSI as an international ally and directly borrowed MSI slogans for its own propaganda, and this effort to link up with the Italian fascists was maintained by the *Front National*, who adopted the MSI's "tricoloured flame" as their own symbol. (49) The strategy of the FN's founders has been described as an attempt to "copy the model of the MSI by blending into

a wider electoral grouping" (328) (ie by carefully hiding their true ideology until the moment of taking power.) In fact, the MSI made an important contribution towards setting up the FN in the early days. (49)

Relations between the MSI and the FN throughout the 1980s were very close, on both a formal and informal level, with Le Pen and Almirante doing a double act at various European events and at each other's conferences.

Almirante was guest of honour at the FN's November 1985 conference (466) and on 2 Dec 1984 Le Pen spoke at the MSI congress in Italy where he stressed "the common origins of the French right and the Italian right." (467)

The Republikaner Party

The Republikaner Party was formed in the early 1980s by Franz Schonhuber, a member of the Waffen SS during the Second World War, who has written a book "Ich war Dabei" (I was with them) praising the SS. (468)

Claiming that they have been "misunderstood", Schonhuber has tried to blur the undeniable fact that the SS was an elite force made up of volunteers who were devoted Nazis, utterly dedicated to everything Adolf Hitler stood for. The SS were not army conscripts like the Wehrmacht, they were Nazi Party soldiers.

Schonhuber has also tried to emphasise the "positive" aspects of National Socialism, arguing the bravery of the elite units and exhorting Germans to a greater national consciousness. (581)

"Germany First" is the defiant watchword of the Republikaner and their programme refers constantly to "German interests." (582)

During election campaigns the Republikaner have always stressed anti immigration themes, and have directly compared themselves with the Front National. (469)

The Republikaner programme for the European elections in 1989 called for the abolition of trade unions "in their present form"; an end to the state welfare system, and compulsory one year's training in the practical work of being a wife and a mother for all girls of school leaving age. (468) (470)

They have also repeatedly made strong calls for the return of Germany to its 1937 frontiers (468). This would mean that vast chunks of territory currently in Poland, and even some in the Soviet Union, would have to be turned over to Germany.

The question begs, how far would the Republikaner be prepared to go over this territory?

The Republikaner programme calls for the "decriminalisation" of German history, for rejection of "the war propaganda of the victorious powers which has been introduced into our history books" and "whose forgeries and exaggerations the youth are forced to believe." (470)

The programme says there is a need for "national self assertion and a moral renewal" and "state power and the common good must have priority over party and group interests". The individual should be subordinated "to life, effort and values." (470)

The programme aims to "maintain the existence of the German people, its health and ecological living space." (470)

Just what is meant by "ecological living space?" Fifty years ago another German leader talked of "living space" or "Lebensraum".

The programme goes on to demand an education system in which "youth will train its bodily, spiritual and intellectual capacities as a unity" and learn to "subordinate itself to the community". (470)

The media is also attacked as "incapable of self control" and therefore state censorship is necessary. (470)

The Republikaner presents itself as a party of law and order, and as such calls for a tightening of the penal law against "terrorism" providing for the "Solitary confinement of the prisoner and an absolute ban on outside contacts." (583)

Apart from the obvious question of just how wide would the Republikaner's definition of a terrorist be? an absolute ban on outside contacts must mean neither relatives nor lawyers could visit the prisoner, not only during imprisonment but also during investigation. Thus under the Republikaner anyone accused of being a terrorist would be denied a proper legal defence in the accepted sense of the word.

This, coupled with other means of "combatting terrorism," would prove the gateway to an authoritarian police state. (584) Overall the often demagogic calls of the Republikaner on "terrorism" whilst playing on the understandable fears of sections of the German population, are irreconcilable with the principles of a constitutional democracy. (584)

According to the Bavarian office of the German security service the aims of the Republikaner are unconstitutional. (472)

Another aspect of Republikaner policy is shown in "The New Age Man", a pamphlet by Republikaner officer Jurgen Ruhmann, in which he advocates euthenasia for "those who through negative genetics cannot look after themselves." (471) "Negative genetics"! An expression we would be wise to remember. The phrase itself conjures up memories of Nazi atrocities committed in the name of eugenics.

A very large part of the cadres of the Republikaner are former members of the Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschland (NPD) and have a strong neo nazi formation. For instance their MEPs include Harald Neubauer, for eleven years a member of the NPD, and, up until 1984 a journalist for Gerhard Frey's racist and virulently anti semitic publishing house (472).

Frey is leader of the DVU (The German Peoples Union) famous amongst other things for their nazi rallies in the Burgerbrau Keller in Munich where Hitler attempted his famous beer hall putsch in 1923. (448) and whose paper National Zeitung includes a number of classic anti holocaust books on its booklist, (along with SS war memoirs and the official SS veterans calendar. (585) The Stuttgart Zeitung has pointed out (12.12.81) the DVU aims "to ensure that Germany's bedrock of Nazi opinion keeps its hand in. The Third Reich is glorified, the crimes of the Nazi regime are made out to be harmless or

claimed never to have been committed..."

Significantly Jean Marie Le Pen has given several interviews in Gerhard Freys newspapers.(586)

The flavour of the Republikaner discourse inside the party can be gained from a speech by Franz Glasaur, the party's chairman in upper Bavaria, at an official meeting in Regensburg. He stated that when the party came to power there "would be a day of reckoning and revenge against the Red and Green blockheads". He would turn the abandoned nuclear power plant in nearby Wackersdorf into "a labour camp where this scum would be locked up for at least ten years." (472)

Glasaur was number three in the party hierarchy when he made that speech. (472)

The official party newspaper, also called Republikaner, has a monthly print run of 70,000 and reports in detail on party activities. Particularly revealing however are the book reviews and advertisements. Alongside reviews of Schonhubers books it advertises the one by the son of Rudolf Hess, works by the former National Socialist historian and NPD ideologue Ernst Anrich, and the output of Grabert, an extreme right wing publishing house which includes both militaria and vindications of National Socialism in its lists.(587)

None of this has caused the slightest embarrassment to Le Pen who met Schonhuber in Bad Reichenhall where they issued a joint statement on the GDR. (473)

Schonhuber himself received a rapturous welcome at the FN congress in Nice in 1990. (474)

More recently however Schonhuber has chosen to distance himself from Le Pen, declaring in Bonn that he could not sit in Strasbourg with - "neo nazis, racists and extremists." (591)

The Vlaams Blok

The other component in Le Pens right wing alliance is the Belgian Vlaams Blok (VB).

At present the VB has three Belgian MPs and one MEP, its deputy leader Karel Dillen.

The leader of the VB is Filip de Winter, who was recently arrested for defying a legal ban on a press conference, a joint Belgian VB Dutch Centrum 86 event intended to be a fascist counterblast against an exhibition of the Ann Frank Foundation. Also arrested with de Winter was Stewart Mordaunt, a prominent figure in the holocaust denial "industry", who is on record as having stated - "National Socialism is the only way to preserve western Europe." He is also the leader of the openly nazi "Youth Front Netherlands." (588)

The VB is implacably opposed to a bilingual French-Flemish state and it has the long term aim of unifying Flanders with Holland. But its central policy is racism and its main slogan is "our people first." (475)

Its June 1989 Euro election campaign was very strongly racist with Moroccan immigrants as the target. (475)

It believes the Flemish people are part of a wider German family.

It also makes great play over law and order, drugs and abortion, and calls for European unity free of Russian and American influence. (475)

The VB's origins lie in the pre war Belgian fascist movement which collaborated with the Nazis during the war. Reflecting this the VB persistently raises the demand for amnesty for those who assisted the German invaders." (475)

It has very close links with the extremely violent Voorpost (Vanguard) organisation which often acts as VBs strong arm squad and some members of both groups were in the post war Belgian fascist organisation, the Vlaamse Militanten Orde (VMO) founded by former Nazi collaborators in 1949 and active until the early 1980s when it was outlawed for its violent and terroristic activities. (475) (476)

Before being outlawed VMO had links with the Turkish Grey Wolves, the French terrorist organisation FANE, the Italian Ordine Nuovo, and loyalist paramilitary groups in Northern Ireland. It also had connections with openly Nazi organisation in the USA, including the Ku Klux Klan.(475) (476) (477) (478)

After VMO was banned many of its members joined the Vlaams Blok. (476)

The ODAL group emerged after the VMO had been condemned on 25.5.83 as a private militia. VMO-ODAL was "the most active and violent group in post war neo nazi circles" according to the Committee of Inquiry into the rise of Fascism and Racism in Europe in its report to the European Parliament in December 1985, which stated -

"The ODAL group is at present closely linked to the Vlaams Blok. They act as a "crowd control" service for this political party and provide helpers to put up anti immigration posters."

Another organisation to which the VB is linked is the "Sint-Maartensfonds" whose membership is comprised of Flemish former SS volunteers and other extremists and which is included in the Belgian police forces list of subversive organisations.

On 20th April (Hitlers birthday) 1990, Vlaams Blok provided the guards for a secret meeting of the Sint-Maartensfonds.(589)

Luc Dieudonne is a leading member of the VB, a former member of the VMO, he is one of the parties authorities on "the left" and the man responsible for training much of its cadre on the subject, as well as one of the men behind KOSMOS, an intelligence gathering front organisation for Voorpost.

Dieudonne has a considerable record for mayhem and violence, including involvement in an especially vicious assault on a bookshop in Antwerp in 1980.(590)

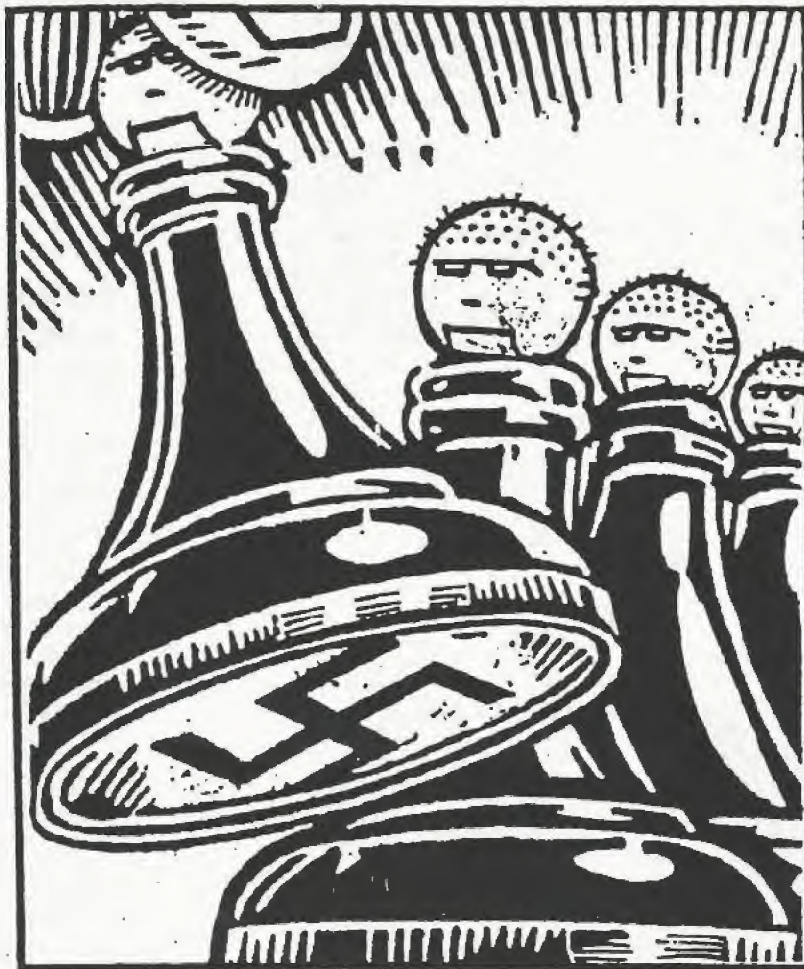
Similarly, Xavier Buisseret, a former leader of the VMO and currently propaganda chief of the Vlaams Blok was arrested in Antwerp in February 1990 and charged with wounding three Moroccan immigrants. Buisseret was part of a six strong gang of thugs who attacked their victims with baseball bats and iron bars. (474)

Above we have listed some of the organisations with which the French Front National is allied, the natural partners of the FN and indeed partners who the FN themselves have sought out and whose friendship

Front National: A Nazi Front

the FN has cultivated. Neither their chequered histories nor their extremist programmes nor the character of their members, nor their involvement in violence and terrorism, has detracted one iota from the Front National's determination not only to maintain links with them but to actually forge them into a unified bloc in the

European Parliament, a working unity with prestige and political clout. As such it speaks volumes about the FN for their role in bringing these groups together; surely they can be judged by the company they keep.



Hitler's birthday incites German rightist violence ⁴⁻²²⁻⁹⁴

BIELEFELD, Germany (AP) — Neo-Nazis celebrating Adolf Hitler's birthday set fire to a Turkish apartment house and hurled a firebomb at a shelter crowded with Vietnamese refugees. No one was injured, police said yesterday.

Police arrested 26 people in connection with the violence Wednesday, Hitler's birthday.

Six local youths, 14 to 16, were arrested shortly after the Wednesday night blaze in the northern city of Bielefeld. They are being investigated for arson and attempted murder, prosecutors said.

Thirteen Turks escaped from the apartment house unharmed. But at least 30 people have died in neo-Nazi attacks since Germany's unification in 1990.

Five of the six youths confessed, Prosecutor Christa Hundertmark said, adding that a search of the teenagers' homes turned up audio cassettes with Hitler speeches and

neo-Nazi publications.

The 15-year-old who threw the firebomb told the other gang members before the attack: "You're going to be proud of me. Today is Hitler's birthday," investigators said.

The attack was similar to a firebombing last year in Solingen that killed five Turks. Four youths are on trial for that bombing.

In the southeastern German town of Zeithain, four men threw a bottle with a flammable liquid at a shelter crowded with about 200 asylum seekers, most of them Vietnamese. Residents quickly put out the fire.

Police arrested 10 rightists in Britz carrying the banned German imperial war flag as they marched past a war memorial. In Brandenburg, police detained three drunken youths who marched through the town center shouting "Sieg Heil! (Hail Victory)" and "Heil Hitler!"

■ BONN, GERMANY ⁵⁻²⁻⁹⁴ Four charged in synagogue firebombing

Four right-wing extremists have been charged with firebombing a synagogue, officials said yesterday. It was the first time a Jewish house of worship had been torched since the Nazi era.

The March 25 attack in the northern port city of Luebeck charred two front rooms of the synagogue, where the city's small Jewish community was planning to hold its first Passover Seder since the Holocaust.

Five sleeping tenants of apartments above the synagogue were roused and escaped unhurt.

The four young men are being held on suspicion of attempted murder, the Federal Prosecutor's Office in Karlsruhe said.

Germany, home to about 500,000 Jews before the Holocaust, now has about 41,000.

■ MAGDEBURG, GERMANY ⁴⁻¹¹⁻⁹⁴ Jewish community criticizes police after neo-Nazi attack

The head of Germany's Jewish community criticized police after a violent rampage by rightists in this eastern city, saying yesterday that they had failed to protect foreigners.

A spokesman for Chancellor Helmut Kohl called Thursday's bloodshed "a shame" and said the government would do all it could to prevent further violence. The Magdeburg attack, which injured six, was the worst street violence in Germany this year.

In Thursday's violence, about 50 rightists chased five African asylum-seekers into a Turkish-run cafe, then started fights that lasted on and off for six hours in downtown Magdeburg, an eastern city of 270,000.

Three foreigners were injured, none seriously, and three rightists were hospitalized with stab wounds.

"I can't understand how something like this can happen. That the police can't manage to protect people is a scandal," Ignatz Bubis, leader of Germany's Jewish community, told the Cologne newspaper *Express*.

Bubis called for disciplinary action against the police and said it was inconceivable that all those arrested were released without charges.

Thirty-five young local Germans and 14 foreigners were detained, but all were freed without being charged, Police Director Antonius Stockmann confirmed.

PROTEST ON HITLER'S BIRTHDAY ⁴⁻²¹⁻⁹⁴



Associated Press

A German riot police officer leads away a protestor after clashes in Berlin on the 105th anniversary of Adolf Hitler's birth. The day brought out about 2,000 leftist demonstrators who marched against neo-Nazis. Ten people were arrested after clashing with police yesterday.

ARA Education Package



INTRODUCTION

This information package was compiled by Anti-Racist Action's info-crew in an effort to create a forum for further debate and education on the issues of fighting white supremacy and the extreme right within the framework of class struggle against racism and sexism. The package contains a wide variety of texts, articles, essays and clippings chosen by info-crew members to be crucial in formulating a solid understanding on these issues and their interconnections.

As a collection, these articles complement each other in such a way that the reader is able to draw their own links and formulate a broad analysis on the material. This structure is broken down into three main sections within the package:

The first chapter takes a look at the relationship racism has with sexism, homophobia, anti-semitism, and class. This contributes to the necessary framework of understanding to combat racism in its broader manifestations as well as within the anti-racist organization and the individual.

The second chapter deals specifically with the extreme right in all of its forms. This section is broken down regionally into Canada, the United States, and Europe to shed some light on the international connections of these fascist movements.

The third and final chapter consists of various historic and present-day anti-racist experiences by which we can draw from to further the struggle against racism and fascism.

One might be taken aback by the amount of material contained within these three sections but we found them all important to include. We would suggest reading one entry from each section to break things up to some degree. It is also important to mention that this collection contains by no means a fully-rounded analysis. Instead, it should serve as a springboard or a contribution towards an on-going process of internal education and outreach. This information can be useful to anti-racists, anti-fascist activists or students and should be widely distributed to other anti-racist organisations and community activists. Whether you arm yourself with this information or use this hefty package to swat a fascist over the head with, we hope that it comes in handy. Happy reading!

-the INFO CREW '94

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SECTION 3: Experiences



THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE AND THE 1960'S BLACK REVOLT.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was an example of the spontaneous social movement preceding the founding of a formal organization. It was the year 1960, and all over the racially segregated South, spontaneous "sit-in" demonstrations, where Blacks would go to department store lunch counters, restaurants, and other all-white eateries, and demand to be served food, were sweeping the South. In Greensboro, North Carolina in February of that year, four Black college students had started it all. Within two weeks of the protests in Greensboro, over 50 other cities experienced sit-ins, from Richmond, Virginia to Chattanooga, Tennessee; from Houston, Texas to Atlanta, Georgia.

The sit-ins were a form of youth protest, and a counterpoint to the adult wing of the movement which had led the famous bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama in 1956, and brought Dr. Martin Luther King to national prominence.

The student and youth movement was almost the very antithesis, tactically, politically and philosophically, of King's adult-led civil rights movement. It placed no emphasis on leaders, and pushed for local autonomous movements, and it was also far more militant, resulting in armed self-defense or street fighting on many occasions, while King and the Black preachers in the Southern Christian Leadership Council counseled "non-violence" in the face of racist attack.

SNCC (grammatically called "snick") was founded at a mass convention arranged by Ella Baker, a legendary movement activist and Dr. Martin Luther King's chief of Staff at Southern Christian Leadership Council headquarters in Atlanta. She not only arranged for the meeting, but she also fought to assure its independence from King and the old adult leadership.

The meeting was held in the Spring of 1960 in Raleigh, North Carolina, and had almost 500 persons in attendance: 300 Black movement activists and 200 white observers. At this meeting a loose federation of organizing groups was agreed on. Advocating a brand of aggressive direct action protest tactics, SNCC quickly became the most militant wing of the entire civil rights movement, and entered the thick of the struggle: they reorganized the "Freedom Rides" in 1961 across the South, after another civil rights group, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) gave up when it encountered bus burnings and brutal beatings by Ku Klux Klan hooligans, and ended up being badly beaten themselves and jailed in Mississippi; they registered thousands of Blacks to vote in the face of racist terrorism by the infamous Alabama and Mississippi Klans; they set up "freedom schools" to train local organizers and to serve as a local base of operations. They also served as an alternative to the segregated public schools for Black youth.

SNCC was a democratic organization, and did not depend on leaders, either in its own organization or in the communities that it worked in. It was an organization

of organizers, not of leaders. Throughout all of the years of struggle, SNCC field organizers did not hold themselves out as "the leaders" with "the answers", but rather deferred to the wishes of the local community, and tried to develop indigenous local leadership. This creation of a group of organizers, acting as a catalyst group to create mass movements on the local level was a new phenomenon, and has not been seen since in the Black movement. Because of its loose structure and anti-authoritarian politics, many referred to SNCC as an "anarchist" movement. New Left philosopher, Paul Goodman, and author and ex-SNCC'er, Howard Zinn are just two impressed with the early anti-authoritarian nature of the group.

Although originally having illusions about the nature of American capitalism and government reforms, SNCC quickly began to have doubts about the possibility and credibility of the government and the corporate sector, these doubts turned into complete disbelief that this system could provide Africans in this country their full human rights and a realization that this government was part of the problem, not the solution. The SNCC then adopted an anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist stand, they opposed the war in Vietnam and sought to redefine the nature of the Black struggle.

After the Southern movement had won the right to vote, the end of legal segregation, a new black consciousness movement arose in 1964-65. Given the name "Black Power", this movement took the position that the Black working class must organize itself, and it rejected its earlier reliance on white activists. Although this was the majority sentiment, many did not want to expel white activists who had loyally fought next to them for many years, and the tension over the issue almost wrenched the organization apart.

More critical than this issue of expelling all whites, SNCC organizers were from the middle class and could not figure out how to give expression and an organizing plan for Black workers and the poor beyond the reformist civil rights stage. Because they failed to come up with a revolutionary program, and the tension over various other ideological questions, the organization began to die.

It tried to save itself by calling for a variety of urban Black insurrections during the latter 1960's and also uniting with the West Coast Black Panther Party, which had just been formed in Oakland, California during the Summer of 1966 by two young firebrands Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale. It merged its membership and leadership into the BPP, but the united front was short-lived, because of suspicion, mistrust, misunderstanding, and leadership styles. The FBI also helped in the break-up by spreading rumors, sending false correspondence or "poison pen" letters, and other tactics.

Ultimately SNCC fell into sectarianism, personal enmity, and obscurity, but even though it has vanished from the scene, it provides a model and an example of an anti-authoritarian Black movement in our struggle, where none has existed before or since. In the 1990's we must study SNCC's example, so that we can build a national federation of Black community organizers in this period, which can raise a revolutionary politics of a new type and deal with the many urban problems bedeviling our people at this moment. That is our task.

Within hours of Huey Newton's death, the place where he was shot was turned into a shrine as people left flowers, candles, pictures and poems. Tens of thousands of people filed by his casket; thousands came to the funeral, many standing for hours outside the packed church to hear the speakers inside remember Huey P. Newton and the Black Panther Party.

Even the daily Oakland paper, which had treated news of Newton's murder as a sensationalist crime story, was tormented by the outpouring of grief and anger at their racist coverage, to put the funeral on the front page.

Newton's mourners paid tribute to a person, but also to what he stood for—the Black Panther Party, one of the most militant Black power organizations in US history.

1966 YEAR OF THE PIG

Huey Newton and Bobby Seale founded the Black Panther Party in 1966 while students at Merritt College in Oakland's Black community. Within two years every major Black city in the US had a BPP chapter—New York, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Newark, San Francisco, Oakland and others. Thousands of Black people, mostly young, joined the Black Panther Party. And millions of Black people (and some whites) were inspired by the BPP's stand for Black liberation.

The Panthers patrolled the police, published a weekly newspaper, fed breakfast to thousands of hungry children, tested more Black people for sickle cell anemia than the US government, popularized socialist revolution and self-defense and touched Black people's hunger for dignity, justice and self-determination. By 1968 the organization had 10,000 members and millions of supporters.

GROWING POPULARITY

The Panthers stood up for all Black people in a way that was bold, courageous and imaginative. Their integrity inspired millions of Black people, particularly the young, to take a stand for Black liberation.

The enormous popularity of the BPP reflected Black people's frustration with traditional roads to social change. Faced with the specter of thousands of militant Blacks demanding justice from a system that couldn't deliver, the US government decided to destroy the BPP. In 1969, J. Edgar Hoover, then head of the FBI, said the BPP represented the "most dangerous threat to US security in existence." Thus began a program that included armed assaults, frame-up trials, military-style police actions, a campaign to undermine white support and psychological and physical terror. More than 30 Panther leaders were murdered by police, and over 300 jailed, in 1969 alone. Others were forced into exile, underground or out of politics. Some, like Geronimo Pratt, Sundiata Acoli and Dhoruba Moore, are in jail to this day.

COINTELPRO

The terror campaign unleashed on the BPP and other Black power organizations was code-named COINTELPRO (counter-intelligence program). The FBI sent phony letters to Panther leaders that sowed false divisions in the BPP and made real ones worse. These letters implied that this person was a police agent, or that person was cheating on their lover. The FBI's political and military program to destroy the whole Black power movement and the BPP in particular, took its toll. By the mid-1970s the BPP broke into factions and finally went out of existence.

At the funeral, the outpouring of love and respect for Huey's memory

and the BPP was joined with calls to rebuild the Black movement, as speaker after speaker pointed out how the conditions for Black people today are the same or worse than what the BPP was fighting to change twenty years ago.

MEDIA REACTION

The media reaction to the death of Huey Newton is just one more indica-

tion of the tremendous gulf that exists between Black and white people in America.

While Blacks were mourning the loss of an historic figure—whom many place in the pantheon of the Black Liberation struggle alongside Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X—white opinion, by and large, was that Huey Newton was little more than a common criminal who finally

got his comeuppance.

While Black people concentrated on remembering Newton's life work—and the central role of the Black Panther Party in elevating the civil rights struggle to a new level of intensity and self-sufficiency—the focus in the mainstream media was on Huey Newton's fall, using the tragic circumstances of his death to indict the meaning of his life.

BEYOND CIVIL RIGHTS

The white media was shocked to see that Black people, even assimilated, middle-class Black people, would not join in the chorus denouncing Newton posthumously for his call to arms of the 1960s. Even if they felt some qualms about the Panther's tactics, most Black people, and especially the young, rejoiced in their hearts that people like Huey Newton dared to go beyond non-violent civil disobedience and claim for Black people the constitutional right of armed self-defense.

A mourner at Newton's funeral said, "He was the first person who told me to be proud of being Black. Who cares whether or not he was a good man in terms of how he died? His death just showed the extent of how defeated he was in his struggle."

One day after Huey Newton was gunned down on the streets of West Oakland, three Black teenagers in New York City went to the Bensonhurst section of Brooklyn to look at a used car for sale. They were brutally attacked by a gang of more than a dozen young whites armed with baseball bats and guns. Two of the Black kids escaped with their lives, but 16-year-old Yusuf Hawkins was shot in the chest and killed.

His crime? The white kids thought that a neighborhood girl was dating Blacks and Puerto Ricans, and that these might be some of them. So they went on a rampage and killed a man.

And what is the predominant reaction in Bensonhurst? Is it shame? Is it outrage at their children? Not at all. The most common response was, "What were they doing here in the first place? They know they don't belong here."

Back in Oakland, Huey Newton's funeral march carried two coffins. One for Huey and one for Yusuf Hawkins.

MESSAGE FROM GERONIMO JI JAGA PRATT TO HUEY'S FUNERAL

I'd like to say that Huey P. Newton was a great leader for Black people, for our Struggle of independence and self-determination. And it's a pity that he died as he did, although his memory will live on among people who still struggle for self-determination in that same vein.

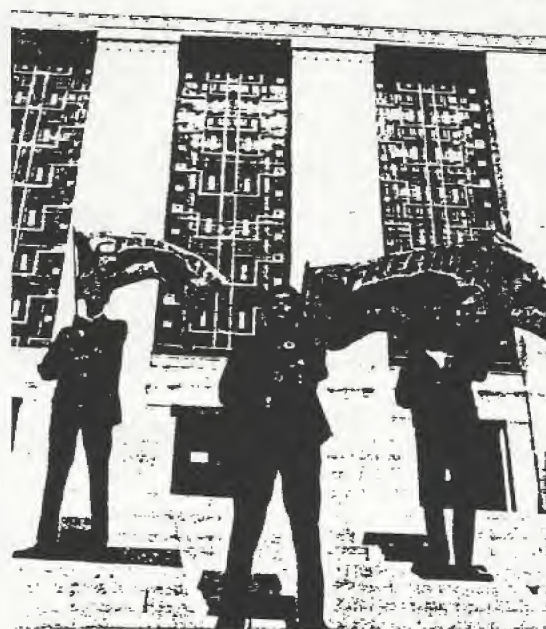
Also, I think people should learn lessons from the kind of war which is being waged upon our liberation efforts—our efforts to be free—when our leaders are victimized and become targets of psychological warfare. Where rumor and gossip, slander, deception and all kinds of vilification reduce them to a corpse on the street.

We should never let that happen again. We should take Huey's example to further protect our future leaders, and all our people in the Community from becoming victimized by the enemy's war plan to decimate our ranks and to retard our Struggle. We should take his spirit and use it to enhance our Struggle and go forever onward. In that way We will be giving honor to Huey and everyone of his peers, from El Hajj Malik El Shabazz—Malcolm X to Marcus Garvey and all the way back through our history.

We should continue the Struggle in his image. □

Remembering Huey Newton

MEDIA COUNTY COURT HOUSE



BLACK PANTHER PARTY 10-POINT PROGRAM

We want Freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black and oppressed communities. ✱ We want full employment for our people. ✱ We want an end to the robbery by the capitalist of our Black and oppressed communities. ✱ We want decent housing, fit for the shelter of human beings. ✱ We want education for our people, that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society. ✱ We want completely free health care for all Black and oppressed people. ✱ We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of Black people, other people of color, all oppressed people inside the United States. ✱ We want an immediate end to all wars of aggression. ✱ We want freedom for all Black and poor oppressed people now held in US Federal, State, County, City and Military prisons and jails. We want trials by a jury of peers for all persons charged with so-called crimes under the laws of this country. ✱ We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, peace and people's community control of modern technology.



"No, I'm not an American. I'm one of the 22 million black people who are the victims of Americanism. One of the 22 million black people who are the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy. So, I'm not standing here speaking to you as an American, or a patriot, or a flag-saluter, or a flag-waver—no, not I. I'm speaking as a victim of this American system. And I see America through the eyes of the victim. I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare."

Malcolm X
The Ballot or the Bullet
April 3, 1964

History: A Weapon of Liberation

"Of all our studies, history is best qualified to reward our research. And when you see that you've got problems, all you have to do is examine the historic method used all over the world by others who have problems similar to yours. Once you see how they got their straight, then you know how you can get yours straight."

Malcolm X
Message to the Grassroots

February, the year's shortest month, is Black History Month. It was created because Black people rose up all over this country during the 1960s and 70s, struggling to reclaim their true history and gain freedom. In the streets, the communities, and schools, revolutionary struggle was happening as the Black Nation moved for its liberation.

February is also a time to honor the great revolutionary nationalist Malcolm X, El Hajj Malik El Shabazz, who was assassinated in Harlem, New York on February 21, 1965. Each year the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee sponsors activities around this time, because we believe that white people also must remember Malcolm and affirm the principles of resistance he fought for.

Basic to this is the need to struggle against the white supremacy of both the government and the KKK; and to build support for the New Afrikan Independence Movement which is fighting to free the Black Nation so long enslaved inside the U.S. It was Malcolm who, in understanding the history of his people's 350 year struggle for human rights, made the truth a powerful weapon of liberation from the modern day slavery of imperialism. He inspired the New Afrikan struggle to learn from revolutions around the world by teaching that,

"Land is the basis for all independence. Land is the basis of freedom, justice, and equality. This is the only solution, we must become an inde-

pendent nation. We now number 28 million Black people, a nation within a nation, a Black Nation within a white nation, crying to be born, crying to be set free."

To attempt to stop the development of leadership and organization necessary for the New Afrikan Nation to win its freedom, imperialism killed Malcolm X. But the empire was unable to kill his spirit and his example, as it has been unable to kill the resistance of Black people brought here as slaves at the birth of this country.

Today in 1984, most people, and especially the young, are fed a steady diet of half-truths and lies which is called official history, meaning that it represents the story that the rulers of this country want us to believe is true. For the government and its educational establishment, Black History Month has been transformed into an effort to fill the minds of students with the belief that this country has a real commitment to overcoming racism and injustice. The goal of these official history lessons is to spread the myth that Lincoln freed the slaves, and since that time progress has been slow, but continuous.

The young are told that more will be achieved only by working together as Americans, peacefully, hand in hand with the system. Even with the current enthusiasm generated by the Jesse Jackson campaign, it is hard to believe that the youth of the Black Nation will be easily convinced that power can be found in the ballot box.

Black youth by the hundreds of thousands are approaching adulthood in racist schools that have become more like detention centers than places of learning. There they face administrations who often look on them as objects, a population to control and indoctrinate. Beyond the school gates stands a future where half of all Black teenagers today will never find a job, and 25%

will go to prison; where Black families make 56% of what white families earn, and where every social advance won by Black people during the 60s has been wiped out.

Now that the American dream is less and less able to hide the reality that things are going from bad to worse, a major effort is being made to pacify the colonized Black Nation.

The young are particular targets for ideological assault, because not only will they be the adults of tomorrow, they are a dynamic, potentially rebellious force today. To rob this generation of the understandings they need to have in order to struggle, imperialism has rewritten the actual history of the Black Nation inside the U.S.

Gone from most classrooms are the overt glorifications of the plantations and slavery, of segregation and Jim Crow. But in their place has come the liberal illusion that the U.S. really has changed, that Black people achieved equality with the Civil Rights Movement, Dr. King, and non-violence.

We are told that the goals of the Black Liberation struggle were achieved in the 1960s, and the murderous assaults by the FBI on the Black movement are completely covered up. All of this is presented to a whole generation who have no real memory of what the Civil Rights and Black Power movements actually represented to Black people.

For Malcolm X, history was a weapon of liberation. For imperialism, it is propaganda designed to keep colonized people under control, and white people tied to the patrician red, white and blue.

History is a great teacher. But only if we understand that it is not just a collection of dates, places, or famous people. It is made by nations, classes, and people in struggle. At the core of US history is the conflict between imperialism on the one hand and the nations of New Afrika, Puerto Rico,

Mexico, and Native Americans colonized internally on the other.

We need to struggle for a revolutionary understanding of history. It is not at a standstill, it is always in motion. There will be revolutionary struggle as long as there is oppression. When we look at it this way and decide to do something to end oppression, we pass from the official versions of Amerikkka spread by those in power, to the side of the resistance.

Cutting through the lies, we begin to discover that there was never peace between imperialism and the Black Nation, or any other people it enslaved and colonized. And we find that the powerful tradition of revolution against slavery didn't end with freedom fighters like Denmark Vesey and Harriet Tubman, but continued through every decade of the 19th and 20th centuries, and continues today with freedom fighters like Sekou Odinga and Kwasi Balagoon; sometimes underground carrying slaves North, and sometimes in the streets of Watts, Newark, Detroit and Miami.

So too, we cross over from the terms of racist textbooks accepted by the majority of white people to understanding that the struggle of the New Afrikan Nation for independence and self-determination has always been at the forefront of all progressive and revolutionary movement among white people. This was true for John Brown and thousands of others who fought slavery 100 years ago; and it was true in the 1960s and 70s, when significant numbers of white people gave support to the Black Liberation struggle for a brief time. Today, we need to study this history, to learn its lessons and to carry on the traditions of resistance.

Books by Malcolm X: *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*; *Malcolm X Speaks*; *Malcolm X on Afro-American History*

BLACK WORKER / WHITE WORKER (1972)

by Noel Ignatin

In one department of a giant steel mill in north-west Indiana a foreman assigned a white worker to the job of operating a crane. The Black workers in the department felt that on the basis of seniority and job experience, one of them should have been given the job, which represented a promotion from the labor gang. They spent a few hours in the morning talking among themselves and agreed that they had a legitimate beef. Then they went and talked to the white workers in the department and got their support. After lunch the other crane operators mounted their cranes and proceeded to block in the crane of the newly promoted worker — one crane on each side of his — and run at the slowest possible speed, thus stopping work in the department. By the end of the day the foreman had gotten the message. He took the white worker off the crane and replaced him with a Black worker, and the cranes began to move again.

A few weeks after the above incident, several of the white workers who had joined the Black operators in the slowdown took part in meetings in Glen Park, a virtually all-white section of Gary, with the aim of seceding from the city in order to escape from the administration of the Black mayor, Richard Hatcher. While the secessionists demanded, in their words, "the power to make the decisions which affect their lives," it was clear that the effort was racially inspired.

At a large farm equipment manufacturing plant in Chicago, a Black worker was being tried out for a repair job on an assembly line. The foreman had been harassing the man, trying to disqualify him during his three-day trial period. After two days of this, the majority of the workers on the line, Black and white, walked off their jobs demanding that the man be accepted for the job. The company backed down and work resumed.

Later on, some of the same white workers took part in racist demonstrations at a Chicago high school. The demonstrations were called against "overcrowding" in an attempt to keep out several hundred Black students who had been transferred to the school as a result of redistricting.

Civil War

The foregoing anecdotes indicate some of the complexities and contradictions operating within the lives and within the minds of the white workers in

this country: on the one hand, displays of democratic co-operation and fraternal relations with Black workers, and, on the other hand, examples of backwardness and selfishness which are unbecoming to members of a social class which hopes to reconstruct society in its image. What is taking place is a "civil war" in the mind of the white worker. In the community, on the job, in every sphere of life, he is being faced with a choice between two ways of looking at the world, two ways of leading his life. One way represents solidarity with the Black worker and the progressive forces of society. The other way represents alliance with the forces of exploitation and repression.

I'd like to speak a bit about this "civil war" and examine some of what it means for the development of revolutionary strategy.

In order to understand the contradictory, often bewildering behavior of people, especially white people, in this country, we must take up two questions. The first question is — on what does capitalist rule depend?

There are groups, radical groups, which seem to operate on the premise that capitalist rule depends on the monopoly of guns and tanks held by the employing class and its ability to use them whenever it pleases against the exploited majority. This view explains why some groups put such great efforts into building alliances with all sorts of liberals to preserve constitutional forms of government. They hope, through these alliances, to limit the ability of the ruling class to use force against the people.

I do not share this view of the secret of capitalist rule. I do not agree that capitalist power rests, at present, primarily on guns and tanks. It rests on the support of the majority of people. This support is usually passive, sometimes active, but nevertheless effective.

Competition Among the Wage Earners

I contend that the key element in the popular acceptance of capitalist rule is the ideology and institution of white supremacy, which provides the illusion of common interests between the exploited white masses and the white ruling class.

Karl Marx wrote that wage slavery rests exclusively on competition among the wage earners. He meant that the existence of competition among the

working class is responsible for the continued rule of the employing class and the inability of the working people to overthrow it and establish their rule.

Why do people compete? They compete in order to get ahead. The fact must be admitted that, from a certain point of view, it is possible to "get ahead" in this society. Years and years of unquestioning loyalty and devotion to the company will, in a certain percentage of cases, result in advancement for the employee — advancement to a position of lead man, foreman, soft job, high bonus job, etc. Working people have various uncomplimentary terms to describe this sort of behavior. Yet large numbers of them live their lives in this way, and for a certain portion of these, it "pays off."

Because of the peculiar development of America and the nature of capitalist policy in this country, there is a special element added to the general competition which exists among all workers. That special element is color, which throws the competition on a special basis, that raises color to a special place in the competition among workers.

All workers compete; that is a law of capitalism. But Black and white workers compete with a special advantage on the side of the white. That is a result of the peculiar development of America, and is not inherent in the objective social laws of the capitalist system.

In the same way that some individual workers gain advancement on the job by currying favor with the employer, white workers as a group have won a favored position for themselves by siding with the employing class against the non-white people. This favored status takes various forms, including the monopoly of skilled jobs and higher education, better housing at lower cost than that available to non-whites, less police harassment, a cushion against the most severe effects of unemployment, better health conditions, as well as certain social advantages.

We're trying to explain why people act as they do, and particularly why white workers act as they do. White working people aren't stupid. They don't act in a racist fashion simply out of blind prejudice. There are much more substantial causes — the system of white-skin privileges — which lead them to behave in a selfish, exclusionary manner.

A Black steel worker told me that once, when he was working as a helper on the unloading docks, he decided to bid on an operator's job that was open. All the operators were white. He had worked with them before in his capacity as helper. They had been friends, had eaten together and chatted about all the things that workers talk about. When he bid on the operator's job, it became the task of the other operators to break him in. He was assigned to the job, and sent to work with them on the equipment, and given

thirty days to learn the job. It quickly became clear to him that the other workers had no intention of permitting him to get that job. They operated the equipment in such a way as to prevent him from learning how. Workers are very skilled at that sort of thing.

After two weeks, one of the white workers came to him and said, "Listen, I know what's going on here. You work with me on Monday and I'll break you in." The person who told me this story agreed — at least there was one decent white worker in the bunch. Friday afternoon came around, and the white worker approached him. With some embarrassment, he admitted that he had to back down from his offer. "It's bad enough when all the guys call me a n--- lover, but when my own wife quits talking to me, well I just can't go through with it."

The man who told me that story never succeeded in getting that job.

What made those white workers act in the way they did? They were willing to be "friends" at the workplace, but only on the condition that the Black worker stay in "his place." They didn't want him to "presume" to a position of social equality if and when they met on "the outside." And they didn't want him to presume to share in the better jobs at the workplace. Those white workers understood that keeping themselves in "their place" in the company scheme of things depended upon helping to keep the Black worker in "his place."

They had observed that whenever the Black people force the ruling class, in whole or in part, to make concessions to racial equality, the ruling class strikes back to make it an equality on a worse level of conditions than those enjoyed by the whites before the concessions. The white workers are thus conditioned to believe that every step toward racial equality necessarily means a worsening of their own conditions. Their bonus is cut. Production rates go up. Their insurance is harder to get and more expensive. Their garbage is collected less often. Their children's schools deteriorate.

This is how the white-skin privilege system works. If a small number of white workers do manage to see through the smoke screen and join in the fight together with the Black workers, the ruling class responds with bribes, cajolery, threats, violence and pressure multiplied a thousand fold to drive the thinking whites back into the "club" of white supremacists. And the purpose of all this is to prevent the white workers from learning the Black example, to prevent them from learning that if Blacks can force concessions from the boss through struggle, how much more could be accomplished if the white workers would get into the struggle against the boss instead of against the Black workers.

A common approach to the problem posed above is that of the white radical who goes into a shop which has a typical pattern of discrimination against Black workers. Instead of directly taking up that issue and attempting to build a struggle for equality, he looks for some issue, like speedup, which affects all workers to one degree or another. He aims to develop a struggle around this issue, to involve all the workers in the struggle. He hopes that in the course of the struggle the white workers, through contact with Blacks, will lose their attitudes of racial superiority. This is the approach to the problem of unifying the working class which prevails within the radical movement today.

I don't think it works. History shows it doesn't work. The result of this sort of false unity always leaves the Black worker still on the bottom. It always seems to be the demand for racial equality, the last one on the list, that is sacrificed in order to reach a settlement and celebrate the "great victory" of the struggle.

Present-day unions are, to a considerable extent, the end product of this sort of approach. It is Black and white together on the picket line, and after the strike is over the white workers return to the skilled trades, the machining departments and the cleaner assembly areas, and the Black workers return to the labor gang and the open hearth. Every "victory" of this kind feeds the poison of racism and pushes further off the real unity of the working class which must be established if significant progress is to be made.

There is no way to overcome the national and racial divisions within the working class except by directly confronting them. The problem of white supremacy must be fought out openly within the working class.

Hug the Chains of an Actual Wretchedness

Over eighty years ago, Tom Watson, the Georgia agrarian protest leader, wrote the following words, full of profound meaning:

You might beseech a Southern white tenant to listen to you upon questions of finance, taxation and transportation; you might demonstrate with mathematical precision that herein lay his way out of poverty into comfort; you might have him "almost persuaded" to the truth, but if the merchant who furnished his farm supplies (at tremendous usury) or the town politician (who never spoke to him except at election times) came along and cried "Negro rule," the entire fabric of reason

and common sense which you had patiently constructed would fall, and the poor tenant would joyously hug the chains of an actual wretchedness rather than do any experimenting on a question of mere sentiment . . . the argument against the independent movement in the South may be boiled down into one word — nigger.

These words are as true today as when they were first written. They apply with equal force to workers as well as to farmers, and the truth of them is not limited to the South. Ted Allen has put it that white supremacy is the keystone of ruling class power, and the white-skin privilege is the mortar that holds it in place.

There are two points in what I have been saying so far that are distinctive and that I wish to emphasize.

The first point is that, for revolutionary strategists, the key problem is not the racism of the employing class, but the racism of the white worker. (After all, the boss's racism is natural to him because it serves his class interests.) It is the support by white workers for the employers' racial policies which represents the chief obstacle to all social progress in this country, including revolution.

The second point is that this support has its basis in real conditions of life. It is not simply a matter of ignorance and prejudice, to be overcome by exhortation and appeals to reason.

The second question I wish to take up is: where does socialism come from?

To Impose Order on Chaos

In their daily activities, working people express the drive to reorganize society so that they become the masters of production instead of the servants of production — the essential meaning of Socialism. I would like to cite a few examples of this striving of workers.

One of the characteristics of steel production is that it must be continuous: to stop the furnaces is a costly and time-consuming operation. (I heard a story that once in Colorado around 1912 the IWW pulled a strike at a steel mill and, instead of banking the furnaces, simply walked off the job. According to the story, that furnace stands today, over sixty years later, with a solid block of iron inside of it, unusable.)

Steel is a continuous operation and has to be maintained that way. What the steel companies do is operate a system of three shifts, and a system of relief on the job: a worker can't leave the job until his relief shows up. The workers take advantage of

this in various ways. There is one mill I know of in which the workers have organized a rotation system among themselves, in which they take turns calling off, allowing the person they are scheduled to relieve eight hours overtime in their place. There are a couple of dozen people involved in this, they have it organized in turns and it would probably take a professional mathematician several weeks of studying attendance records to figure out their system. It allows each worker to get an extra day off every few weeks, and then receive, in his turn, an enlarged paycheck — without working a single hour more than normal. You see, the company posts its schedule of work, and then the workers proceed to violate it and impose their own.

Of course they don't have everything their own way. When the absenteeism gets too severe the company cracks down and threatens reprisals, and the workers are forced to slack off for a while. Then, when the heat is off, they go back to their own schedule.

Another example. One of the characteristics of the capitalist scheme of production is the division between maintenance and production workers. This is universal under capitalism. There is one category of workers who perform the same operation minute after minute for their entire lives, and another category of workers who go around fixing machines when they break down. In the United States this division has been adapted to serve the system of white-skin privileges. White workers are generally given preference for the jobs in maintenance, which are usually easier, cleaner, more interesting and higher paying than production jobs.

The workers respond to this division in ways that at first sight seem bewildering. When they get angry at the company, production workers will not perform the simplest and most routine maintenance task. They will stop an entire operation waiting for a maintenance worker to change a fuse.

A Black worker in maintenance, one of the few, told this story. He was called to repair a piece of equipment that had failed. Unable to locate the trouble, he called his foreman to help. The foreman was also unable to find the trouble, and so he called a higher-up. They stood around for a while scratching their heads and then decided to go back to the office and study the schematic drawings of the equipment to see if they would reveal the trouble. After the foremen had left, the Black maintenance worker asked the production worker, who was also Black, what was wrong with the machine. He replied that he had thrown the wrong switch by mistake and blown some obscure control device. He pointed it out, after swearing the maintenance worker to secrecy, and it was fixed in three minutes. His attitude was — no one

had asked him what was wrong, and if they treated him like a dope he would act like a dope.

This is one side of the workers' response to the arbitrary maintenance-production split. On the other hand, they make efforts to overcome the barriers in their way, to master the entire process of production in order to express their full human capacities. Production workers do everything they can to learn about their equipment. On some occasions they go to great lengths to make repairs themselves without calling the maintenance department.

Maintenance workers also show this striving to break down artificial barriers. Many times they voluntarily grab a shovel or perform other tasks which are outside of their job requirements. But if the foreman orders them to do it, they will curse him and refuse.

These efforts by both production and maintenance workers to break down the barriers erected between them represent the striving of working people to master the equipment which makes the things they need, to gain control over the work process so that labor itself becomes a source of satisfaction to them.

There are many other examples that indicate the efforts of workers to impose their order on the chaos of capitalist production. If we want to know what socialism in the United States will look like, we should carefully study the activities of the working people today, because the ingredients of the socialist society appear right now in embryonic, subordinated ways.

The Ultimate Exploited

Now I must tie together the two lines of argument I have been pursuing so far, and pose the question — where does the Black struggle fit into all this? Please note: by Black struggle I mean the autonomous Black movement. I do not mean any particular organization, although a number of organizations are part of it. I am referring to the tendency on the part of large numbers of Black people, especially workers, to find ways of acting together independent of white control and white approval, and to decide their course of action based simply on what they feel is good for Black people, not what serves some so-called larger movement.

The elements of such an autonomous Black movement exist. They are repressed and subordinated, just as the autonomous efforts of workers generally are repressed. The conscious and determined efforts of the white ruling class to flood the Black community with drugs are one indication of the serious threat the Black movement poses to official society.

In spite of all the efforts of the ruling class to suppress it, the Black movement exists. How does it fit into the general movement of all the oppressed

to revolutionize society? I wish to make three points.

First of all, the Black workers are the ultimate exploited in this country. They have no possibility of rising as a group to oppress anyone else. In spite of what many whites think about such subjects as welfare, Black people receive no favors as a group from the capitalist class.

In the second place, the daily activities of the Black people, especially the Black workers, are the best existing model for the aspirations of the workers generally as a distinct class of people. Other groups in society, when they act collectively on their own, usually represent partial and occasionally even reactionary interests. The activities of the Black workers are the most advanced outpost of the new society we seek to establish.

The Challenge to White Workers

In the third place, the autonomous movement of Black people poses a constant challenge to white workers to, in the words of C. L. R. James, "take the steps which will enable the working people to fulfill their historic destiny of building a society free of the domination of one class or one race over another."

The Black movement poses a challenge, not merely to white workers in general, but to those white intellectuals, workers or not, who regard themselves as in some sense radical or revolutionary. This is a challenge which, in the past, they have generally not lived up to. This challenge is not something limited to history either; it continually comes up, in new ways as well as old ones. Let me offer a few examples.

The system of seniority was originally fought for by the unions as a defense against individual favoritism and arbitrary discipline by the boss. Through a fairly involved process, seniority has been adapted to serve the needs of white supremacy. The boss decided whom to hire first, and the seniority system placed the union label on the practice of relegating Blacks to the status of "last hired, first fired." As Black workers press forward with their demands for full equality in all spheres of life, they increasingly come into conflict with the seniority system and other devices which uphold white supremacy, such as certain types of tests, and so forth. The white workers often react defensively. In many cases they insist that their resistance is not due to any prejudice against Black people, but is merely an objection to bypassing what has become the regular procedure for advancement. On more than one occasion, Black workers have forced the employer to open a new job area to them, only to run up against the rigid opposition of white workers.

White revolutionaries must understand, and help the masses of white workers to understand, that the

interests of the entire working class can only be served by standing firmly with the Black workers in such cases.

Or consider the dispute over jobs in the construction trades, which reached a peak several years ago in a number of cities, and is still going on in some places. In Chicago it took the form of, on one side, a community coalition led by Rev. C. T. Vivian, a number of elements around SCLC and Operation PUSH, and various diverse forces from among the Black community and youth, along with, apparently, some financial backing from the Ford Foundation and the Chicago Northwestern Railway. The aim of the struggle was to gain entrance for Blacks into the construction trades. The means used was to surround various on-going construction sites with mass picketing in order to stop work on them until Black workers were admitted in proportion to their numbers in the city. On the other side was a united front of the construction unions and contractors. Of course their defense was that they do not practice racial discrimination; that Black workers simply had not applied for or passed the tests for admittance.

What is the position of radicals to be in a case like this? There have been arguments that the Ford Foundation and other such forces are using the Black movement to weaken the construction unions and drive down the cost of labor. That argument is not without validity; it is difficult to believe that the Ford Foundation and the Chicago Northwestern Railway are unselfishly interested in the cause of Black workers.

Some radical groups, from a lofty position of supposed objectivity, took it upon themselves to advise the Black coalition that instead of directing their struggle against the admittedly unfair assignment of jobs, they should recognize the fact that there was a shortage of jobs in construction and should join with the unions to expand the number of jobs, which would benefit Black as well as white and avoid the danger of "dividing the working class" as the present struggle was allegedly doing. This, of course, was merely a radical-sounding version of the argument given by the construction unions and contractors themselves, who would welcome any support from any quarter which offered to expand the industry.

The response of the Black masses to this argument was to press forward the struggle to open those jobs up or shut them down. Their actions showed their confidence that it was they who were using the Ford Foundation and not the other way around, and that as for the problems of the construction industry, these could not be of concern to them until they became part of it.

Some listeners may sense the justice in what I have been arguing, and at the same time question its

practicability. Wherein lies the basis for establishing solidarity among the working class? Is it possible to expect white workers to repudiate privileges which are real in the interests of something so abstract as justice?

Poison Bait

The answer is that the system of white-skin privileges, while it is undeniably real, is not in the interests of white workers as part of a class which aims at transforming society to its roots. The acceptance of a favored status by white workers binds them to wage slavery, makes them subordinate to the capitalist class. The repudiation, that is, the active rejection, through struggle, of this favored status is the precondition for the participation by white workers in the struggle of workers as a distinct social class. A metaphor which has been used in the past, and which I still find appropriate, is that white-skin privileges are poison bait, a worm with a hook in it. To be willing to leap from the water to exert the most determined and violent efforts to throw off the hook and the worm is the only way to avoid landing on the dinner table.

Let me offer a historical parallel. Back in the 1930's when people were organizing the CIO, one of the problems they had to face was that many workers in the plants had worked out a means of survival which consisted of gaining advancement for themselves in return for favors for the boss. Old timers still talk about how, back in the days before the union, if you wanted a promotion or even wanted to keep your job in the event of a layoff, you had to mow the boss's lawn or wash his car or give him a bottle of whiskey at Christmas. In order to bring a union into those plants, that sort of activity had to be defeated. It was undeniably true that those who washed the foreman's car were the last workers laid off. On what basis was it possible to appeal to the workers to renounce this sort of behavior which they felt was necessary to their survival? The basis of the appeal was that it was precisely that sort of behavior which bound them and subordinated them to the company, and that the interests of solidarity of the entire work force demanded the repudiation of such individual arrangements.

The appeal fell on deaf ears until it began to seem that there was a real possibility of making some basic changes in those plants. Until the CIO was present as a real force, until the momentum built up, until people began to feel that there was another way to live besides mowing the boss's lawn, they were not willing to repudiate the old way.

Today, as a result of the CIO, in vast areas of American industry, any worker who was suspected of

doing the sorts of favors for the foreman that were once taken for granted would be ostracized and treated with cold contempt by his fellow workers. (Some people may argue that the previous statement is an exaggeration, and that the spirit of togetherness and combativity has deteriorated over the years. To the extent that they are right, it should be noted that this deterioration is in large part due to the habit of subservience encouraged by the general acceptance by white workers of racial privileges.)

The time will come when the masses of white workers in our country will regard with disdain those among them who seek or defend racial privileges, in the same way they now have only contempt for someone who would wash the foreman's car in return for preferential treatment.

A Powerful Magnet

Today the Black movement represents an alternative to the dominant mode of life in our country, in the same way the CIO represented an alternative to the old way of life in the factory. The relations which Black people, especially Black workers, have established among themselves, and the culture which has arisen out of their struggle, represent a model for a new society. The Black movement exercises a powerful attraction on all those who come into contact with it.

Consider the matter of the position of women and relations between the sexes. Black women, as a result of their struggle for freedom as Black people, have achieved a great sense of their independence, not merely from one man but from men in general. This has forced Black men to accept a degree of independence for women that is rare in the rest of the population. Anyone who has observed the changes undergone by white, Latin or Asian women once they go to work and come into contact with Black women can see the extent to which the old way of women's unquestioned subservience to man has been undermined. The men may resent this process, but it is irreversible.

The rise in general working-class militancy, observed by everyone in the last few years, is directly traceable to the influence of Black workers, who are generally recognized by all, including white workers, as the most militant and combative group of workers when it comes to taking on the company. The Black workers are drawing on the experience they have gained in their struggle for national freedom, and are beginning to transmit the lessons of that struggle to the white workers with whom they come in contact.

The same thing is true also for the insurgent movement within the military, where the GI resistance, led by Black GIs, reached such proportions that

it forced major changes in official government policy.

This is true also for the insurgent movement within the prisons, where the resistance and courage of Black prisoners has pulled whites into the struggle for decent conditions and human dignity.

For decades, politics, to white workers, has been a dirty word. It has meant nothing more than the right to choose every four years which gang of thieves is going to loot the public treasury for the next four. Beginning in 1955 with the Montgomery bus boycott, when an entire city organized its own system of transportation as well as of public discussion and decision-making through the direct participation of thousands of people, the Black movement has created a new concept of citizenship and community. Continuing through the sit-ins, freedom rides, mass marches and urban rebellions, the Black movement has given new meaning to politics, and helped the American people in general to rediscover their tradition of self-organization and revolt.

Many examples of this phenomenon could be cited from the only community in this country whose members greet each other as brother and sister. But the point is made: in spite of all the obstacles placed in its way, the Black movement, expressed in the patterns of life arising from struggle, represents a powerful magnetic pole to vast numbers of workers looking for a way out of the mess which is modern life.

Recall, if you will, the anecdote with which I opened this talk: the case of the white workers acting in solidarity with the Black crane operators. Consider the position of the white workers in that case. They are under conflicting pressures. On the one hand, they see a group of workers preparing to strike a blow at the company and, like all workers everywhere, they want to deal themselves in, to hit back at the enemy which is oppressing them. On the other hand, to join with the Black workers in such a situation means turning against habit, against tradition, against their own status as racially privileged workers.

They are faced with a choice, between their identity and interests as whites and their identity and interests as workers. What was it that made that particular group of workers in that situation decide, in the words of one activist, to be "more worker than white"?

Their actions can only be explained by the fact that, whether or not they express it in words, the Black movement represented for them an alternative way of life, a way that was better and more attractive than the usual passive, subordinated life they were accustomed to. Anyone who has ever taken part in collective struggle knows that, regardless of how they may have acted afterwards, the experience left a lasting impression on them.

What about the tasks of revolutionaries, and in

particular white revolutionaries, in regard to this vital task of unifying the working class around its class interests?

Things have changed in the last twenty years. It is no longer possible for any group which claims to be revolutionary to openly oppose the Black movement. Not if it hopes to have any following. There are one or two groups in the country that do, but nobody pays any attention to them. The point today is to define the relation between the Black movement and the general class struggle. And that is where the differences come out.

Everybody in the movement is opposed to racism, everybody chants the litany that racism is the greatest barrier to class unity. Every group puts out propaganda against racism and sincerely strives to win the workers to the struggle against it.

But what about those cases where the struggle of Black workers and Black people against racial discrimination appears to conflict with the desire to unify the largest possible number of workers behind what are called "general class demands"? For example, as sometimes happens, when the aggressiveness of Black workers in pursuing their fight for equality tends to alienate white workers who might be willing to join with them in common efforts to achieve some reform of immediate and direct benefit to both groups? Then the trouble begins. And we must admit that some left-wing groups, especially those dominated by whites, are all too willing to set aside the special demands of the Black struggle.

A Bad Choice

A recent example of this might serve to clarify the difference between the two approaches. At a large electrical appliance manufacturing plant in Chicago, one of the radical groups, the Revolutionary Union, sent a few people in. The radicals began putting out a plant newsletter which raised the issues of speedup, safety, low wages — all the various grievances of the workers — and also carried on a fairly aggressive campaign against racial discrimination, against the exclusion of Black workers from the better departments, etc.

The group managed to build up considerable support, most of it among Black workers, which wasn't surprising since Black workers made up almost half the work force and were most victimized by the oppressive conditions the group was agitating against.

After some time had passed, the strategists in the group who, it is safe to surmise, were the white radicals who had initiated it along with one or two newly radicalized workers from the plant, decided that, as a tactic, they ought to try and throw out the present union, the International Association of Machinists,

which is one of the worst unions in the Chicago area, and bring in the United Electrical Workers union. That is the UE, the old left-led union expelled in 1949 from the CIO and still under what is called progressive leadership.

Anyhow, they took a group of workers down to the UE hall and met with the organizers there. The staff people were delighted that they were interested in bringing in the UE, but they observed that there weren't enough white workers in the committee. If they ever hoped to win the plant for the UE, they would have to involve more white workers in the organizing effort.

That was certainly a logical effort. And so, what did the group do? They went back into the plant and began campaigning for the UE, using the newsletter as their chief vehicle. But now there was a change. The main aim became to reach the white workers, and so the line of the newsletter now became: all workers unite, the boss makes no distinction between Black and white, do not let race feeling divide us, bringing in the UE will benefit us all, our interests are all the same, etc. As for the exposures of racial discrimination and the campaign to abolish it in the plant, which had occupied so much of the group's attention prior to the decision to bring in the UE, that was laid aside in the interests of appealing to the broadest number of workers who could be won to the immediate goal, getting a better union.

What is there to say about a story like this? What is there to do besides shake your head? Doesn't this represent, in capsule form, the whole history of labor movement in this country — the radicalization of the workers followed by the capitulation, on the part of the leadership, to the backward prejudices of the white workers? How many times does this experience have to be repeated? Apparently an infinite number until we learn the lesson.

By the way, the upshot of the organizing campaign was that the group didn't succeed in fooling any white workers; they still considered it a Black power group and kept it at arm's length. But it did succeed in cooling the enthusiasm of the Black workers who were its initial base.

Was there an alternative course that could have been followed in the particular situation? I think there was.

Nothing Less Than a Total Change

The alternative would have been to encourage the group along its original lines, determined to fight consistently against white supremacy regardless of what came up or came down — to develop the group as the core of a fighting movement in the plant that carried out struggles on the shop floor around all issues of concern to its members, including the issue of racial discrimination.

It's probably true that such a group could not have been a majority movement at the beginning, or perhaps even for a considerable length of time. Most likely, as the group pushed firmly against racial discrimination it would alienate some white workers who could have been won to it otherwise. That's a choice that has to be made. The group in the plant made the wrong choice.

I think that a group such as I describe, made up perhaps in the beginning almost entirely of Black workers, could have developed as a center of struggle in the plant, and a center of opposition to the company and the rotten union. As time went on, it could have attracted to itself white workers who were so fed up with their situation that they were looking for radical solutions — and would even identify with a "Black radical" outfit, so long as it seemed to offer a way out of the mess they were in. The very things which would make such a group repulsive to some workers would make it attractive to that increasing number of workers, Black as well as white, who are coming to sense that nothing less than a total change is worth fighting for.

The course I advocate offers great difficulties — no doubt about it. It is likely that the repression directed against a radical group that relentlessly fought racial discrimination would be greater than against a more moderate group. It is possible that a group such as I describe could never have gained admittance into the UE. I freely concede all the difficulties. But then, who ever said that making a revolution was easy?

As for the alternative, the course that was actually followed, we know all too well where that leads.



A proud history of resisting hate

Sometimes hate is drawn from a false and dangerous system of thinking, such as anti-Semitism or white superiority. In every case of hate, the hate-mongers have been met forcefully by communities resisting that hate, communities that have pointed the way toward a Canada free from hate, from racism, and from all forms of discrimination.

In the history of Canada, we can point to several well-known instances in which hate propaganda influenced governments to act in a hurtful and harmful way toward communities. Hate propaganda attacking the First Nations helped convince federal government officials at the turn of the century to create residential schools for aboriginal children, schools that tore children away from their families and tried to tear away aboriginal culture from these children. But for every instance of hate propaganda, there has been resistance by communities. The First Nations continue to this day to fight for an autonomous school system for aboriginal youth, one that will respect, value and protect the heritage of aboriginal youth.

During the Second World War, the imprisonment in isolated camps of innocent Japanese Canadians and Italian residents of Canada was also fuelled by hate, especially by the hate propaganda that claimed Canada should only be home to people whose origins were either French or British. Unfortunately much of this propaganda came from a Canadian government that had racist immigration and settlement policies, favouring people from the British Isles and Northern Europe over people from Southern Europe and people from Asia and Africa.

But here too, communities have fought back. Not accepting this imprisonment, or "internment" as it is officially called, was justified even in wartime, community organizations like the National Association of Japanese Canadians, the National Congress of Italian Canadians and the Ukrainian Canadian Congress have joined together to demand official apologies and compensation for lost property and lost years that internment caused so many in their communities during the two world wars. The World War II era saw another example of hate and exclusion, again unfortunately part of government policy. The long-held government policy of trying to exclude Jews, a policy based on suspicion and hate, reached tragic proportions when Canada refused to accept more than a token number of Jews fleeing Europe and Hitler's mass murderers. Other much smaller and poorer countries, such as the Dominican Republic, put Canada to shame by accepting Jewish refugees far more generously.

Today, many communities still feel the pain and exclusion of hate propaganda. Communities still face the desecration of synagogues and sacred burial grounds. Communities still face media hate propaganda that stereotypes them as criminals or unstable religious radicals. But in the long tradition of resistance, communities also continue to resist, to hold the media and the government accountable, and to work with the police to stop hate groups.



MAY DAY, 1932.
Workers from all communities fought for equality and social justice across Canada.

Yet their courage to die fighting is an important lesson. Despite the hopelessness of their fate, the victims of racism can find ways to both passively and actively oppose their persecutors.



For almost twenty years a high school teacher in a Toronto suburb was free to preach and publish his racist views outside the classroom without censure. He was a founding member and an active participant in several organizations which advocated "white supremacy", banning non-white refugees and immigrants from entering Canada and promoting ill will and intolerance against homosexuals and Native peoples. He addressed rallies where well known hate-mongers were honoured and Nazi swastika flags, Ku Klux Klan and skin-head symbols were prominently displayed. He was also known to have attended a celebration in honour of Hitler's birthday.

Over the years the complaints of fellow teachers, and of the Jewish community, were ignored and this teacher of English remained employed by the Board of Education. Parents did not complain despite the discomfort felt by many visible minority students in the school; neither did the teachers' union, whose constitution commits teachers to "foster and promote the dignity of all persons regardless of race, religion or cultural origin."

In 1991, during a public speech given by a Native leader protesting the activities of racist organizations in Toronto, this teacher uttered the anti-Native comment "scalp em." After this incident the Canadian Jewish Congress and the Native Canadian Centre joined forces

for the first time and developed a strategy to resist this hate propaganda and remove him from the classroom. They utilized the media by providing it with information about his activities and were successful in pressuring the school board into an internal investigation. As a result he was formally reprimanded. Yet he continued to sow the seeds of racism in speeches and publications. A few months later the community groups obtained a videotape of the teacher's address to a neo-Nazi rally in 1990. The two community organizations then used intense media scrutiny to persuade the Ministry of Education to conduct a formal inquiry. The resulting report found that a teacher has an obligation to be a role model in areas of human rights and ethnocultural equity and should not promote discrimination or inequity inside or outside the classroom.

Finally in the summer of 1993, the teacher was removed from the high school classroom. Young people no longer were faced with the prospect of a teacher who many felt propagated openly racist views. And as a result of their efforts, the Native and Jewish communities had found common ground to work together to fight racism and hatred.

The Chinese Canadian National Council

One of the most important ways that communities have resisted hate propaganda, especially in the form of stereotypes, is by forming a strong community organization to become a voice for the community.

Often, these community organizations are formed to confront the stereotyping of their community by some members of the media. In these instances, the media is often drawing on an underlying system of racism, of anti-Semitism, or of other ideologies of discrimination and hate. In these cases, the community organization has a dual task: to defend the community from these harmful stereotypes and accusations and, to expose the underlying system or ideology that feeds those stereotypes. The first part of the task requires the community organization to mobilize the community to protest the immediate act of stereotyping. The second part of the task requires the community organization to begin a long-term process of education to break down those harmful underlying systems and ideologies.

There have been many successful examples of community organizations resisting hate and stereotyping by becoming voices for their communities. For instance, in the early 1970s, the Italian community faced a series of government reports, newspapers stories and television specials inaccurately portraying the community as prone to crime, protective of criminals in the community and riddled with Mafia connections. In the face of these ugly and inaccurate stereotypes, many of the small clubs and associations in the community banded together to form F.A.C.I.



From the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee Who We Are

The John Brown Anti-Klan Committee (JBAKC) is a countrywide organization that struggles against the racist violence of the KKK and Nazis and against their underlying cause: the system of white supremacy. We take our name from John Brown, the white abolitionist who said "NO!" to racism and genocide, and dedicated his life to fighting for Black people's freedom from slavery. In this tradition we build solidarity with Black liberation and support struggles for human rights and self-determination.

JBAKC started in 1977 supporting Black prisoners at Napanoch Prison in New York, who exposed a KKK klavern numbering 35 guards and led by the Grand Dragon of the state Klan. Today, we continue organizing campaigns to challenge resurgent white supremacy: from the Federal government to killer cops, from the New Right to the KKK and Aryan Nations. Our commitment to human rights and freedom leads us to support political prisoners and prisoners of war jailed for resisting US imperialism. We

support the struggles of the South African/Azanian and Palestinian peoples to overturn apartheid/colonialism and Zionism.

This is a white supremacist country. Founded on African slavery, genocide and theft of Indian lands, the system of domestic colonialism remains the cornerstone of America's worldwide empire. A century after the Civil War and 25 years after the Civil Rights movement how much has really changed? New Afrikans (Black people in the US) remain economically and politically colonized. Black people are still struggling for freedom and independence in the so-called "land of the free."

Now the KKK and Nazis are rebuilding a fascist movement to attack new Afrikan and all Third World people. The right-wing also targets Jewish people, lesbians and gay men. From coast to coast religious fundamentalists are bombing abortion clinics, violently opposing women's right to reproductive choice.

We can't allow white supremacy and terror to continue unchallenged. A strong anti-racist movement among white people

is needed to effectively resist all these attacks and stop them at their source. The fight against the KKK and for Black liberation has always been pivotal to progressive and revolutionary change in this country. History shows that anti-racist movements rooted in support for the right of the Black Nation/New Afrika to self-determination can grow into a powerful force for justice. This is why JBAKC supports the New Afrikan Independence Movement and its program for land and nationhood in the Black Belt states of Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana.

SMASH RACISM!

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From the New Afrikan People's Organization:

No Association with White Supremacists

During Fall, 1985 a Los Angeles rally featuring Minister Louis Farrakhan was attended by Tom Metzger. Metzger, a central figure for White American Resistance, the White American Political Association, and the Aryan Nations, donated \$100 to Minister Farrakhan's People Organized & Working for Economic Rebirth (POWER) program. Metzger was later to state at a white supremacist convention that the "Aryan" movement should support Black, American Indian, Mexican, and Puerto Rican separatists. Metzger has often said that if he were "Black" he would be a Black nationalist.

How should New Afrikan (Black) People view these overtures? Does the struggle for New Afrikan Land, Independence and Self-Determination have a potential friend and alliance with white supremacists? The New Afrikan People's Organization, as a revolutionary New Afrikan nationalist organization, answers emphatically NO. The only potential white allies we see are those who fight the white supremacist power structure like John Brown did. Malcolm X saw it that way too, and Harriet Tubman before him.

White racial separatism can never be equated with the national liberation struggle of the New Afrikan nation. The New Afrikan Nation is the descendant of various African ethnic groups and nationalities captured and forced into bondage inside North America. After bondage New Afrikans were colonized by the imperialist white American state and denied self-determination. Today, we are still powerless to determine our political, economic, and social development. The poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, racist police and other violence New Afrikans face daily begs the question of Independence, Land and Socialism for the colonized Black Nation. We desire a separate or independent New

Afrikan Nation to win self-determination and full development of our human and material resources.

This demand is consistent with national liberation struggles of other oppressed nations inside the Amerikkkan Empire—Occupied Mexico (Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California, Nevada, Colorado), various Native American Indian nations, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Hawaii. The New Afrikan national liberation struggle is also consistent with worldwide struggles for national liberation—Azania, Palestine, Northern Ireland, El Salvador, the Philippines, etc.

On the other hand, white separatism is the most overtly racist manifestation of white settler ideology. It openly calls for exterminating particularly New Afrikan, Mexican, and other oppressed nations along with people of Jewish descent. It is the radical extreme of a white American settler tradition—Manifest Destiny. This is a tradition of stealing Indian and Mexican land, enslaving and colonizing New Afrikan land, and trying to play policeman of the planet. White separatism and Manifest Destiny only mean "White Man take all." While revolutionary nationalism and national liberation have historically been used as weapons by oppressed nations to end oppression, white supremacy has been used by U.S. imperialism and the white ruling class as a vehicle to mobilize white Americans to maintain oppression on the basis of white skin privilege and the "American way of life."

Metzger's overtures to Black Nationalists are opportunistic. They are designed to divert our attention from the growth of a neo-Nazi military underground. This paramilitary force will serve as a fundamental tool in the genocidal race war the neo-Nazis and KKK plan to wage on New Afrikans and other oppressed peoples and

nations inside the US. Some Black Nationalists have been confused by this diversionary tactic by the Klan and Nazis.

In the 1920's, Marcus Garvey, leader of the largest mass movement of African people ever, met with Klan leaders and sought support for aspects of his "Back to Africa" Program. The union between Garvey and the Klan served to demobilize New Afrikan support for the Garvey Movement. New Afrikans whose fathers and mothers, sisters and brothers, sons and daughters had been lynched, brutalized, and dispossessed by white vigilante terrorists could not join hands with the Klan. This and other factors demoralized and disorganized millions of New Afrikans.

In the early 1960's, while the New Afrikan masses were struggling to eliminate apartheid "Jim Crow" segregation laws, the Nation of Islam had associations with the KKK. American Nazis were accorded places of honor at public meetings and rallies. J.B. Stoner, later convicted of bombing a Black church in Alabama, was interviewed by *Muhammad Speaks* newspaper of the Nation of Islam. This association with enemies of the Black Nation, along with other factors, led to the Nation losing some of its most revolutionary members, including Malcolm X.

Malcolm, upon leaving the N.O.I., publicly stood with the New Afrikan masses in our struggle against white supremacy. He called for Black self-defense units to protect New Afrikan masses and activist organizing in our subjugated National Territory. In an open statement to American Nazi Party leader George Lincoln Rockwell (responsible for violent attacks on New Afrikan activists), Malcolm said, "...if your present racist agitation against our people there in Alabama causes physical harm to Reverend King or any other Black Americans who are only attempting



to enjoy their rights as free human beings, [then] you and your Ku Klux Klan friends will be met with maximum physical retaliation from those of us who are not handicuffed by the disarming philosophy of nonviolence, and who believe in asserting our right of self defense by any means necessary.

Malcolm's stand reflects the revolutionary New Afrikan nationalist tradition of resistance, noncollaboration, and steadfastness against our oppressors. This tradition is seen in the slave rebels, maroons, the Underground Railroad, New Afrikan resistance during the "Red Summer" of 1919, the Deacons for Defense and other self-defense fights in the South in the 1960's, the New Afrikan urban uprisings in mid/late 1960's, and several other aspects of our rich history. This revolutionary tradition is the basis for New Afrikan national identity, consciousness, and the collective and individual moral and ideological posture we must have to win self-determination and national liberation.

We call on all Black, progressive, and anti-imperialist organizations and individuals to see through the opportunistic and destructive tactics of the white supremacists; to denounce steadfastly any relationships or "alliances" with these advocates of genocide by Black, progressive, or anti-imperialist organizations or individuals. American white supremacy must be isolated and eliminated in the same way we fight Zionism, apartheid, and all racist and genocidal systems and beliefs.

Stand Firm
Death to KKK and Nazis
Free New Afrika—Free the Land



From the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee:

No Free Speech for Fascists

Alan Berg, Jewish radio talk-show host in Denver, Colorado, debated the Klan on his call-in show. Most of us would agree that Berg was exercising his right to free speech. But the Klan didn't like what he had to say and besides, Berg was one of the Jewish people the Klan says control the media. So Alan Berg was executed right in his own driveway. The murder weapon was traced to Gary Yarborough of The Order, one of the organizations in the white supremacist para-military underground. (see cover story, this issue).

Berg's murder demonstrated how little real interest the Klan has in free speech. But they will use the issue relentlessly, playing on many people's fears about limiting civil rights. The Klan's strategy is dependent on being able to put forward their white supremacist ideology in mass ways—through TV, radio, marches, rallies, etc. The John Brown Anti-Klan Committee opposes the fascist right wing's "right" to organize for racist terror.

We believe that free speech is not an abstract right. In America, any "rights" given to people under the constitution are given selectively.

Black people who opposed slavery were executed. After Reconstruction, Black people who organized for human rights were lynched by the newly born KKK. During the 1960s, Black people who organized for freedom were jailed, beaten and killed. The FBI's murderous counter-intelligence program (COINTELPRO) was the government's answer to Black revolutionaries who were exercising their

right to organize for Black Liberation. In the last five years, many Black revolutionaries and activists have gone to jail for refusing to talk to grand juries. Three people in JBAKC also went to jail for not talking to an FBI grand jury.

As free speech continues to be selectively enforced, the Klan's "rights" are protected. In San Francisco, WAR (the White American Resistance), a Klan front group, broadcasts a weekly TV show and runs a 24-hour telephone hotline that anyone can call for a fascist message. That's the liberal Bay Area and we could think they're not going to make any headway there, but let's look again. Klansman Tom Metzger, producer of the TV show, has gloated that WAR's membership in the Bay Area is up 400%. And what's happened in the Bay Area in the past year?

- A bomb threat and attempted bombing of the Ethnic Studies Department at San Francisco State University;
- Three attempted bombings of synagogues and a rabbi's home in one day;
- Increasing incidents of racist and anti-semitic vandalism;
- In Concord, a San Francisco suburb, a gay Black man was found lynched on the same night that two Black men were stabbed by two white men in Klan robes.

All these things do not happen spontaneously. They happen because the Klan and Nazis are organizing and creating a climate where violent racist acts are con-



Cops protect Klan's "right to free speech."

sidered acceptable.

And that's just the Bay Area. In 1979 in Greensboro, North Carolina, five members of the Communist Workers Party were killed by Klansmen and Nazis while demonstrating against white supremacy.

Where was their right to free speech? The Klan got off scot-free.

A few months ago in Chicago, an anti-Klan rally was attacked by Nazis and a racist punk group with baseball bats and tire irons.

When the homes of Black families are stoned in Chicago and Philadelphia because they dare to live in a white neighborhood, where are their first amendment rights?

The Southern Poverty Law Center was fire-bombed for exposing Klan organizing. Who has free speech?

The National Conference of Black Lawyers, in a letter criticizing the ACLU for their defense of the Klan, sums up what it means to defend free speech for fascists:

"The laws of the United States—including the first amendment—were not conceived, written, or enforced with the interest of Third World people in mind. ... And so, try as you will, it is inconceivable to convince Third World people that representing the KKK is in their best interests. The first amendment has become an enigma to people of color, largely because liberals use it as a tool to defend our enemies. Black people marched before the KKK existed and will continue to march—and die... first amendment or not."

In our corrupt white supremacist society, let us heed these words. At every turn, let us oppose the Klan's and other racists' opportunity to organize for racist violence and race war.

AFTERMATH OF

Descriptions from across the political spectrum of the L.A. uprising in the wake of the police brutality acquittals are like the proverbial blind men trying to describe the elephant. One holds the tail and says the elephant is like a rope; another grabs the trunk and says the elephant is like a hose; a third holds onto the leg and says it must be like a tree trunk, etc. Each may be partially right, but substitutes the part for the whole.

Some on the left say the rebellion was the first multi-racial, multi-national bread riot. Others draw a parallel to the African American rebellion in Watts 27 years ago. Right wing Republican U.S. Senate candidate Bruce Herschensohn says the looters weren't angry, they were enjoying themselves.

Did the violence provide a catharsis and a chance for a new beginning in L.A.? Or, as others fear, did the events intensify racial animosity? Were antagonisms between Blacks and Koreans about racism, class, or cultural misunderstandings? Did the police gloatingly provoke the community, then stand back and let things get out of hand intentionally to embarrass the city's political leadership? Or just because they didn't care to put themselves at risk to protect Black, Hispanic or Korean neighborhoods? For L.A., the correct answer to this "multiple choice" quiz is "all of the above."

The L.A. rebellion was many different, sometimes contradictory things at the same time. It was an outburst of Black resistance to racism and injustice, against police brutality, economic deprivation and political frustration. For some people, it was a chance to vent rage towards whites, Koreans and others identified as members of oppressor groups, a chance for "payback" regardless of political goals or consequences. And for some, it was an unparalleled opportunity to stock up on weapons from sporting goods stores and pawn shops. At the same time, the rebellion was an uprising of the city's dispossessed Latino plurality, especially the super-exploited undocumented Mexican and Central American sectors who have continued to grow in the

face of the immigration reforms of the past few years, which have legalized a few while driving others further underground. Simple survival for them and for many Blacks mandated taking food, diapers and daily necessities from the stores.

At the same time, for Blacks, Latinos and some whites alike, the uprising was a rupture in the social fabric, of "law and order," a chance to get something for nothing. Plenty of Mercedes Benzes were seen driving up to electronics stores, with their yuppie owners loading up with computers and ed players. The example of looting set by Reagan, Bush and the S & L robber barons was certainly not lost on the oppressed classes either. The poor see quite as clearly as the rich that the ruling values of this society have nothing whatsoever to do any more with a fair day's work for a fair day's pay or with material success through hard work.

To a certain extent, the rebellion was the doing of the police, who spent the early period after the acquittals gloating, harassing Black youths, and increasing tensions. Then they retreated from the streets without making a sufficient effort to quiet communities, prevent damage to stores, or notify motorists of trouble spots. During the unrest police killed at least a dozen people; none of these deaths are likely to result in prosecutions or even reprimands. Daryl Gates' arrogance dealt the death blow to his career and his



political aspirations; he was finally forced into retirement and replaced with a new Black chief. The rebellion gave the state a chance to try out some of its repressive apparatus, including curfews, INS sweeps, mass arrests, and the use of the National Guard and armed forces for domestic control purposes; the whole operation supervised by FEMA, the Federal Emergency Management Agency originally designed by Reagan as governor in California specifically to deal with "civil disorders," Black and Hispanic rebellions.

The uprising was understandable and justified. It also, however, reflected the failure of the left to provide effective political leadership or direction over a long period of time. White "communists" whether followers of Stalin or Trotsky, white anarchists, even white peace and anti-intervention activists, have operated at the margins for so long that they had no discernible impact on the response of white people in general to the beating of Rodney King, the failure of the

city's establishment to do anything about it, or the final injustice in Simi Valley. Black nationalists, internationalists or socialists seemed unable over the previous year, since the beating of Rodney King, to transform their community's anger into organized resistance. As a result, the rebellion dealt with only the most immediate and visible targets and problems. This is the context that allowed vengeance to be directed on the basis of skin color. Despite the fears of the elite, after the first night's demonstrations outside Parker Center and City Hall, the unrest did not directly threaten the political and economic elite in Arco Plaza or elsewhere in fortress L.A. Despite all the contradictory aspects of the uprising, it is not necessary to justify or defend every single act of every single individual to defend the uprising a whole or to demand an amnesty for those arrested for the rebellion, especially for curfew violations and crimes against property.

AN UPRISING

But it is also essential at this point to look towards the future. In the aftermath of the rebellion, the city's economic elite is trying its hardest to return to business as usual. "Rebuild L.A." under Peter Ueberroth, who approved L.A.P.D. plans for cordoning off the Black community during the 1984 Olympics, is another project of the city's corporate rulers, dressed up with some faces of color, to maintain control of the city's affairs. Many fearful whites have been arming themselves at a record rate. Most of the hysterical estimates of the early days have been revised downward — there were actually 1/6 the number of fires, many fewer killings, and "only" 9000 arrests (rather than 19,000 as originally claimed). The L.A.P.D. is characterizing the gang truce, the most positive recent development in the city, as a plot to increase lawlessness and a scheme directed at law enforcement.

The cops are harassing every celebration of the effort of Black youth to stop killing each other, and despite the truce have just reassigned 40 aggressive anti-gang cops from around the city into south central. Hopefully, this will only reinforce the understanding of those trying to heal the breaches within the Black community as to who the real enemy is. More lives have probably been saved at this point, as the truce holds, than were lost in the uprising. Black youth are trying to purge themselves of the self-hate they have internalized from this racist society, which has led them to kill each other. Yet this laudable goal makes the cops, and the city's elite, decidedly uneasy. If young Black men stop killing each other, where will they direct their energy?

Look at the hostile reaction of the political and economic elite in L.A. and the U.S. to this attempt by young Black men and women to redeem themselves and put forward a sincere program for renewal in this society. Compare that with the recent efforts of the German government to incorporate nazi boneheads into their official youth programs. The German nazi-skins, who are still practicing and preaching virulent racism, still attacking immigrants and non-white Germans, are being given meeting halls to hang their swastikas in, make-work jobs cleaning their neighborhoods, and paid counselors to run recreation programs. The Black youth of L.A., trying to end a decade of self-destruction, are being given the back of the hand

and demonized as extortionists and hooligans.

There have been some positive developments since the uprising. A number of coalitions have been developing in the African American community, reaching out with a revolutionary perspective to gang members and other young people. Kamal Hassan of the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement reports that the rebellion served to discredit the petty bourgeois "Negro" leadership of politicians, businessmen and preachers, and many Black youth, in and out of gangs, are turning to more radical voices for an effective analysis and strategy. Michael Zinzun, a former Black Panther who leads the Coalition Against Police Abuse, is hoping to pressure the City Council

into placing a radical proposal for an elected citizen police review board and a special prosecutor on the November ballot.

The first authentic united front of various Asian and Pacific Americans has been put together specifically to join in the effort to rebuild L.A. and to relate to other communities. It remains to be seen whether these and similar efforts can shift the balance of power and shape an initiative that will create the basis for effective grass roots unity, and set a new direction for L.A. and the nation. For more information, contact the Coalition for Justice, c/o Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, 5356 Crenshaw Blvd., Los Angeles CA 90043 (213) 299-4412.

con-sume (kən-soom', kən-sum'),
v.t. [CONSUMED CONSUMING]. [OFr.
consumer; L. *consumere*, to use up,
eat, waste, destroy. <com-, together
+ *sumere*, to take.] 1. to destroy, as
by fire; do away with. 2. to use up;
spend wastefully; squander (time,
energy, money, etc.) 3. to drink or
eat up; devour. v.i. to waste away;
perish.

WEBSTER'S NEW WORLD DICTIONARY, 1962

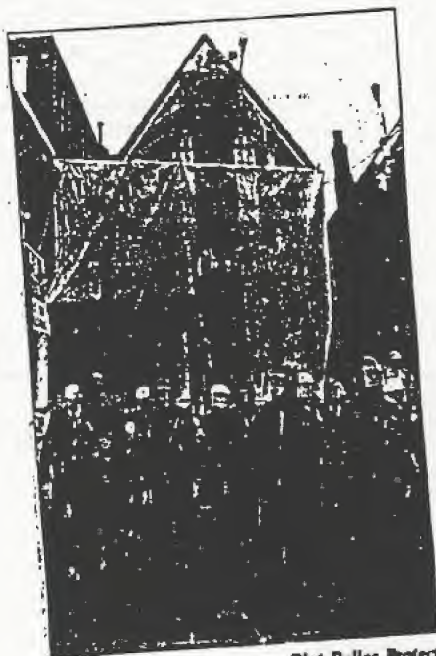


ANOTHER ...

BROUGHT TO YOU BY ANTI-FASCIST INFO

ANTI-FASCIST INFO NITE

THE RISE OF FASCISM IN GERMANY AND
THE ROLE OF CANADIAN ACCOMPLICES



Riot Police Protect Zundel's Home,
covered with a Massive Condom



Anti-Racist Action Demo Confronts Riot Police at Ernst Zundel's Home

SPEAKER FROM TORONTO'S ANTI-RACIST ACTION VIDEO'S:

- From Toronto, ARA's Demo Against Ernst Zundel, Infamous Holocaust Denial/Revisionist, "Guru" of German Neo-Nazi's
- Documentaries That Reveal Zundel's Extensive Involvement In Germany's Fascist Movements, Including the Award-Winning Film "The Truth Shall Make You Free"
- Updates on Anti-Fascist Arrests and Upcoming Trials In Vancouver and Toronto
- Sharing of Ideas/Info on Anti-Fascist Strategies and Tactics

January 5

7:30pm

Admission by Donation

Carnegie Centre,

401 Main St. (at Hastings)

(Proceeds to ARA Defendants and AFI)



ANTI- FASCIST iNFO



ANTI-FASCIST INFO (AFi) is a group of people, some currently defendants on charges arising from anti-fascist demonstrations, with the aim of gathering and distributing information on the extreme right in Canada.

Our goals are to raise consciousness about extreme right organizations, their activities, perspectives and ideologies. Through this, we want to enable anti-fascists to better organize against the extreme right, particularly in times of growth and action by fascist groups. We also want to raise consciousness about current, and possibly future, trials of anti-fascist defendants.

WHAT IS THE 'EXTREME RIGHT'?

By extreme right, we mean not only openly fascist groups such as Aryan Nations, Aryan Resistance Movement or the fascistized Ku Klux Klan. The extreme right also consists of a variety of organizations who, at the very least, advocate maintaining and strengthening a patriarchal and white supremacist society. Such organizations can go under seemingly "inoffensive" titles as Citizens for Foreign Aid Review, the Canadian League of Rights or the Canadian Association for the Freedom of Expression. They generally focus on single issues such as immigration, freedom of expression, etc., to make their cause appealing to those who would not be "comfortable" being affiliated to out-right fascist groups. These organizations deny that they are white supremacist, instead using code-words such as "European heritage" or "non-traditional immigration" to convey their vision of an all-white Canada. The extreme right also consists of individuals who are members of mainstream political parties, such as those recently exposed in the Progressive Conservatives, the Liberal Party, and of course the Reform Party. Members of Aryan Nations, in contrast, will announce openly that they are white supremacist and fascist. To distinguish between these two approaches of the extreme right, groups which are openly fascist are termed 'radical right', while those that cloak their true intentions are termed 'fringe right'.

Whether fringe or radical, the extreme right as a whole shares similar beliefs: white supremacy, anti-semitism, homophobia, anti-immigration, anti-abortion, anti-feminism and anti-communism, to name but a few of the most common themes.

In short, the extreme right is a complex web of interconnected groups and philosophies operating through both openly-fascist organizations and front groups focusing on a single issue. It's this web we aim to expose and, through anti-fascist information, enable people to better defend themselves against the extreme right's oppressive agenda.

WHY ANTI-FASCIST INFO?

AFi does not advocate replacing actions against fascist activities with distributing information. Broad-based community organizing encompassing a variety of tactics has shown to be the most effective response to fascist and

extreme right movements. AFI does not place itself outside of this work. Rather, we are responding to the actual situation in Vancouver, and a need for documentation of the extreme right.

The history of extreme right movements shows that they experience cyclical growths and declines, caused by factors such as social and economic conditions- as well as community resistance. In any case, it would be a

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mistake to believe that because fascist groups are not visible, or have been defeated in the streets, that they have been destroyed. In reality, they are in a state of reorganizing. For example, in Vancouver the extreme right experienced a period of growth from 1980-83, which manifested itself in an increased KKK presence, vandalism and violence against people of colour, gays, lesbians, Jews and leftist organizations. Defeated by community organizing and internal conflicts, former members of the Klan were again active in 1988-89 when the Aryan Nations and the Aryan Resistance Movement became the new focus for extreme right activities, joining with younger fascist skinheads. Communities targeted by this new phase of violence were placed on the defensive, while at the same time they were forced to learn who and what the Aryan Nations were. AFI exists to counter such trends, doing the necessary background work to enable people to carry on real social change while not being caught off-guard in times of fascist offensives.

In other parts of Canada, the extreme right has been more successful in organizing. In Toronto, the Heritage Front has brought together various organizations such as the Church of the Creator, fascist skinheads etc., and has been able to organize concerts, public rallies, a telephone 'hate'-line, and produce literature which has been distributed in Toronto-area high schools. A clear result of this is the June 7/93 attack on a Tamil man, Ganalan Muthulingam, by fascist skinheads. Muthulingam died three days later. There have been other vicious attacks on people of colour by fascists in Toronto. In Montreal, fascist skinheads are believed responsible for several attacks on gay men, some of these resulting in death. At least one such murder, the November 29/92 killing of Yves Lalonde, has been attributed to fascist skinheads, who are presently awaiting trial. In Saskatchewan, an Aryan Nations leader, Carney Nerland, is presently serving a four year prison term for shooting and killing Leo Lachance, a Cree Indian, on January 28/91 (Nerland said to police that he should get a medal for "shooting that Indian". Despite his extreme right background, Nerland's white supremacist views were said to not be relevant. He was subsequently charged and convicted for manslaughter!).

Fascists are not marching down the streets of Vancouver, but it doesn't mean they are not organizing and preparing for another phase of activity. In January of 1993, the Canadian Liberty Net attempted to organize a public speech by Tom Metzger, leader of the California-based White Aryan Resistance. Determined action by anti-fascists shut this meeting down. In May, the fringe right Procult Institute held a meeting for the Canadian league of Rights, another fringe right group, characterized as "perhaps Canada's leading anti-Semitic organization today". Also in attendance were members of the Aryan Nations. Again, anti-fascists were able to seriously disrupt the meeting.

We plan on carrying out our work by organizing events such as video screenings and public discussions, and by producing leaflets, posters and other publications. Because we are a non-funded group, our work will rely heavily on your contributions, as well as participation.



**ANTI-FASCIST INFO, Box 35, 1744 Kingsway,
Vancouver, BC, V5N 2S3, Canada**

On The Prowl

Anti-Racist Action And Developing Anti-Fascist Strategies In Toronto

by Lola

The growth of the far right in Toronto is not an new phenomenon. The Heritage Front is not the first Toronto-based fascist group but the most recent example of a movement which dates back to the 1930s: when the Canadian Nazi Party ran candidates in Toronto; when the Balmy Beach Club in the east end of the city was renamed the Swastika Club; when nazi thugs attacked Jewish youth at Christie Pits Park near downtown, youth who defended themselves and their community by physically trouncing the nazi mob. Even the nazis of the 1930s cannot be isolated from the history of racism in Canada - from the genocidal policies used against the First Nations to the history of violent racism directed against the African and Asian communities.

This ongoing legacy of racism provides the fertile grounds for the growth of groups like the Heritage Front and Church of the Creator today. It's the historical context of racism which makes some white people vulnerable to these hateful organizations, and the strong links between groups in Canada, the U.S., Europe and South Africa make the white supremacist movement dangerous to us all.

It is often tempting to ignore neo-nazi organizing and violence. It is sometimes easier to see them as misfits or isolated extremists rather than face the larger problems of widespread racism, homophobia and anti-Semitism in society. But the first step to confronting hate violence is understanding how racism and prejudice has played a crucial role in the history of Canada, and how the struggles against it - from the time of Columbus to today - must inform and shape both our anti-racist analysis and activism.

Who Are The People In Your Neighbourhood?

Many of us in Ontario see neo-nazi, Ku Klux Klan and other far right organizing as something that happens in the U.S.; or in Alberta, Saskatchewan or Quebec - yet southwestern Ontario is the most active area of organized white supremacy in Canada. The region is perhaps the organizational centre for the Canadian far right.

The leadership of the local neo-nazi movement is very experienced, many of them having worked with Toronto racist organizations since the 1970s and 1980s. Some have travelled internationally to meet and work with their European and U.S. counterparts. Many have done prison time for "the cause".

The main public figure in Toronto is Wolfgang Droege. Droege has been active in the Canadian far right since the 1970s when he worked in both the Toronto based Western Guard and later with the Canadian Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, where he rose to become the number two man in the national organization. Droege is a friend and "racial comrade" of both David Duke, the former KKK leader turned racist politician and U.S. Presidential candidate, and Tom Metzger, leader of the violent California-based White Aryan Resistance (WAR).

The Heritage Front was founded in 1988 when Droege and other white supremacists left the racist Nationalist Party of Canada. The Front bases itself on the National Association for the Advancement of White People, the organization formed by David Duke after leaving the Klan. The NAAWP presented itself not as a

white supremacist organization but as a "white separatist" group concerned with "equal rights for whites".

"Equal rights for whites" has become a popular slogan used by the right to justify attacks on the traditional targets of white supremacy. Under this banner, groups such as the Heritage Front denounce women's rights, non-white immigration, lesbian & gay rights, Native land rights

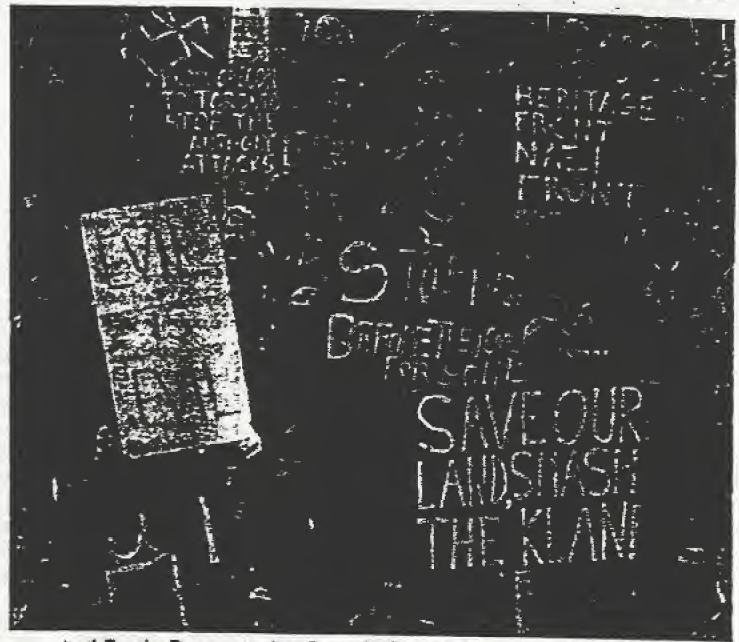
and educational curriculum which stresses anti-racism or tells the history of Nazi Germany and the Holocaust - all of which in their minds adds up to a conspiracy to destroy the white race. Like the NAAWP, the Front hides the blatantly racist and anti-Semitic rhetoric of the past behind rants against immigration laws, crime, lesbian & gay rights, affirmative action, perceived attacks on (their) free speech, anti-racists, etc. in hopes of appealing to existing prejudices in white Canadian society.

The Heritage Front runs a telephone hotline which is used to broadcast verbal attacks against the communities which don't fit into their world vision - communities which in reality represent just about all of us. It also plays an essential role in recruitment as the initial public contact point for unaffiliated racists and fascists in the region. The Heritage Front also publish a monthly magazine called *Upfront* which carries articles by both Front members and fascist organizations in the U.S. and Europe. It even boasts a regular column by David Duke. The Front holds several secret rallies a year often featuring prominent KKK and neo-nazi leaders and Holocaust deniers from the U.S. and Europe. (The meetings are not advertised for fear of a massive anti-racist response, such as that organized by ARA in November 1992 which shut down a HF gathering.)

Despite their claims of merely seeking "free speech" and "open debate", the Heritage Front has time and time again revealed its true violent nature. In June 1993, three Front members, including Droege and his henchman Pete Mitrevski, were arrested on assault and weapons charges following an attempted assault of anti-racists. (An attempt which sent several fascists to hospital.) The other Front member arrested, Chris Newhook, has already been convicted and is now serving a 12 month sentence. Another Front diehard, Elise Hategan, is facing charges of distributing hate material targeting the Black community.

Droege himself has already done prison time in the U.S. for his racist activities, including three years for his part in an attempted neo-nazi armed invasion of the island of Dominica, which was intended to establish a base for the international fascist movement. One of Droege's responsibilities after the invasion was to have been running a cocaine processing plant.

The flip side to the Heritage Front's "soft" image is the Church of the Creator (COTC), perhaps the most violent neo-nazi organization in North America. The COTC has chapters in the U.S., Canada, Europe and South Africa and is known for paramilitary training and



Anti-Fascist Demonstration Organized By ARA On January 25/93

using violent attacks as part of its efforts to make the earth a "whites-only" planet.

The "church" part of the organization is based upon the teachings of the millionaire racist and one time Ontario-resident, Ben Klassen (who took the Hitler-thing full circle in August 1993 by committing suicide). Klassen wrote the "White Man's Bible" which serves as the ideological/"spiritual" basis for COTC. It provides a "religious" excuse for their violence and hatred by teaching that white people alone are made in the image of god and that all other races (or "mud races" as they call them) are inferior.

The Toronto COTC is the organization's main representative in Canada and among the most important chapters internationally. COTC people from the Toronto/Hamilton area have played major roles in the international leadership and the most popular COTC rock band, RaHoWa (short for Racial Holy War), is based here. RaHoWa and other COTC bands are crucial in fundraising for their violent racist activities and in recruiting young people and skinheads as stormtroopers. The concerts pump up the bonthead fans with violent hatred and "siege bells", often resulting in assaults on the public after the shows let out. In June 1993, Heritage Front skinhead Jason Hoolans brutally assaulted a Tamil man after a RaHoWa gig, leaving the man partially paralysed.

Local COTC boss and RaHoWa "singer" George Burdi (aka Rev. Eric Hawthorne) recently helped found a Detroit-based record label called Resistance Records to make and distribute neo-nazi recordings across North America and Europe. The label's first release is a RaHoWa compact disc entitled "Declaration of War".

The Toronto COTC also boasts a Security Legion (or "White Berets"), a group of skinheads who train in martial arts and weapons and provide security for many neo-nazi events in the city. Toronto media recently identified Eric Fischer, a former sergeant in the Canadian Airborne Regiment, as the leader and trainer of the Security Legion. Eric, along with his brother and fellow Security Legions member, Elkar (another Airborne veteran), were arrested during the summer of 1993 with a third COTC bonthead for kidnapping a Heritage Front member, assaulting him, and threatening to kill him by injecting him with window cleaner. Another Security Legions member, Richard Manley, was recently sentenced to nine months in prison for illegal possession of weapons and ammunition. (He's another Airborne veteran... coincidence???)

The fact that the HF and COTC apparently use

different methods does not reflect a split but an attempt to build a broad racist front attracting all manner of potential recruits, from older bigots to younger militants. Not only do Burdi and Droegge associate openly, but Burdi is often a prominent figure at Heritage Front rallies, where he either speaks or performs with his band. In April 1993, Burdi appeared with Droegge at an Ottawa press conference announcing the launch of the Heritage Front's Ottawa chapter. It's apparent that Burdi (who was arrested for the May 1993 assault of an Ottawa anti-racist) is effectively the number two man in the HP.

The Heritage Front also acts as a front for the movement. As a public organization, unlike the secretive COTC, the Heritage Front is a contact point for newly initiated racists and fascists who can later be directed towards more violent groups.

The primary recruiting ground for both these organizations is young white people. It is from these ranks that the fascists, as they have done in Europe, hope to draw their stormtroopers. In this effort, local high schools have become one of the major political battle grounds of the 1990s.

On The Prowl

Anti-Racist Action (ARA) formed in the Fall of 1992 to organize a street level presence to oppose the growth of the fascist movement in Toronto. The primary impetus came from young people, many of them high school students. Their main objectives were to oppose the neo-nazi presence in both the political and social arenas. The former was to take place in the high schools, where the Heritage Front were and are actively recruiting young people. The latter was to confront them in clubs, bars and other social arenas where skin-heads and neo-nazi bands were beginning to build a presence and to physically attack people of colour, anti-racists and punks.

While the focus was clearly on youth organizing, ARA also set about to explore new and creative methods of organizing and to expand the boundaries of the traditional forms of protest in Toronto. The young activists saw the need to challenge what they saw as depressing, disempowering, and ultimately ineffective modes of protest which the left has fallen into. ARA aimed to move away from boring pickets in front of faceless buildings and instead build a militant street level movement to fight grassroots fascism which would at the same time work in coalition with other groups around broader issues.

Along with the critique of the mobilization strategies of the left, ARA also incorporates an inherent challenge to traditional political dogmas. Distrust of old-style ideological restrictions led to the creation of a political perspective which, in essence, borrows from the best of many traditions. Elements from anarchism, marxism, the German Autonomen, First Nations organizing, and popular culture are synthesized within ARA to create a political perspective which speaks to the people involved and allows the group to look beyond the constraints of any one tradition to attempt to create a new way of working politically.

A central element to the overall ARA approach is the cultivation of an anti-racist/anti-fascist counterculture. This has proceeded primarily through the organizing of regular Rock Against Racism concerts and also weekend parties, as well as the creation of an ARA "style". The group also actively circulates buttons and T-shirts (the group's motto is "On The Prowl" and their logo

is a tiger leaping on a swastika). ARA has recognized that one of the main attractions which the nazis have for young people is the sense of both rebelliousness and community which such organizations provide. The nazis certainly recognize this dynamic, which is why they have put so much effort into developing neo-nazi bands as recruiting instruments. ARA realizes that if it is to be effective politically, it also has to be "hip".

Few young people are attracted to fascist organizations on the basis of ideology alone. Most are attracted to the cultural scene first, through the music, parties, or friends and only later drawn into the movement and its ideas. Rather than ignore this reality, ARA has actively sought to promote a compelling, vibrant, and fun culture of resistance to attract young people and provide an alternative to the nazis. At the same time, the providing of an active social element to a political organization helps not only to keep activists and others interested but also provides a forum for people to build up the friendship and trust necessary for effective political work.

ARA demonstrations have been more militant and confrontational than has traditionally been the case in Toronto. The events have consistently drawn large

nazis to walk past and into the front doors of the court. Several demonstrators required brief hospitalization.

During the media circus which followed, both Police Chief William McCormack and Metro Police Services Board chair Susan Eng admitted in the press that the reason the nazis were not taken in through one of the four alternative entrances was because Droegge demanded to be taken in the main doors (which raises the question of who is actually giving the order for police to attack anti-racists?).

Inside the courtroom itself, police continued their attacks by assaulting members of the American Indian Movement who were acting as security for Native Centre representative, Rodney Bobiwash. AIM members were thrown to the floor by police and handcuffed after they intervened to protect Bobiwash from an assault by Heritage Front supporters. After the demonstration, two ARA members were arrested on their way home on bogus charges of assaulting police, one for allegedly throwing an egg the other for spitting. (The two anti-fascists, one of whom was a minor at the time of the incident, were eventually convicted of lesser charges and received probation).

The persons targeted for arrest are significant. Both were on the front line of the demonstration and played active roles in repelling the horse charge, and one was also the final public ARA speaker at the demonstration dispersal point.

Despite the police attack and the arrests, most saw the demonstration as a huge success. Not only did anti-racists outnumber the nazis by more than ten to one, but the attack clearly revealed on which side the police stood. The aftermath of the 25th also revealed on which side other anti-racist organizations fall in a crisis.

On January 27th, both the Human Rights League of B'nai Brith and the Canadian Jewish Congress denounced the demonstration in the media. Karen Mock, national spokesperson for B'nai Brith, accused ARA of "jumping on a bandwagon and using this high profile anti-racist initiative to attempt to create disorder and

take the law in their own hands."

Gerda Frieberg of the CJC stated that "The Canadian Jewish Congress does not support these kind of actions." It was clear to some that the self-serving media ploy by B'nai Brith and CJC was intended more to solidify and justify their own close working relationships with police rather than advance the anti-racist movement. Indeed, recent revelations in the U.S. of Anti-Defamation League (B'nai Brith's U.S. counterpart) collaboration with the San Francisco Police Department in spying on progressive and leftist organizations should certainly make committed anti-racists in Toronto wary of that organization's true political goals.

The denunciation by these organizations was also significant in that it played directly to the police and media propaganda line of separating "legitimate" anti-racist groups from "illegitimate" ones, thereby hoping to criminalize ARA and justify unprovoked police violence against the demonstration. However, much of that attempt was derailed in the community, if not in the press itself, by the fact that such "legitimate" groups as the Native Canadian Centre and the Montreal-based Canadian Centre on Racism and Prejudice (as well as representatives from the Black community, women's movement, and labour movement) supported ARA completely and publicly denounced the police's actions.

Although ARA continued to organize actions fol-

SMASH THE NAZI FRONT

On January 25 neo-nazi hate groups will march on a Human Rights hearing to intimidate and silence those who speak out against racism and hatred. Anti-racists will gather at the south end of Queen's Park at 8:15 a.m. to march on the courts and confront Toronto's fascist movement.

The Heritage Front's telephone hotline is facing a challenge under the Ontario Human Rights Code.



NO to racism, NO to fascism, NEVER AGAIN

ANTI-RACIST ACTION

numbers and their atmosphere of anger and a willingness to meet the fascists face-to-face have both intimidated the neo-nazis while attracting the attention of the police and the press.

For example, a large and determined demonstration in November 1992 outside a "secret" Heritage Front meeting at the Roma Restaurant caused the police to shut the meeting down. Angry nazis were forced to flee under police protection while at the same time trying to avoid the hail of eggs thrown at them by the demonstrators.

A January 25, 1993 demonstration called outside a Toronto courthouse was to be a pivotal moment in shaping the organization. The Canadian Human Rights Commission has been in the process of hearing a complaint brought by the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto against the Front's telephone hotline. An announced fascist march on the courthouse in support of the Heritage Front was met by an ARA demonstration of over 500 people who blocked the main doors to the building.

Rather than take the small contingent of nazis into the courthouse through the back door, the police instead chose to charge the anti-racists from two sides. Mounted police rode into the front line of the demonstration, trampling people and whacking them with riding crops, while officers on foot rushed into one side, kicking and punching anti-racists as they did so. The "reason" for the attack was to move the ARA demonstration to allow the

Following the January 25th police attack, including demonstrations against local school teacher Paul Fromm, who has been active in the Toronto far-Right for the past 25 years, the next major event did not occur until June 11th.

Behind The Front

While the Heritage Front and the Church of the Creator maintain publicly that they are not violent groups but are merely interested in open debate on the issues, their behaviour to date reveals quite the opposite. In response to community action on many levels against the HF and COTC, the nazis have slowly been waging an escalating terror campaign against anti-racists. This campaign has primarily manifested itself in patterns of harassment and intimidation, but has recently moved into violent physical attacks.

The campaign began in the fall of 1992. On the night of November 28th, nazis painted swastikas outside several prominent anti-racist targets in Toronto including the Native Canadian Centre and a socialist bookstore. Other targets hit at that same time which were not mentioned in media reports were KYTES, a community theatre and employment centre in Kensington Market which at that time was serving as ARA's regular meeting place, as well as the home of an ARA member.

This was followed quite quickly by a campaign of harassing and later threatening phone calls to some ARA members. While several people received calls, the fascists chose to concentrate their efforts against women. This targeting of women has been their pattern since that time, an obvious reflection of their inherent misogyny. While men have received calls, the harassment for the most part has not been of the same violent intensity as that against women and has not continued past a period of two weeks.

One woman was also targeted physically for surveillance, and the nazis placed people in cars outside her home to follow her and track her movements, who she met with, etc. Another woman was the subject of a racist flyer containing attacks against the Black community while listing her name, address, and phone number as the contact person for the fictitious white supremacist group which claimed authorship of the flyer. The intention was to give the false impression that the anti-racist activist was a nazi and thereby subject her to harassment from members of the community.

These attacks soon escalated from intimidation tactics to physical assault and arson. During the spring a campaign of terror was waged against Youthlink, two shelters for young women. Early in 1993 a Heritage Front member who was a resident of the shelter was ejected by the staff for intimidating other residents by wearing nazi paraphernalia and bringing racist materials into the shelter.

The nazis responded to this by launching a series of homophobic attacks against Youthlink staff on their hotline. A campaign of threatening phone calls and physical surveillance of staff ensued which eventually culminated in an arson attack against one of the shelters in late March. A staff member was also assaulted in her home by skinheads. During that same period, a member of the Black Action Defence Committee (the main Toronto group organizing against police racism and violence) was attacked by five nazis one evening after leaving the BADC office.

In our analysis, this slow and deliberate escalation of violence is not haphazard but calculated. The slow escalation has two identifiable goals for the movement. The first is to test the response of police. The nazis need to see how far they can push things before feeling pressure from law enforcement. Thus far, the fascists have received little or no interest from police in regards to these attacks. The Heritage Front is also testing the resolve of anti-racist forces, again to see what the response will be from the left. Unfortunately, apart from a few significant solidarity links being made between anti-racist and other

community organizations, the response has similarly been quiet.

The second goal for the fascists is simply practice. We know that the nazis engage in various forms of physical and paramilitary training both in the Toronto area and with contacts in the U.S. This slow escalation is allowing their stormtroopers to put their training into practice in increasingly violent scenarios. This again allows the fascists to test their own capabilities and the commitment of different individuals, while also learning and preparing for what they see as the soon to begin Racial Holy War. As the summer grew closer, the nazis began to dramatically increase the level of violence. As mentioned earlier, in April the Heritage Front announced the formation of an Ottawa chapter. The inaugural event of the Ottawa HF was to be a "Rock for Racism" concert to be held on May 29th featuring Canadian Neo-Nazi bands RaHoWa and Aryan.

Anti-racists in Ottawa quickly began to mobilize against the proposed concert, eventually forming a coalition among various groups. ARA was invited to send a delegation from Toronto, and about 50 anti-fascists made the trip by bus. Despite gathering a crowd of 600 to confront the nazis, the liberalism and collaboration with police on the part of some of the coalition organizers plagued the action from the start (the specifics of which are discussed later). This conflict between liberal and militant elements among the demonstrators eventually led to a situation where many of the people wanting to confront the nazis and close down the concert were abandoned by the demo organizers, resulting in violent attacks on the few local anti-racists left behind at the scene. Skinheads brutally beat several demonstrators, hospitalizing half a dozen. The hundred nazis present then marched on the Canadian Parliament building where leader Droege announced to the "seig heiling" crowd that one day these buildings would be theirs.

The Heritage Front and COTC clearly saw the events of May 29th as a victory which provided a major boost to their morale. They crowed about their victory in Ottawa over their hotline for days and there was a marked increase in violent neo-Nazi attacks in Toronto, particularly directed against the Tamil community. The week following Ottawa, a Heritage Front skinhead named Jason Hoolans brutally beat a Tamil man outside a Toronto restaurant, resulting in the man's being hospitalized and partially paralyzed. Hoolans was on his way home from a RaHoWa gig in the north of the city when the attack occurred.

Shut 'Em Down

It was in this context of increasing violence and displays of bravado by the neo-nazis that ARA's next action took place. A demonstration was called for June 11th to march on a neo-Nazi centre of operations. The actual destination of the demo was unknown except to a few ARA organizers. The rationale for the secret destination was a tactical one - if ARA announced the exact destination, the demonstrators would most likely encounter not only a sizeable and armed contingent of skinheads but also an even more sizeable and better armed contingent of police. Rather than tangle with cops on horseback again, ARA chose a different strategy.

Organizers chose as the meeting place a commu-

REACT TO FASCIST ATTACKS SHUT 'EM DOWN

Over 500 hate crimes are committed every year in Toronto. White supremacists are showing their ugly face - and violent acts by local Nazis are escalating.

For example:

- ARSON attack and terror campaign on residence for young women
- ASSAULT: Five-on-one physical attack on Black community activist
- HARASSMENT continued threats to anti-racists

JUNE 11, 1993 - WE FIGHT BACK.

Assemble at John Innes Community Centre,
Sherbourne and Queen Sts.

Friday 7:00 pm sharp
to march on a Nazi
centre of operation



ANTI-RACIST ACTION

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co-sponsored by Toronto Anti-Racist Youth Initiative

nity centre only four blocks south of the home of prominent nazi publisher Ernst Zundel. Zundel's home is a well known location in the city and, as one of the main suppliers of hate material internationally, his home/office is of major significance to both fascists and anti-fascists. Because of the location of the meeting place, dozens of police gathered outside Zundel's house (which had been covered in plastic by its owner to protect it from the expected onslaught of eggs and paint bombs.) Fifty or more skinheads were also present to "defend Zundel's house" from anti-fascist attack - an attack which never materialized when, to the surprise and outrage of the cops and nazis, the ARA demonstration piled onto streetcars and headed east to the home of Gary Schipper - the voice of the Heritage Front hateline.

As the phalanx of 300 demonstrators marched up the residential street, ARA marshals passed out information flyers to the participants identifying the still secret site and the reasons for the action. Other ARA people went door-to-door to pass out similar flyers containing Schipper's photo and address to the residents of the largely immigrant neighborhood and explain to them the intentions of the demonstration.

After reaching the house, with eggs flying through the air, a dozen or more demonstrators expressed their outrage in a more direct fashion by rushing the house and smashing windows. After the direct action was over, and the speeches had been completed, the demonstration withdrew from the neighbourhood. In one instant, the fight had been taken right to the nazis' door in a way that had not occurred anywhere else in Canada. The implications for the fascists were clear - we knew who they were, we knew their faces, we knew where they lived and where they met, and we would not be intimidated by their violence.

A controlled expression of community anger had been accomplished, one which made that anger and resolve clear in a direct and militant fashion, yet one so controlled and disciplined on the part of demonstrators that no other residents' property was damaged. No parked cars were touched, no other homes were touched, no gardens were trampled - only one building was the target, and that target was identified and dealt with.

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demo itself and the resulting nazi tactical mistake made in response - namely attempting the mass assault against ARA people later that evening. The assault attempt failed miserably on two levels: 1) the fascists were humiliated in their attempt to boost morale and look tough after being fooled by a classic "bait and switch" and 2) it resulted in the arrests of two key Front leaders. The main effects of the day's events was to force the nazis to turn their organizing inward rather than towards expansion. Planned summer recruiting drives were put on hold due to the legal restrictions placed on some of their key activists following their arrests. Funding for a planned national summer tour by RaHoWa and the opening of a public office space was eaten up by bail costs and lawyer fees.

Despite the critiques of some about June 11th action, this single event and its aftermath was responsible for the significant decrease in fascist activity and violence during the past four months.

Policing The Crisis?

As always, the role of the police and the intervention of state agencies within a political struggle is multifaceted and often difficult to negotiate both internally and externally in the broader movement. This is no less true in anti-fascist organizing in Toronto. An analysis of the police approach to the movements, both racist and anti-racist, is essential to begin to develop effective strategies.

While the problem of police interference in political organizing is not a new one, it must be understood that the police play a particular dynamic within the context of anti-fascist work which is quite different than in other struggles. This is because in other progressive or radical movements, the question of involving the police as a potential "ally" within the struggle is non-existent. Whether it is organizing around such issues of institutionalized racism, sexism, and homophobia or domestic and foreign policies of the Canadian government, it is clearly recognized that the police as an institution play no potential positive role in advancing the cause.

This is unfortunately not the case with anti-fascist organizing. The activities of neo-nazi groups are by definition violent, whether through actual physical attacks or by the implied threat which their presence presents to those communities which have historically been targets of fascism. Their organizing also involves illegal activities, from relatively minor incidents of vandalism to more serious acts of violence including assault, arson, paramilitary training and murder. Because of this reality, many anti-racists see the police as an option against neo-nazis.

This double vision with regards to the police is both problematic and dangerous. While most are quick to recognize police violence and direct hostility, as was demonstrated during the demonstration on January 25th (with the exception elements of the "legitimate" and conservative anti-racist movement), there remains a strong trend which looks towards legal "remedies" for white supremacy. This trend takes the form not only of desires for stronger laws against hate group activities, but in particular looking towards police for protection.

The willingness to look to police as a strategy usually falls along clear lines of race and class. Certainly those individuals and communities who have not traditionally suffered at the hands of police are more likely to view them as "protectors" rather than oppressors. Therefore it has usually been the anti-racist groups representing these privileged interests which have been urging residents to call police when they encounter racist activity in their community. One Ontario government anti-racism organization has even gone so far as to publish a pamphlet which argues the "call police" strategy while printing on the cover a photo of ARA's January 25th demonstration (without permission, I might add) where mounted police attacked anti-racists to protect neo-nazis.

However, one need only look at the police's atti-

tudes and actions to date to see quite clearly that they are much more interested in attacking and criminalizing anti-racists than they are neo-nazis. While the mounted police attack against ARA and police assault of AIM members on January 25th is the most blatant example of this, we can go further in revealing the clear pattern of police indifference to fascist attacks.

The most obvious aspect of the police approach is the clear double-standard used in investigating nazis and anti-racists. The police have demonstrated time and time again their desire to shelter Wolfgang Droege and the Heritage Front as an organization from the supposedly "random" and "unconnected" acts of their supporters. In the two most violent incidents to date, the 1992 bombing of the Toronto Morgentaler abortion clinic and the 1993 firebombing of Youthlink, the police have allowed Droege's denials of HF involvement to stand at face value.

In the Morgentaler case, neo-nazi graffiti stating "Peace, Love & White Power" along with the Heritage Front's telephone number was painted on a large wall directly across the street from the bombed clinic. The graffiti was done sometime between 1:00am and 4:00am (the approximate time of the blast) on the night of the bombing. The connection to most would seem quite clear. However, the media revealed that police investigators interviewed Droege and essentially accepted his claim that the Heritage Front was not involved.

Over a year later, police have still not made any arrests despite admitting in the press that the perpetrators were videotaped by the clinic's security system. Certainly the history of state and police attacks against the left reveals that a similar set of circumstances involving a right-wing or government target would have resulted in mass repression. In that case, it seems that if Droege were a leftist he would have been answering questions from a jail cell, assumed guilty until proven innocent. In a similar manner, Droege was allowed to shrug off any involvement or responsibility for the arson attack at Youthlink. While admitting to a Toronto magazine that the Heritage Front did wage a homophobic campaign against the shelter on their hotline, he says that his group had no hand in nor responsibility for the attack. Again this claim to be "uninvolved" has apparently been accepted by the police, who are choosing to ignore a months long, sophisticated and coordinated campaign of harassment and surveillance of the shelter and its employees. This clearly was not the work of a "lone nut", and the police's apparent readiness to accept it as such is yet another demonstration of their unwillingness to go after the fascists as organizations but instead to individualize attacks which are clearly coordinated. Police have even refused to fully investigate the assaulting of a Youthlink staffer by skinheads, choosing instead to charge the woman herself for filing a false complaint!

In each case, "investigators" seem unwilling or uninterested in uncovering connections and links to the Heritage Front or other organizations, but prefer to operate on the basis that the perpetrator is acted in isolation. Yet, at the same time as they shrug off interest in the hierarchy and organizational structure of the Right, the police seem quite interested in identifying such areas in the anti-racist movement.

In fact, instead of being committed to prosecuting neo-nazis, it has been the pattern to date that the police have a much greater interest in investigating ARA. The placement (and later expulsion) of a known agent provocateur early in the organization's life was one indication of state intentions towards the group (a provocateur who now spends his time spreading accusations of homophobia and queer-bashing against ARA in an attempt to drive wedges between the group and the lesbian and gay

community, a community from which ARA has drawn some of its strongest participation and support). Subsequent events involving the actual prosecution of a high profile Heritage Front spokesperson have been even more revealing. This case has demonstrated concretely that any move by anti-racists to lay charges or make reports to police merely opens the door for police intelligence gathering on the organization and its membership.

Elisse Hategan (aka Deschner) was to face trial in June 1993 on charges of inflammatory libel against a local anti-racist and distributing hate literature. [Editorial Note: Since the writing of this article Hategan's trial date had been moved to 9/11/24. At this time it was revealed that she had defected from the HF. She is now passing information about HF activities and attacks to anti-racist groups and police.] She was being accused of distributing the earlier mentioned racist flyer intended to paint an anti-racist activist as a nazi. Interestingly, the police "investigation" of Hategan, as evidenced through their interviews of other anti-racists called as witnesses in the case, consisted primarily of police attempts to obtain the names of other anti-racist activists and trace structures and chains of communication within the movement.

The case itself provides an ideal cover for such a ruse, for it gives the police authority to subpoena anti-racists and interview them about their work while hiding such probing behind the facade of "prosecuting hate crimes". In fact, it is the suspicion of many that the recent creation of the much publicized "Hate Crimes Unit" within the Metro Police is in itself nothing more than a cover to gather intelligence on the anti-racist movement.

Hategan has been allowed to associate with known members of the Heritage Front in direct contravention of her bail conditions. In fact, in one incident she appeared at an ARA demonstration in a car with known leaders of the Heritage Front and COTC. This situation was immediately noticed by Rodney Bobiwash of the Native Centre. Knowing that the violation should immediately result in her re-arrest and revocation of bail, he notified the officer commanding the police presence at the demonstration, who replied "I don't care." This incident speaks volumes to the reluctance of the police to truly prosecute neo-nazis and to the illegitimacy of the police investigation against Hategan.

The interviewing and subpoenaing of activists continues despite that fact that Hategan has apparently admitted to distributing the



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flyer and will presumably pursue a defence based on freedom of speech. It is also significant that by calling anti-racists as witnesses, and thereby revealing their identities to the court and to the nazis, the police are knowingly opening up these individuals for harassment. The conjecture is that such a decision is calculated to place these individuals in jeopardy so that the police can 1) gather intelligence on the fascists by using the anti-racists as "bait", and 2) hope that individuals will turn to the police for protection, thereby creating an opportunity for further intelligence gathering on the anti-racist movement.

These suspicions were reinforced during the pre-trial hearing in October when Hategan's attorney cross examined one of the anti-racist witnesses. Lawyer Harry Doan (who is defending most of the nazis facing charges in the city) spent most of his time asking questions about ARA's organizing - the names of activists, the names of the organizers of the January 25th and June 11th demonstrations, etc. While obviously unrelated to the charges against Hategan, the Crown prosecutor did not object to this line of questioning. The witness was unable to provide Doan with the information he wanted.

Unfortunately, the unwillingness of some to see use of the police as being at best a tactical decision in certain situations rather than a parental-type figure to protect us from bullies is problematic and dangerous. Indeed, people who will go to the police out of trust and reformist beliefs in the system are dangerous for any radical organization which constitutes itself in opposition to that very system. These are often the people who will, perhaps unwittingly, do the job of the police by speaking openly about membership and strategies in some misguided sense that the police, while problematic on some levels, are allies against the nazis. The evidence to date shows us exactly the opposite.

When Opportunism Knocks

Because of the early successes of ARA, the organization inevitably sparked the interest of various Trotskyist and Marxist-Leninist political parties who began to flock to ARA like moths to a bright light. Unfortunately, it soon became obvious that most were involved not to work honestly against the neo-nazi presence in Toronto but instead to forward the goals of their own organizations.

As has been the experience of many groups who have tried to do political work around various issues, the presence of these party organizations soon becomes an obstacle to building the organization as a whole. The International Socialists (I.S.) in particular played a prominent role in opposing every demonstration (except one) that was ever undertaken by ARA against the far right, while at the same time trying to push through their own proposals which better suited the ends of their party. This behaviour was later discovered to be in keeping with their own political mandate to provide "revolutionary leadership" to organizations of "movementists", who while presumably understanding their own issue, did not have the same vision and understanding of the party on how to defeat the state.

Eventually, after several months of attempting to work in good faith, the International Socialists were voted out of ARA by a 2/3 majority of ARA members. This had the result of causing all the other Trotskyist and Marxist-Leninist parties to leave the group en masse in support of the I.S. While this on the whole was positive in that it saved ARA the similarly obstructionist and opportunistic behaviour of the other groups, such as the Trotskyist League and the Bolshevik Tendency, it also caused the loss of a few individual comrades who had risen above their party's dogma to do principled and solid work within ARA.

I.S. attempts to denounce ARA did not cease after their expulsion, but continue in various forms. During the Ottawa demonstration in May, it was the I.S. contingent who actively collaborated with the police against militant

demonstrators. I.S. marshals tipped off the cops to an attempt by ARA and other anti-racists to rush past police lines to get closer to the building where the nazi concert was being held. This tip off resulted in many of those demonstrators on the front lines being hit with pepper spray by police.

Later the I.S. marshals purposefully split the demonstration by declaring "victory" because the cops told them that the concert was going to be shut down. This declaration over the megaphones, coupled with the herding of the participants by I.S. marshals, caused more than half of the demonstrators to leave the site. Many anti-racists refused to acknowledge that any such victory existed when the sounds of the nazi bands playing could clearly be heard even outside the building. This cowardly decision to split the demonstration (and the fact that the ARA contingent of 50 who had stayed behind at the site were forced to leave at 11:00pm to catch the bus back to Toronto) left the few dedicated Ottawa activists vulnerable to the brutal skinhead attack which followed.

Before the June 11th demonstration, the I.S. had made plans to cause a disturbance at the gathering site by demanding that ARA organizers reveal the secret destination of the demonstration (this despite the fact that all the advertising for the action made it clear that, while the demonstration would be going to a neo-nazi centre of operations, the actual destination would not be known until the group arrived there). After the demonstration, in a move reminiscent of COINTELPRO-style tactics, the I.S. took part in drafting a letter condemning ARA for the "violence" of the June 11th action - a letter to which they signed the names of several organizations who, upon being contacted by ARA, had never heard of such a letter and who did not support the statements within it.

Unfortunately, it was not only groups within ARA who have demonstrated similar opportunist and patronizing attitudes towards the organization. While some in the broader left see the formation and effectiveness of ARA as a positive development, at the same time they dismiss the relevancy of anti-fascist work and maintain that ARA should be focusing on "more important" issues, which themselves vary depending upon the personal political priorities of the person being critical.

This attitude was also the basis for much of the internal problems with the International Socialists and others, who saw broader organizing against the police and the racist policies of the state as being the priority. It is unfortunate that in this way some of the most damaging attacks against the nascent anti-fascist movement have come not from the traditional enemies in the state and on the Right, but from the left itself - many more concerned with maintaining a level of "revolutionary chic" rather than doing the work necessary to forge grassroots political movements.

It is the position of many radicals that anti-fascist work is in itself irrelevant because of the relative lack of power and numbers which the neo-nazi movement commands in Canada at this time. These comrades see state and police racism as the arenas where opposition should be directed, and that "chasing nazis" is an exercise in irrelevancy. However well intended, and correct as far as its analysis of institutionalized racism, this perspective is at its base short-sighted and self-defeating.

It is argued that without the sea of mainstream racism in which to swim, that fascists and fascist movements cannot survive. Therefore, the conclusion becomes that doing work against neo-nazis is beginning at the wrong end of the problem. Again, this is a compelling argument in isolation, particularly because it is theoretically accurate. However, theoretical accuracy does not always lend itself to practical and effective political action. As was stated by Italian anti-fascist Errico Malatesta in early part of the century, "The optimum is the enemy of the good" - the never-ending search for the perfect political action all too often serves as an excuse for doing nothing at all. Indeed, if the anti-racist move-

ment in Toronto cannot strategize and mobilize effectively enough to eliminate a couple of hundred nazis, how can we realistically expect to be able to defeat racist immigration laws and police violence and other institutional monoliths?

Unfortunately, much of this criticism fails to learn from history, even recent history. As was pointed out by a Sri Lankan comrade who spent a year in Germany as a refugee in the late 1980s, the German left chose to ignore the neo-nazi movement at a moment when it was relatively small. At a time when 100,000 people would come out to a disarmament demonstration, little or no attention was being given to the "insignificant" fascist problem. Five years later, we see the terrifying results of allowing that movement to grow unopposed. Events such as Rostock, murderous and violent attacks on refugees and guest workers, and the assassination of anti-fascists are not spontaneous, but are the culmination of years of unhindered organizing. Unfortunately much of the left in Canada has chosen to ignore this lesson.

While we can take all the time we want to formulate the perfect political line and theorize the precise political moment to act, in the meantime what work has been done towards building the movements that will presumably act at that moment? Political process, political experience, and resolve to struggle come only through work, and unfortunately discussion is no substitute for action. How do we expect to inspire people after more than a decade of stunning and crushing defeats for progressive and revolutionary movements around the world?

It has to be understood that broad-based and effective political movements do not appear spontaneously, but are the result of years of struggle. This work, if it is to be realistic and successful, must begin by setting upon manageable goals and taking small victories where they can be won. It is out of the crucible of small victories - which provide experience and inspiration to a movement - that larger victories are possible.

Race And Resistance

An underlying basis for much of the criticism is the fact that ARA, with notable exceptions, is comprised primarily by white, working class youth. Criticism comes from both radicals of colour, who are sceptical of white radical organizations, and from other white radicals, who essentially believe that white people have no place initiating anti-racist work.

Both criticisms are a concern if we truly hope to forge working links against racism in society. The first criticism is certainly legitimate given the history of much of the white left in North America and Europe with replicating systems of racism and class privilege within their organizing. Indeed these problems were a significant contributor to the downfall of radical white movements in the 1960s and 1970s.

These concerns cannot be ignored, yet can be overcome through consistent and principled work, an openness to constructive criticism from people of colour, and willingness to create political alliances not based on an ill-considered integrationist approach. Ultimately this scepticism, if accepted as being legitimate and worked on in good faith, can provide the basis for a politically stronger and mutually respectful relationship, and therefore the foundations for an effective broad-based movement.

It will be the links with radicals of colour, built upon respect gained from a history of principled political work, which can prove to be the strongest and therefore most reliable in a crisis. It has been the demand of some Trotskyist/Marxist-Leninist parties involved with ARA that the organization go out and recruit people of colour to lead the organization. However, this appeal to recruitment and "building a party" is in itself both self-serving and opportunistic. The way to attract more people of colour to the organization, which is indeed a critical and significant goal, must be accomplished through prin-

ciple political work and an honesty about motivation. People who come into any political organization must be there because they see opportunity, promise, and the possibilities of doing effective work in that organization.

Indeed, merely recruiting people of colour into an organization is a eurocentric, tokenistic approach which ultimately replicates systems of racism in the broader society. Recruitment not only contains an implied hierarchy but also a passivity on the part of those being recruited, which often results in the involvement of people who will be amenable to the party platform, rather than those who want to come in and challenge it for the better. It seems that the latter is always preferable if an organization is sincere about building itself politically and personally. A predominantly white anti-racist group must always be willing to challenge itself on its own racism, and a recruitment based party politics is not an effective means of doing that.

The second criticism is a concern only as much as it is centred in what is essentially a guilt-based politics. For white people to simply defer to people of colour to initiate action around issues of racism is to fundamentally deny both individual and collective historical responsibility for oppression. The effective way to take responsibility for racism is not to sit around and feel guilty and do nothing, but to work against racism in the white community. As former Black Panther Party leader Dhoruba Bin Wahad stated in a lecture in Toronto, "Racism is not a problem Black people have. It's a problem that white people have."

In fact, this is why the make-up of ARA should be seen as an advantage rather than a detriment. While older white leftists may not see the relevancy of white youth, the fascists certainly do and have made the high schools a major political battle ground. The fact that youth of all races are alienated and ignored by society is well accepted, yet until recently it was only the nazis who were capitalizing on this disenchantment to recruit among young white people. Many white radicals have chosen to ignore some of the most important lessons on the role of white people in anti-racist work as articulated by some of the most militant and articulate Black leaders, such as Assata Shakur and Angela Davis.

Such a role was articulated by Kwame Ture and Charles V. Hamilton in their book *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*:

"One of the most disturbing things about almost all white supporters has been that they are reluctant to go into their own communities - which is where racism exists - and work to get rid of it... It is hoped that eventually there will be a coalition of poor Blacks and poor whites... creating a poor-white power block dedicated to the goals of a free, open society - not one based on racism and subordination... The main responsibility of this task falls upon whites... Poor white people are becoming more hostile - not less - toward Black people, partly because they see the nation's attention focused on Black poverty and few, if any, people coming to them... Only whites can mobilize and organize those communities along the lines necessary and possible for effective alliances with Black communities... If the job is to be done, there must be new forms created. Thus, the political modernization process must involve the white community as well as the Black."

The fact that intelligent, articulate and radical young people are working against the recruitment in their schools, and using the nazi presence as an opportunity to get their peers involved and politically educated around broader issues of racism and oppression should be supported rather than criticised. That fact that many bring with them a distrust and disenchantment with "traditional" forms of protest and modes of political organizing is also instructional to those willing to listen and learn. Unfortunately the distrust of Leninist party organizing, disdain for meaningless picketlines in front of faceless

buildings, and desire to incorporate cultural elements of resistance into political work are all challenges to the current leftist hierarchies in the city, and many choose to dismiss ARA based upon the threat which such a perspective poses to their own relative positions of authority. Far too many leftists see young people as cannon fodder, or sheep to be herded in particular directions, rather than as equal partners in political struggle who bring much needed critique, analysis and enthusiasm to the work.

In their argument against doing anti-nazi work, these critics also misunderstand some of the most basic principles of political organizing. It must be recognized that people are not effectively organized out of guilt but out of recognition of their own interest in change. Again to quote Ture and Hamilton, we must move beyond the false "assumption that political coalitions can be sustained on a moral, friendly, sentimental basis; by appeals to conscience." Such an approach does nothing to expose and identify structures of privilege, and can all too easily lead to political dissolution. To Ture and Hamilton, viable political coalitions stem from "the recognition of the parties involved of their respective self-interests...[and]...the mutual belief that each party stands



to benefit in terms of that self-interest from allying with the other or others."

Young white people are at this time facing recruitment by nazi groups, dealing with nazi gangs in their schools and socializing places, and seeing their friends, white and non-white, being attacked by skinheads. Therefore, anti-nazi organizing speaks directly to their experiences and political needs. Obviously, political education and activism cannot stop with concern over one's own needs, but it has to start there. The birth of ARA provides the opportunity to involve a new generation of activists in anti-racist work and in radical political organizing. It provides the political support for white working class youth to organize themselves around issues of racism and oppression, which presents the opportunity of radicalizing a generation of activists. This is the promise of groups such as ARA, and the long term vision which many of its critics on the left are unwilling to see.

Moving The Movement

The terrain for developing action against the far right is a constantly changing one. The constraints at this point in time are wholly different than they were in the fall of 1992, and the movement must take this into account if it is to continue to grow and be successful. Actions which were possible during the initial phase of ARA activity are more difficult or impossible to organize successfully today. This is primarily the result of preparedness on the part of the fascists. We have to remember that before the Roma demo, the nazis had not experienced a street level response of any magnitude or intensity. This led them to a feeling of security in regards to their activity via a vis general meetings. While expecting some degree of infiltration perhaps, they were not ready for a militant pres-

ence of several hundred to converge on their meeting place.

It was the very fact that they were not expecting nor prepared for such a response that in many ways made a successful demonstration possible. The Heritage Front at that time was less secure with information regarding time and place for their meetings, allowing the date and time of the meeting to be disseminated several days before the meeting and the location to be given to their members as much as twenty-four hours beforehand. This time frame allowed ARA to receive the information in enough time to distribute posters and organize demonstrations.

Subsequent to the Roma demonstration, the Heritage Front has kept meeting details secret until as little as a few hours before the meeting, then notifying their supporters via telephone. With this new security practice, the HF has significantly curtailed the ability of anti-racists to mobilize in sufficient numbers to again confront them at their meetings. This fact highlights two specific needs for ARA's continued viability, 1) differentiation of tactics, and 2) the need for better intelligence.

ARA needs to again be creative in its approach to mobilizing against the fascists. To maintain an approach based solely around mass demonstrations is obviously destructive at a moment when the nazis, through their own security measures, have effectively shut off much of that opportunity. One of the advantages which ARA has always had contributing to the militancy and excitement around their demonstrations is the existence of a visible and identifiable enemy. The best ARA actions to date have come when anti-racists were actually facing down nazis in the streets. However, if the fascists can effectively conceal their gatherings, then the opportunity to go face-to-face with them is gone. The element of surprise, of agency, goes from the anti-racists to the racists, who will be the ones determining when and where they will gather publicly and will therefore be expecting confrontation (as well as police protection).

If the chance of going head-to-head is diminished if not lost, then an over-emphasis on mass mobilization will force ARA back onto the path of demonstrating in front of faceless targets, exactly the thing to which the organization worked to develop alternatives. Necessity, then, demands creativity, and the need to devise strategies for both gathering better intelligence and staging effective actions using smaller numbers.

The most important work to be done, however, lies not within the right but within the left. Unfortunately, it is the left at this moment which poses the major obstacle to the growth of an effective anti-racist movement. The institutionalization of progressive Canadian politics and the visible disdain for the work of ARA and other anti-fascist organizations needs to be addressed openly. The left has to begin to move from its current position of attempting to organize along ideological lines, and instead return to a grassroots approach which speaks directly to people's experiences.

We are unfortunately at a political moment when the only people doing real grassroots organizing, particularly in the white community, are the fascists. They are the ones in the trenches, in the schools and workplaces, and they are capitalizing on institutional white supremacy to organize a growing, well-funded, internationally coordinated, and violent racist movement.

While defeating the neo-nazi movement in Canada is a relatively small task in comparison to defeating institutionalized white supremacy, it is one which is crucial to address at this moment. The work of ARA in particular provides a basis from which many bigger things can emerge. The opportunity to involve young people in political organizing, particularly in a struggle which can show concrete short term gains and can and will inevitably be successful, can provide the inspiration and experience necessary to wage broader and longer term struggles.

Interview With A Member Of Anti-Racist Action

One June 11, 1993, Anti-Racist Action (ARA) in Toronto entered into a new phase of actions against neo-nazis in the city by taking the struggle against them to the realm of "nazi-doorsteps". After a month of discussions, ARA embarked on a pro-active means of confronting the nazis by exposing them within neighbourhoods where they hide and organize. This new orientation represented a shift by ARA in that they would no longer pursue a strategy based solely on reacting against fascist organizing and violence. ARA decided to broaden its tactics as another step towards stopping the nazi-menace - in a concrete way - in Toronto. This action at the nazi operational centre was organized during a period of covert fascist terror against people of colour - especially the Tamil community - and others. After June 11, various sectors and communities reacted to the ARA action and informally raised concerns about anti-fascist strategies and tactics. Ravi John from ARA addressed some of these issues in an interview with CKLN 88.1, a community-based radio station in Toronto.

On Friday, June 11, 1993, Anti-Racist Action organized a march to the home of neo-nazi propagandist Gary Schipper - the operational centre of Heritage Front "Hateline". Since that demonstration, 4 anti-racists have been arrested. What were the charges under which the 4 were arrested and what are the bail conditions for their release?

The 4 anti-racists have been arrested on charges of mischief to property and disguising with the intention to commit an indictable offense. Other than that, I think one of them was charged with counselling to commit an indictable offense and one woman is charged with assaulting a police officer.

Are these charges quite serious for these ARA members?

I think it is quite serious in the sense that the police want to criminalize the anti-racists, and in the sense that they want to put them into the same category as neo-nazis, and show them as a somewhat criminal element in our society; which is not true.

I understand the bail conditions are pretty tough also...

The bail conditions include non-association with other ARA members and they are banned from any demos in the entire province of Ontario - no matter if they are anti-racist or not, and there is a curfew stuck on them - they have to be at home at 9 o'clock in the evening.

Let's go back to the June 11 demo. What is the official position of ARA on the events at Schipper's house.

The event, as such, was not isolated; we can't isolate the event or the nature of the demo. What happened on June 11 was that ARA decided that we should take the anti-racist struggle, or the fight against neo-nazis, to their own territory, to their own operational centres. The home of Gary Schipper was targeted because anti-racists had been watching that place for some time and observing what kind of activities were going on there. The house was an operational centre, it was not just a home.

So, 300 people gathered in a community centre in Toronto, and we were very open about the fact that we were going to keep the destination of the demonstration a secret. Eventually, when we got closer to this operational centre, we distributed flyers and stickers, and we started to put up stickers around the neighbourhood, and we gave Schipper's photograph to the demonstrators, and so they knew that we were going to his place. The purpose was to expose that location to the community there - here nazis are carrying out their hate propaganda and also this is where they coordinate their activities. So, ARA was able to show the community that nazis can't get away with these things - people are prepared to come to their doorstep and express their anger. This is quite opposite to what nazis have been doing; terrorizing people in a discreet manner.

During the demo, some anti-racists broke away from the crowd and they did some damage to the property. You have to understand that it was a very focused action - no other homes were damaged. You have to understand the context of what happened and the context of the times. There had been attacks against anti-racists in Ottawa, there had been two attacks against the Tamil community here - one person was killed and one is now partially paralysed. There had also been an attack in Kitchener against a Jewish shop owner. There had been an attack on Black community activists, and there was an arson attack on a young women's hostel.

So, I think, in this context, some youth decided to express their legitimate anger. ARA's position is, it is not for us to condemn or condone that. We have to understand why this happened, and so the burden does not lie



with ARA, rather it lies with the neo-nazis; their activities have led to this type of situation. It is not our task to police our people. If some youth decide to do that sort of thing, our task is to protect them, because we understand their legitimate anger. I think ARA prevented a division among the ranks of anti-fascists and anti-racists.

The June 11 demonstration has sparked a huge media attack on ARA. Apart from the mainstream media, there have been some legitimate concerns raised by the community, one of which is that at that particular demonstration people went to it thinking that it was going to be peaceful. But on arriving there, things turned out differently. These people might be alienated from further ARA actions. How do you deal with that concern?

I think I have to make just one small clarification. We assembled at the community centre - that was peaceful. We had a small outside rally there - that was peaceful. We took streetcars to the operational centre - that was peaceful. Then we gathered in a small park - that was peaceful. We marched through the neighbourhood to Schipper's house and that was peaceful. But ARA never tried to hide the fact that when it comes to confronting nazis there might be - there might be - some sort of action that does not fall into this category of so-called 'peaceful

demonstrations'. People are aware of that, and that is the tradition of ARA, and ARA was actually born with that tradition last year when the neo-nazi tried to march to the courthouse, but were chased away by anti-racists.

I can understand these concerns because people from various backgrounds and various levels of political understanding, who still want to oppose neo-nazis, they see these demonstrations as the ideal opportunity to express their anger, even in a symbolic way. At the same time, you have to understand that we don't want to divide the movement; we don't want to see that a certain crowd just adheres to peaceful means and others adhere just to militancy. Both forms of action are complimentary to each other.

June 11 was just one demo. It is not the only strategic way of fighting nazis for ARA. For ARA it is a broadening of our tactics, but it is not the one strategic way of dealing with things.

We have to consider that ARA is not the only organization in this city which fights the nazis and takes the initiative in fighting racism. However as an organization, ARA can't satisfy everyone. ARA has chosen the strategy of direct action against neo-nazis whenever possible. If others want to embark on different tactics, then we respect them and see them as valuable contributions to the overall struggle.

But the problem is, you know that an organization like ARA is a perfect target for agents provocateurs, right? And if there isn't internal discipline within the movement, then it's an ideal opportunity for somebody from the outside to come and disrupt things, and it would reflect on ARA as an organization. I'm not saying that's what happened at Schipper's house, but in the future that could happen. Are there ways that you can prevent that from happening, as an organization?

At every demonstration we should have an assessment of the nature of the demonstration and what is the purpose of the demonstration. If the action of an individual or a group of people falls within the scope of ARA's strategic aims, we don't have sufficient reason to suspect anybody. Furthermore, the charge of agent provocateurs has traditionally been used against militant political activists. Yes, we are conscious about agent provocateurs; but the organization that plans and carries out political actions has a better chance to identify agents rather than outside political observers.

At ARA events, people of colour are often on the front-line and knowing the historical background of how the police look at people of colour, and how they target them, the concern is that in an organization in which the majority are white, people of colour are being put in the front-lines during ARA actions.

I think we have to look at all the past actions of ARA, because I think this concern really came to the forefront after June 11. These concerns are legitimate and we can understand these concerns, and the problem is, o.k., it is a fact that the majority of ARA members are white, so in that sense we can expect that the most militant members are going to be white, which may or may not be true; it is beside the point. In any actions which ARA has planned or has taken, we do not tell what position to take. We try to create a relatively safe space in demos, then participants decide where to position themselves.

ARA does not go and try to exclude people, so this might be one demonstration where the majority of the people who took a front-line stance were people of colour. But I don't think this is true for all ARA demonstrations; because if anybody wants to take to the front-line and be strong and very militant, and can take the

pressure not just from the neo-nazis but also from the police, they are welcomed. I think, in this sense, that most people of colour, because of their day-to-day repression and the discrimination they face, I think that they have that strength because that is their reality, and so if they decide they want to be in the front-line, I think we should allow that to happen. But the problem is, yes you are right, that they are the people who are going to be targeted. So, people who don't want to be in the front-lines, their main responsibility is to protect these people.

And that goes beyond the actual organization itself, to the community itself, let's say, people of colour who are not part of ARA. The ARA actions are creating an atmosphere where there is retaliation against communities of colour. Somebody walking down the street might be attacked by these neo-nazis just because of the colour of their skin. That brings us to the question of accountability to those communities of colour who are being affected by ARA actions, but whose opinion may not be listened to. How do you address that concern?

That is a legitimate concern and it is not a new one; it has been here in other social struggles also. I think, first of all, the anti-racist movement in the city is not responsible for actions of the neo-nazis. The neo-nazis are the people who are responsible for their own actions - that's why we want them to be held accountable.

I am a refugee, and I was living with other refugees in a rooming house in Pickering (a city outside of Toronto - ed.) in 1989, and I was attacked by a skinhead, and that was just one year before the Heritage Front started - that is how I got a keen interest in these issues.

And now it is reported that there are over 500 hate crimes in Toronto, and most of the attacks are not even reported. So, anti-fascist actions might create a situation that when the nazis are cornered and when they get more and more defensive day-by-day, out of desperation they might take out their anger on a person of colour. But, at the same time, the violence of the nazis is not initiated by actions against them, and they are not motivated to go out and attack people of colour because there is an anti-racist presence in the streets. Rather, that is their ideology, that is what they spend their time preparing for. When they go out and attack a person of colour, it's a matter of timing.

That is exactly what happened in Germany in 1938, when I was a refugee there. The neo-nazis were very marginal, mostly marginalized youth. The mainstream and the radical political community completely ignored them. The nazis organized very well and they were prepared when the Berlin Wall fell, and all the other social concerns unfolded, and they were prepared to go on the attack against people of colour. Despite the anti-racist presence there in Germany, the brunt of the attacks are against people of colour. But that does not mean that people of colour should not take part in defensive actions against nazis. Actually, the strongest anti-racist youth are Turkish youth because they are the people who are targeted. They are much more militant than all the radical political activists. Day-to-day they fight the nazis in the street because that is a matter of survival for them.

So, these things happen, we have to be aware of that, but at the same time we should not strategize the anti-racist struggle based on just this concern. We have to think of going beyond that and how to stop these people, because I don't want to get involved in this struggle for the next 20 or 30 years just fighting neo-nazis. I don't want to see society polarized. I want to see these people stopped in a concrete way, at least in their organizing capability. They should feel cornered and besieged and threatened for being neo-nazis. I don't want to feel threatened for being a person of colour.

Is there a dialogue planned with the community? I think that part of the problem is that there is lack of

communication and that concerns are raised and there is no dialogue between ARA and certain communities that have been organizing against racism in a more traditional sense.

Yes, to an extent. I don't want to pretend that it is going smoothly. ARA has one crew of members that are devoted to the task of reaching out to other communities, but it has not happened through very constructive dialogue of what is the strategy for neo-nazis. I think it should come up within the struggle. We can't just come up with a blueprint and go to the communities and say 'this is the blueprint for fighting nazis - what do you think, what are your concerns?' I think it will come up within the struggle. We saw that happening particularly after June 11. Before June 11, yes, we tried, through the outreach crew, to reach these communities and ask for their support, and people had concerns for some time, but after June 11, yes, people had a lot of concerns, and they raised these concerns. And we were able to get back to them with a very clear statement of what happened, and ask for their continued support.

At the same time, very positive things have happened. After the attacks against the Tamil community, a wide coalition was initiated by anti-racists and activists from the left political community. This was very positive and it gives us ample opportunity to deal with these concerns in a very direct way. At the same time, we did not hear any reservations, in a concrete way, from any one of the communities.

I think that dialogue should happen because we don't want to do something for them. And after all if we don't address their concerns it doesn't help our struggle in the long term. So I think that communication should be more comprehensive and it should be an ongoing thing, and I think that because of the anti-racist coalition in this city and because people are now aware of ARA better than before, there is some attention on ARA, and it can help us when we go to them and discuss these concerns.

One thing ARA has done effectively is to stop neo-nazi recruitment in high-schools. One problem with an organization that depends on direct action - and ARA is not the only one - is that we have the experience of other organizations especially directed towards youth who might join ARA as a first political act in their lives, and they really have lots of energy but little politicization. How much of that is a problem, and how are you trying to deal with it?

ARA has been somewhat successful in organizing high-school students who are being deliberately targeted by the Heritage Front. And most of these youths are white and, yes, it might be their first political involvement, and their first political engagement and political action might be being involved in ARA. Anti-Racist Action is something they can relate to, because this is a question within their own community, within their own society, within their own social level. It is something they can easily relate to: neo-nazis and fascists are targeting us and we are

subject to their recruitment.

ARA has been able to attract these youth through various means, not just street-level political action, but through creating an anti-racist culture, through concerts and parties and making some social space for them. So, these people are attracted to ARA, and the way politicization happens is that it is not just what you can read in a textbook, I think people will be solidified and enlightened when they broaden their outlook from just focusing on anti-fascist work to other issues like police violence and institutionalized racism; by being involved in day-to-day actions. It might be going to a Rock Against Racism

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On 9/3/11/24, ARA organized a demonstration which had a two-fold purpose: one, to prevent a possible march by HF in support of 3 of its members who were on trial, and two, to march to the headquarters of a major figure in the international neo-nazi movement - Ernest Zundel (see poster below). There was a massive mobilization by the police to protect Zundel's headquarters which included the Public Order Unit, Emergency Task Force and numerous undercover cops. After Zundel's building was pelted by eggs and paintbombs, police attacked the demonstration and arrested 8 people and injured several others. ARA is organizing a defense campaign in support of those arrested. As well, 4 ARA members who were arrested after the June 11 demo still face charges and need your support. To contribute to the defense fund send money to: ARA, P.O. Box 664, Stn. C, Toronto, Ont. M6J 3S1. Infoline: (416) 631-8835

THE ONE THAT GOT AWAY...

Prevent a Nazi March!

Toronto will no longer tolerate racism and fascism. We will be at the courts to prevent a Nazi march and then we will march to Zundel's production and distribution headquarters.

WEDNESDAY NOV. 24, 9AM SHARP RALLY AT CITY HALL

ANTI-RACIST ACTION

P.O. BOX 664 STN C, TORONTO ONT. M6J 3S1 - TEL: 631-8835

Anti-Racist Action



History of Anti-racist Action: The Baldies, 1987

Anti-Racist Action began in 1987 with a group of multi-racial, youth oriented, skinhead and non-skinhead men, The Baldies. A.R.A. emerged as a response to the White Knights, a new grouping of neo-nazi skinheads who were organizing for white supremacy in Minneapolis (they were influenced by racist leader Tom Metzger's White Aryan Resistance in California). The Baldies wanted a more broad-based resistance to the nazis, and created A.R.A. Some members came from different gangs: the Vice-Lords, Latin Kings, the Disciples, some didn't, but the unifying element was their working-class commitment to defeating racist organizing in the twin cities as well as nation-wide. Anti-Racist Action had tremendous success in combatting and defeating the White Knights organizing capabilities through education and direct confrontation. This victory gave impetus for many A.R.A. chapters to autonomously emerge in San Francisco, Chicago, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Indianapolis, and Portland. A.R.A. received nation wide notoriety with articles in *City Pages*, *The Minneapolis Star* and *Tribune*, *Chicago Tribune*, and the nationally distributed magazine, *The Vibe Reader*. It was probably one of the most important grassroots militant youth movements against racism and fascism in recent history, precisely because their membership was multi-cultural, working class-based and had gang participation. Their strength and courage put out a message in their communities that there was no room for nazis in the scene.

After the defeat of the White Knights ARA dissipated for several reason - there were no easy targets to organize against and the group turned towards more internal education.

Reformation of ARA, 1991

In the Spring of 1990, members of the Baldies and of the Revolutionary



Anarchist Bowling League drafted up a flyer with the hope of regrouping Anti-racist Action. A wonderfully diverse group of people came together and started articulating the kind of anti racist group they would like to be in. We began with a strong analysis of how heterosexually male-dominated and controlled the old ARA was. The new group also agreed that physical confrontation can be used as a tactic against racist presence, but that we needed to build an understanding of how men often use violence to dominate and control.



March on The East Side

In response to several racist attacks, and constant organizing by the white supremacist Northern Hammerskinheads on the East Side of St. Paul, ARA's first public event was to begin organizing a march in this community, in June of 1991. With the help of our East Side members, we began door knocking, distributing and posting fliers, talking with neighbors, meeting with several different community councils, as well as participating in several discussions with other concerned activists about tactics and strategy. The march brought about 300 righteous anti-racists together from Minneapolis and St. Paul to speak out against racist attacks and also give support to the anti-racist presence in the East Side. Many saw the importance of the march in raising awareness of the issue of racism, but still others saw the march as "putting down the East side" because we pointed out the racist elements organizing there. The march was a very important learning event, and we apply what we have learned towards other events we participate in.

University ARA and the White Student Union

In August of 1991, Tom David began running an ad in *The Daily* (the University of Minnesota campus newspaper) for the formation of a White Student Union. Several enraged letters and articles later, ARA put out a call to all student groups to come together and form a united force against this organized racism and to take action. The Coalition Against White Supremacy (CAWS) was formed. CAWS organized a rally, 500 people strong, where the diverseness of the CAWS membership was reflected in its speakers. Tom David and his cronies were escorted off campus by the mobilized protestors who chanted, "On the campus, on the

streets, nazi scum taste defeat!

Tom David's connections with Neo-Nazi groups on the east side became apparent when six well-known organized racists from the East Side of St. Paul showed up to offer him protection at the rally.

"Stop the Nazi Concert!"

After the victory of "escorting" Tom David off campus, ARA concentrated its energies on stopping a concert by the white supremacist group Bound for Stupidity (uh, we mean Glory!) and issued a leaflet calling for the community (predominantly Vietnamese) to phone in to try and stop the concert. After a few short days, the armory which was going to sponsor the event caved in to community and media pressure and refused to hold the event. Yay!!

"Three Pronged Attack": The Regrouping

After the major successes on the march on the East Side, the raising of awareness and the resistance to the White Student Union, as well as the stopping of the Nazi concert, ARA realized that it would be much more effective to split up into three separate subgroups: University ARA, South Minneapolis ARA, and St. Paul ARA (situated on the East Side). Each group is semi-autonomous and completes projects of its own, yet also gets the guidance of the larger three group ARA for major decisions and education. We feel that this sort of organization offers the best community involvement (as the people from each community become part of the respective ARA sub-group), as well as being much more efficient and organized. Hasta La Victoria Siempre!



The Free Association Forum

Tom David's appearance at the U of M has congealed the racist right's energies in the Twin Cities, and recently a new racist coalition has sprung up.

Recently racist groups have been organizing and racist attacks and other hate crimes have been increasing in the Twin Cities (as well as nationwide). This is in part due to the Free Association Forum. The FAF is a local coalition of national hate groups such as the Ku Klux Klan, the Posse Comitatus, White Aryan Resistance, Northern Hammer Skinheads, as well as the White Student Union. The KKK has opened local chapters in St. Paul and Stillwater, while recruitment flyers have been distributed in North Minneapolis, St. Paul and surrounding areas. Klan literature is being distributed within the Minneapolis Public School system and the racist White Student Union is in the process of becoming a student group at the U of M. These racists perpetuate mental and physical brutality on people of color, women, gays, lesbians, and bisexuals, people of different religious belief (especially Jews and Muslims), and anyone who disagrees and works against their racist ideology. Be aware that these groups are dangerous, they are growing, and must be resisted from every strand of society. Only through collective resistance can we create an equal and racist-free world.

University ARA: As We See It



"Diversity" has become catch-phrase of the times, a liberal cliché for an underfunded, inefficient and still largely Eurocentric education system.

Existing and even future legislated reforms are not enough because legislating from the position of power ignores the need to analyze and overturn the whole power structure in this country.

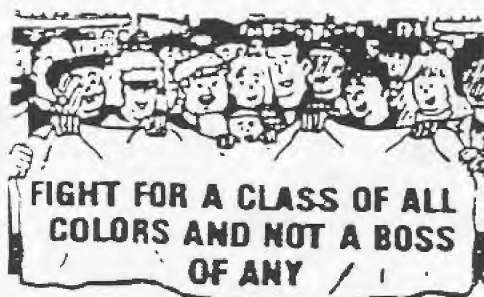
It takes people who have been denied power to educate each other to overcome the Eurocentric worldviews pushed on them. Inspire a movement towards mutual respect for other colors and other cultures and to recognize and tolerate real Diversity (not the token reform Government and Academia swallow grudgingly), those who have been oppressed must claim freedom and rights for themselves.

White people who truly want to work for the end of Racism, but have the potential to become oppressors through the positions society put them in, should not fall into useless guilt or despair, which is itself a luxury. One is born a racist or is racist because of their own skin color: it is conditions we are born into that make us racist if we accept them with question or meet them with apathy.

Grassroots Vs. Government

University Anti-Racist Action works as a political group from these premises: that racism is ingrained into our system.



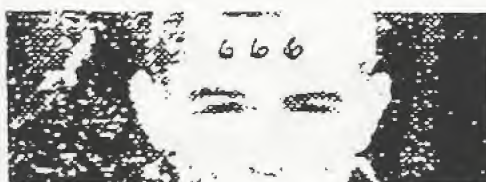


of governing, which perpetuates a hierarchy that oppresses everyone through manipulation and false divisions/dichotomies. Action must be taken not only through the approved or legal channels, which perpetuate this system by providing for resistance by governmentally approved means but by organizing ourselves with a non-hierarchical structure. U ARA believes we must take action directly against the oppressive system, particularly racist hate groups, because the mainstream prefers to ignore rather than challenge their beliefs. This means that we must not rely on the government or corporate institutions to defeat racism, rather we must organize as a mass of people of different cultures and educate each other and reclaim the power we have to forge a free and equal society that is controlled from the grassroots. Certainly, governmental policies such as affirmative action and Roe V. Wade help push notions of equality onto grudgingly accepting economic and political institutions, but as noticed from the recent assault on these same policies shows, The government giveth and the government taketh away!

Tactics: Demonstrations and Fighting Back

We as everyday citizens are so removed from those in power who make the laws, that often times the only way to focus attention on the raging problems of racism are to make a strong, lively, visual presence. Demonstrating and rallies are essential parts of resistance. In a society that completely controls us, from standing in line and raising our hand to go to the bathroom when we are children, to punching in and out every day at a job that we hate but are told that it is our only legal option, so "get used to it", creating a space all our own such as a march or rally is an incredibly liberating prospect.

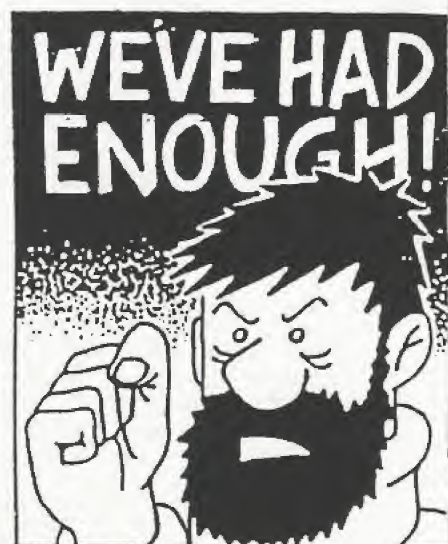
Demonstrations are just one tactic in a strategy which includes letter writing, speaking at events, putting on musical programs, organizing community events, as well as defending potential victims of racist, sexist, or heterosexual violence. Part of this entails direct confrontation with the



perpetrators, although this should not be elevated to the main thrust of a strategy: We understand that lasting change comes from people banding together, not from isolated acts of individuals fighting back. On the other hand, it is important to realize the necessity of this tactic. Fighting back in a world which conveniently keeps the oppressed in their victim role, can lead to new understandings of the nature of oppression and the ability to sustain their resistance.

University ARA: History

University ARA is committed to using a variety of tactics in the struggle against oppression. In the short while of our existence as a campus-based group, we were instrumental in organizing a large meeting of campus groups and individual students as a response to racist opinion piece articles in Sept. 1991. ARA then initiated a call for unified coalition of student groups against racism and proposed the name The Coalition Against White Supremacy (The CAWS). From this coalition a demonstration and rally was planned, at which over 500 lively students participated. We have participated in forums on racism (albeit in different ways than the panel thought), and have issued many leaflets and opinion pieces and letters to the editor exposing Tom David and his Neo-Nazi connections.



University ARA: Structure

Our group attempts to be non-hierarchical and democratic, and we try to work together to find ways to help each other overcome our oppressive baggage that we bring in with us. Because not everyone has been encouraged to develop leadership skills or has access to the same resources to learn (i.e. the computer), U ARA attempts at sharing these skills. Everyone is a leader, and no one is a follower is a motto we strive to attain. If you see things as we do, or are interested in finding out more, check us out!

What is Racism?

Racism is a social and economic oppression created and perpetuated by those in power, a majority of whom identify themselves with one color to the detriment of others.

For example:

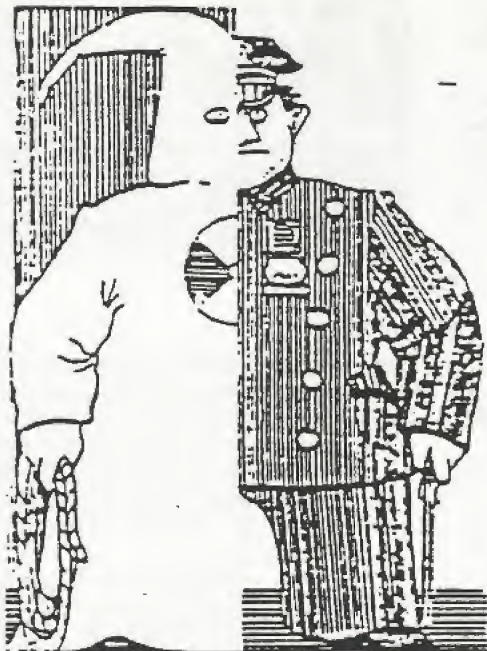
Our capitalist system relies on the condition of a large pool of



unemployed labor to keep wages low and keep workers competing for jobs with low wages. White supremacists want to ensure that all whites are employed and use people of color as that pool of the unemployed or mentally-employed to use as a scapegoat and a prod on white workers to accept their condition.

Although the system of Capitalism uses racist means to further its own goals, many white supremacists want to seize the means of production for THEMSELVES and create a racist, racist State of their own devising.

Racism=Prejudice + Power



Anyone can be prejudiced, but that only becomes Racism when implemented by a group in power over other groups.

In America, the prejudices of non-whites are not Racism by this definition because they don't have the power to control the resources and means of production of society, and by extension, then, cannot withhold those important resources (jobs, food, housing, leisure and cultural expression, education, clothing, etc.). They are not implemented in a systematic way (within the system itself) towards the destruction and assimilation of other cultures. This is what distinguishes white supremacist groups and the United States government's racism, and the various prejudices of people of color. Many of these prejudices are understandable as ways of retaining a cultural identity and keeping a sense of personhood in a social climate which often tries to undermine the worth and humanity of people of color.



Organized White Supremacy

Racist organizations prey upon a white person's fear of unemployment in financially depressed times, and attempts to incite fear in people of color by violent speech and terrorist actions against them, undermining their possibilities for resistance.

White Supremacists attack Affirmative Action policies, distort them, and make them seem threatening to white workers. They ignore that these policies are not the problem, but an attempt at a remedy by compensating for the bigotry which is part of the large-scale economic problem of Unemployment.

Unfortunately as a remedy, it applies band-aids to a huge and infected wound. Racism pervades the very structure of our Government, Economy and "Justice" System. Despite our taking this view, we are not against Affirmative Action: though inadequate to the scope of the problem. It counteracts the bigotry that could keep people of color from jobs they need to survive.

The Government cannot legislate away racism. Tolerance comes from people educating each other. True Change will come from the Grass-Roots— from people organizing towards mutual empowerment and an end to the system of oppressors.

Effects of Racism

Communities of color suffer tremendously in the inner cities where they are forced into crowded areas by high rent prices, becoming like small nations within the larger Nation that must struggle to avoid being pushed to the point of collapse under the siege of poverty and bigotry.

If you are born a person of color, 17% of your chances in life are determined for you before you take any action in the world.

What 's Going Down : Current Projects and Concerns of U-ARA

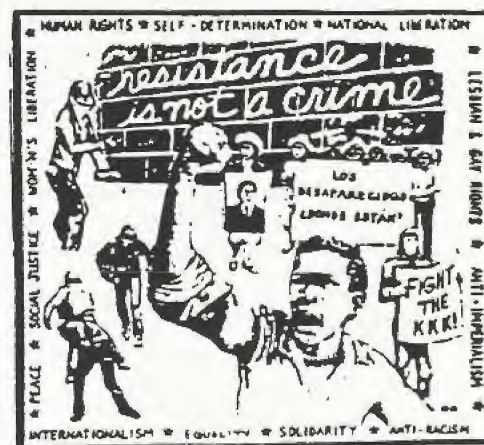
University Anti-Racist Action is taking steps to defend the rights of

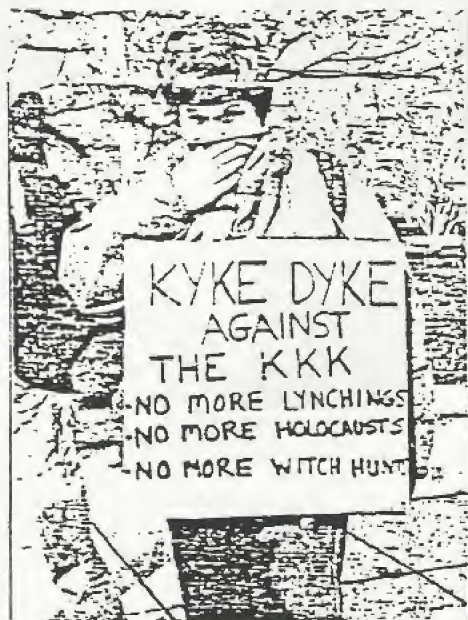


various oppressed peoples in American society. By searching for the causes of, for example, racism, sexism, and homophobia, and acting on these causes, we hope to affect substantial social and political change. Successful activities such as Rock Against Racism and on-campus demonstrations against racists organizing at the university are examples of some of the work our group has done. Seeking to be proactive rather than reacting to the melodrama of the right-wing, we plan events that increase awareness of racism, homophobia, and sexism and their related social and economic causes.

On February 8, 1992, University Anti-Racist Action put together a benefit, Rock Against Racism, that combined an eclectic blend of local musical talent with speakers of diverse backgrounds raising their voices to Rock Against Racism.

The members of ARA come from a variety of political backgrounds; discussion is emphasized and encouraged at our meetings. If you feel you can contribute to our effort, please attend one of our weekly meetings held Wednesday afternoon in Coffman Union — check the schedule posted daily in Coffman for the room and the time.





supremacists claim to have a strong fundamentalist religious background, with which they justify their ideologies, especially concerning the nuclear family and sexuality. Non-heterosexual relationships run counter to the accepted gender roles stereotypes in our society. These relationships are therefore considered dangerous, deviant, and deserving of punishment or violence. Queer wimmin break from the way wimmin are supposed to act. They challenge the assumption that men have constant access to wimmin. Society reacts with terrorization and violence against people seen as different. Queer men are not seen as real men. In actuality they are challenging and expanding on the limited gender roles taught to them.

The perpetuation of the Aryan race is of central importance to the sexist, homophobic, white supremacist ideology. A fundamental tenet is men's control of wimmin's



Interconnections of All Oppressions

It is necessary for anti-racists to have an understanding of the hierarchical nature of our society. As people working to eliminate racism and anti-Jewish prejudice, it is essential to fight sexism, homophobia, heterosexism, ableism, agelism, religious dogmatism, and classism. These oppressions all have common roots, based on a theory of white, ruling class, heterosexual dominance. Because of the meshed nature of oppressions, to interrupt and completely dismantle one oppression, we must also destroy the others. How can a lesbian of Afrikan descent claim her freedom when the anti-racist war is being fought by a group that leaves no space for her to be all of who she is? When we come together as anti-racists, the oppressor/ oppressed identities we have been taught are often played out in group dynamics. There must be a collective responsibility within the group to not only smash systematic institutional oppression but to also acknowledge how interpersonal hierarchies get played out in the group.

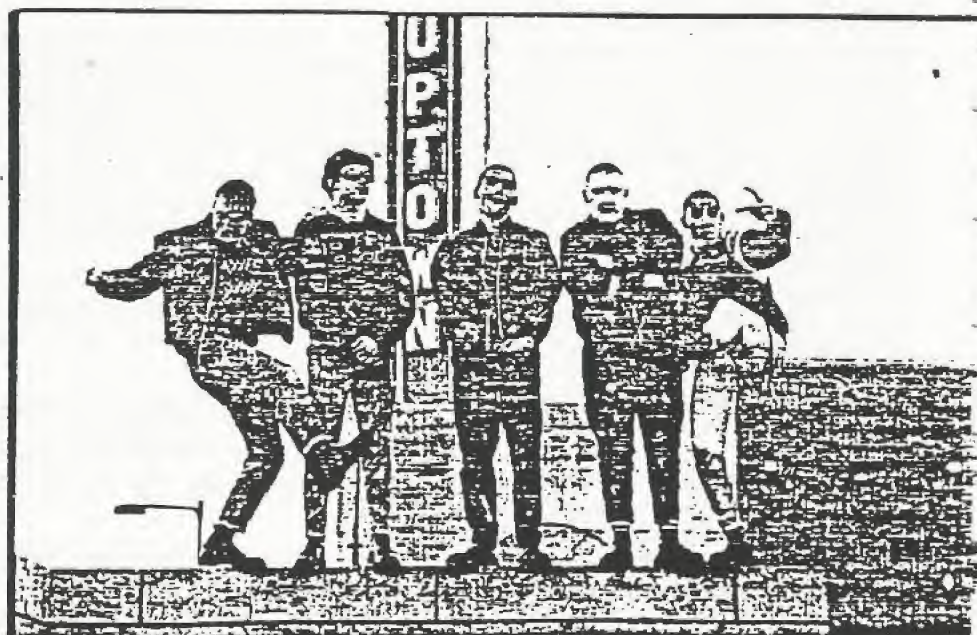
The connection between neo-nazi terrorization of people of color, wimmin, and queers are clear. It is important to see these acts as parallel so that the anti-racist movement can understand the dangers, the nature of oppression, and the goals of nazi groups.

White supremacists practice the extremes of bigotry, and by doing so make clearer the commonalities of these oppressions. Most white



reproduction: white wimmin are used to produce white babies, and wimmin of color are forcibly sterilized. The maintenance of traditional Eurocentric family values and sex roles are utilized to achieve these goals, as well as to perpetuate a gender and sex-role stereotypes.

The nature of oppression divides us and keeps us at each other's throats, rather than bringing down the straight, white, male, ruling-class system. The more we acknowledge the more unified and strong our movement for real equality and freedom becomes.



Rostock And It's Aftermath

Pogrom in Rostock

On October 3, Germany 'celebrated' the second-anniversary of its reunification - or rather the annexation of the former German Democratic Republic (GDR) by West Germany. Also on October 3, both the far-right and the far-left in Germany took to the streets in protest, the former to call for the expulsion of all foreigners and refugees from the country, and the latter to denounce neo-nazi violence and to demand open borders for all refugees.

Germany's domestic political order has been greatly upset for the past several months, particularly after a series of racist pogroms in the former East German town of Rostock unleashed an unprecedented wave of organized, militant attacks by neo-nazi youth gangs throughout all of Germany. The attacks in Rostock began on August 22 at an anti-foreigner rally in front of a home for asylum-seekers. Despite a tip-off to police, only 20 officers were on hand when the violence began. At least 100 neo-nazi youths smashed the windows of building, and even though 100 extra police soon showed up, they did not intervene, and the attacks on the refugee center continued until deep into the night. TV images of the pogrom showed countless neighborhood residents standing nearby, applauding and cheering.

On Sunday night, a line of riot police could not prevent a second night of attacks, this time by nazi youths armed with molotov cocktails. What's more, it seemed the nazis were very well organized. Christian Worch of the far-right National List party from Hamburg was on hand to provide leadership, and neo-nazi cadres with walky-talkies (and even police radios!) helped provide organization. The obvious lack of police intervention made it clear that at least some elements within the police force either were quietly sympathetic, or may even have aided in preparations for the neo-nazi attacks. This became further evident when 100 anti-fascists were brutally dispersed when they arrived on the scene. At least 60 anti-fascists were arrested in Rostock on Sunday night, and many were placed in prison cells full of neo-nazis.

By Monday, attacks on the refugee hostel in Rostock - just like one year before in the town of Hoyerwerda - had become a nightly event. The refugees were evacuated, in a sense meaning that the neo-nazis had been successful. Moreover, inspired by the events in Rostock, neo-nazis in at least 10 other German cities rioted and attacked refugee centers on several consecutive evenings after the initial pogroms in Rostock. And for weeks after the events in Rostock, there were countless molotov attacks and stabbings by neo-nazis in cities all across Germany.

The March Goes On

So far this year, over 2000 attacks on foreigners have been carried out by fascists and neo-nazis in Germany, resulting in 15 deaths and countless injuries. Most recently, on November 20, a Berlin squatter was killed when a group of autonomists came upon a group of nazi youths who were beating a foreigner in a subway station. In the ensuing clash, three of the autonomists were stabbed, and one of them, Silvio Meier, a 27 year-old squatter, was killed. In the nights following Silvio's death, there were constant clashes between autonomists and neo-nazis. Autonomists also injured at least 37 police in a militant march through Berlin expressing their outrage at Silvio's death. Later in the week, autonomists and Turkish youths fought against police in riots in the neighborhood of Kreuzberg.

The situation in Germany became further escalated on Sunday, November 22, when neo-nazi skinheads firebombed the house of a Turkish family, killing two Turkish women and and 11 year-old Turkish girl. Enraged at this attack, Turkish youths vowed: "Ten Germans For Every Turk!" Nine other persons were

wounded in this attack.

"Attack the Nazis Wherever They Are!"

The fact that neo-nazi gangs have been on an organized offensive does not, however, mean that there has been no resistance. Church groups, citizens, and Greens have organized vigils in front of refugee centers - although it usually takes just a few skinheads with steel-toed boots and rocks and bottles to chase these folks away. In contrast to this approach, autonomist ANTIFA (anti-fascist action) groups expanded their approach of street-level confrontation with neo-nazis.

One week after the outbreak of violence in Rostock, a large anti-fascist demonstration was held in that city. Whereas only a handful of police were deployed to deal with the neo-nazis during their week of attacks, upon the arrival of the ANTIFA demonstrators, at least 2000 police were bussed into Rostock in order to "keep the peace". In other cities as well, ANTIFA marches were held, often resulting in confrontations with police and gangs of neo-nazis.

On November 8, German political and business leaders organized a massive "anti-racist" march in Berlin, mainly to improve Germany's tarnished image in the international market. When Chancellor Kohl - who has threatened to declare a state of emergency in Germany so as to more easily deport refugees - tried to march at the head of this march, he was attacked with stones and rotting fruit and security forces had to rush him away. German president Weizaecker was similarly prevented from addressing the anti-racist rally when autonomists wrecked the sound system and bombarded him with eggs. Cowering behind a phalanx of riot police on live television, Germany's political elite were effectively shown to be the hypocrites they really are.

Apart from open, mass activities, autonomen in German cities have also responded with clandestine attacks on nazi scene structures like right-wing bars, youth centers, and far-right political party offices. A group calling itself the "Red Antifascist Fraction" burned down a fascist organizing center in the city of Ahrensfelde, and in Rostock itself, just down the block from the burned-out refugee center, the "Antonio Amadeo Commando" (named for an Angolan beaten to death by nazis in 1990 in Eberswalde) trashed the far-right youth center "MAX". Such attacks on nazi political/cultural structures have been commonplace in Germany for several years, but the recent pogroms in Rostock have given the actions a renewed sense of urgency, particularly since the neo-nazi movement seems to be gaining in numbers and organization. Autonomists have also carried out attacks on governmental structures responsible for deportations and racist asylum policies. Most recently, on November 21, a clandestine cell fire-bombed the judicial faculty division of the Volks-Uni university in Hamburg.

The Potential Of The Far-Right

The German government has only minimally reacted to the recent upsurge in fascist violence. In the law courts, young nazis are usually given lenient sentences, since the judges usually rule that the attacks were not political, but were rather the result of the youths' "poor, impoverished upbringing" or "too much alcohol"; the German courts have refused to criminalize the far-right. Many left-wing ANTIFA groups, however, have been criminalized for some time. The entire Autonome ANTIFA scene in the city of Göttingen has been criminalized



under German law paragraph 129a. In fact, there have been 300 cases brought against the radical-left under paragraph 129a, while only 6 proceedings have been brought against fascists.

The far-right youth scene has also been enlivened by an increasing number of neo-nazi rock bands. Bands such as Störkraft rile up their fans at concerts with "Sieg Heil" salutes and lyrics about using flame-throwers to extinguish Jews, disabled persons, and "gypsies". Under German law, such lyrics are technically illegal, but only a few fascist bands have had their songs banned. And obviously, being banned only makes them more popular within neo-nazi youth scenes.

This lack of repression against the far-right has done much to allow the movement's continued rise. The nazi's have seen immediate results from their attacks: fire-bombing refugee homes has led to refugees being moved out of certain cities; while nazis shout "Fortigners Out!", the German government makes payments to Romania as it departs the Roma people back to a land where they are routinely attacked, and while the German parliament debates the abolition of Article 16 of the German constitution which guarantees all asylum-seekers the right to enter Germany. Ideologically, the extreme right and the German state are after the same ends: the German government wants to limit and control the influx of outsiders into Germany, thus it can effectively utilize neo-nazis as shock troops for this end. The fact that many German police officers vote for far-right political parties helps explain their reluctance to crack down on protests rallies by far-right groups with whom they may tacitly or openly feel sympathy. Thus, it is the ANTIFA movement which has been criminalized, while the German government only pays lip service to calls for a crack-down on far-right extremism.

There is some hope in the fact that most rank-and-file nazis are not at all politically developed (although it would be foolish to ignore the well-developed international ties which the far-right movement's leadership has established). To a large degree, young skinheads are motivated by the fact that many of them live in the former GDR where the economic future is bleak. Well-organized nazi organizations then channel their frustration and energy and translate it into violence against foreigners. But with resistance and repression, the far-right could be defeated. The 19 year-old youth who confessed to taking part in the fatal fire-bombing in Mölin tried to commit suicide in prison. And if nazi youths suddenly found themselves under continuous attack from armed Turkish gangs, for example, then they would perhaps be less confident in roaming the streets.

"Open Borders For All!"

Again, what was most frightening about the series of racist attacks in Rostock and throughout Germany in August and September was the degree of public support which the attacks commanded, and the political results which the attacks had. The fact that violence by neo-nazis was 'successful' in having refugees removed from neighborhoods where they were 'not wanted' is alarming. And rather than lashing out at the far-right and calling for solidarity with the oppressed peoples of the world, Germany's political leaders from all of Germany's major political parties instead admitted that there was indeed a refugee "problem" and that Germany's constitutional guarantee to a refugee's right to asylum needed to be restricted.

As ever, the recent events in Germany have showed the urgency for militant anti-racist/anti-fascist organizing. And this organization needs to be two-fold: first, there needs to be theoretical/ideological organizing, so as to be able to analyze, for example, the reasons why global capitalism leads to large numbers of refugees heading from the impoverished lands of the South to the wealthy nations of the North, and why we should support the call for "Open Borders For All!"; and second, the left needs to provide both concrete solidarity with refugees by supporting their own organizational efforts, as well as by organizing our own militant, street-level resistance so as to attack neo-nazis and their organizational structures wherever they arise. Nazis should not be allowed to walk the streets unmolested. They are like a cancer: if left unopposed, they will continue to carry out their attacks. Anti-racists and anti-fascists need to be just as effective at the street-level in opposing them.

No Easy Solutions

Being effective at street level means more than only meeting violence with violence. Militancy alone will not defeat fascism. An anti-fascist movement must take into account the broader perspective; it must look at the 'big picture'. For example, the fact that fascists have been able to mobilize support, particularly in East Germany, shows that the recent upsurge in this activity has deeper roots. While the supposedly "real existing" socialism in the former GDR was anti-fascist, it was so in name only. Racism, anti-semitism, and sexism continued to exist; simmering below the surface of East German society. The many migrant workers brought into the GDR from other "socialist" countries such as Vietnam, and Angola were detained in special neighbourhoods - such as Rostock's Lichtenhagen - and kept separate from East German society.

With reunification and the subsequent restructuring, East German living conditions have deteriorated due to factory closures, housing shortages and a decline in social services. The combination of simmering racism and economic decline has made the former GDR a fertile breeding ground for fascist organizing.

An anti-fascist strategy must take these and other issues into account - it must avoid falling into the trap of 'single-issue' politics. So, it has to be placed within a larger context of the struggle against capitalism, racism, sexism, etc. There are no easy solutions to the questions that these issues raise. The realization that many East Germans are indeed racist is not something that can be met only with moral condemnation or violence - there must be dialogue and interaction. Beating them up isn't going to necessarily turn them into anti-fascists. The left must offer practical alternatives; and its politics must be relevant and accessible in relation to the everyday struggles of not only the German working class but refugees and immigrants who face fascist violence. Clearly, meeting organized fascist violence requires a militant response but this can be only one aspect of an anti-fascist strategy. This struggle must be fought on many different levels whether on the streets, in the factories or simply trying to win over people's "hearts and minds".

(From *Arm The Spirit* #14/15 Aug.-Dec 1992)

"The Real Arsonists Are In Bonn!"

Fascist Violence Continues To Increase In Germany

On May 29, 5 Turkish people were murdered by neo-Nazis in a firebomb attack on their home in Solingen, Germany. This attack occurred only days after the German parliament voted to abolish Article 16 of the German constitution which granted asylum to those who faced political persecution in their homeland. The following is an edited compilation of articles and updates that were posted by ATS in various newsgroups on Internet - a global computer network - during the days that followed the initial fascist attack. We apologise for any inconsistencies in continuity or clarity.

Solingen is a town of about 166,000 inhabitants, including some 20,000 non-German nationals, about 8,000 of whom are Turkish. The town, which is about 20km from both Cologne and Düsseldorf, and near to Wuppertal, has not been immune from right-wing violence over the last few years. In fact, the firebomb attack on May 29 which murdered five Turks was, in some ways, not unexpected.

Like Wuppertal, Solingen is a stronghold for the neo-Nazi NPD (National Party Germany) party. In the last elections, the NPD won 4% of the vote in Solingen. The Republikaner Partei and other far-right groups like the Bergische Front have often campaigned in the area. The autonomist/anti-fascist scene in Solingen, on the other hand, is fairly new and young, but an infoshop was established earlier this year by local autonomists.

In January, a mosque was firebombed in Solingen, and the windows of foreigners' houses have been smashed over the past few months. Nazi graffiti is common in the area, and the girlfriend of the singer of the German fascist band Störkraft lives in Solingen, thus the city is often visited by members of the Düsseldorf Nazi-scene. There have been confrontations in the past between nazis and anti-fascist punks, and one punk is still in hospital after one such attack. All of this makes the CDU (Christian Democrat) mayor seem insincere at best, for after the murders last weekend, he commented: "I can't understand how something like this could happen in Solingen."

The neighbors of the murdered Turkish family have stated that on the night before the attack, young neo-nazis were shouting Nazi slogans in a near-by playground. The neighbours called the police, but the police never came. Apparently, nazis often gathered in this playground or in the fields near the Turks' house. Once, the police did arrive when the youths were painting swastikas on the wall, but after a friendly conversation, the youths were allowed to leave. The local firemen have also come into controversy; although the fire station is only 2 minutes away from the burned-out house, fire-fighters did not arrive on the scene until nearly 30 minutes after the fire started.

The attack in Solingen, which came two days after the German government caved into far-right pressure and changed the country's asylum laws to severely restrict the influx of refugees and immigrants into Germany, was not the only such attack that weekend. A refugee home in Hattingen was firebombed and 3 Ethiopian girls were injured, a refugee house in Munich was attacked, and a mainly Turkish house in Wuppertal was attacked. Other attacks were reported elsewhere in Germany. One CDU official, giving further justification to the Nazi attacks, stated that they were a "response to the left-terrorist riots which took place as we changed the law."

"The Real Arsonists Are In Bonn!"

On the Saturday morning after the murders, a spontaneous Turkish demo was held. Later in the day, two larger demos were held, one of nationalist and Islamic Turks, and another of German citizens, autonomists, and left-radical Turkish organizations like TKP/ML (Turkish Communist Party/Marxist-Leninist) and supporters of Devrimci Sol (Revolutionary Left). Roads were blocked, German government officials were shouted down, and a branch of the Deutsche Bank was attacked. In the evening, there were still 4,000 people in the streets. Fires

were lit in the streets and police retreated after stones were thrown at them. In general, the police were forced to tolerate people's anger and not attack the demonstrators on account of all the international media presence in Solingen.

On Sunday, another large demo was held in Solingen. There were some confrontations at this demo between left-wing Turks and fascist Turks from the Grey Wolves, but most of the right-wing and nationalist Turks broke off and formed their own peaceful march with the Islamic Turks. Throughout Sunday morning, roads, including the Autobahn, were blocked. Germans in one apartment complex threw beer bottles at the demo, and young Turks responded by attacking the building and smashing the windows. Police had to fire warning shots to chase the youths away. More violence broke out when the car of the labour department minister Blüm was attacked. In general, the Turks did not want to listen to anything any German government officials had to say, and rightly so.

The demo continued all day and militant fighting broke out once more as night fell. Nearly all the stores in Solingen were attacked and many were looted; a BP petrol station was destroyed, as was another office of the Deutsche Bank. A tire shop and a mattress store were looted in order to make large fires in the streets. A bus was damaged, and a police depot was attacked. The rioting continued until about 3am. The media tried to blame "violent autonomists" for the riots, although the 5,000 people in the streets were almost all Turkish. One cop was injured and 17 people were arrested on Sunday night.

On Monday morning, demos were once again held. Police presence in Solingen was now very heavy, and units of the anti-terrorist GSG-9 force were mobilized. Marches and vigils continued all day, and when night came, street fighting broke out once more. There were again some problems with the fascist Grey Wolves, but most of anger was directed against police and whatever stores and offices had been missed during the previous riots. There were also riots in Bremen and Bonn as well as demos in Berlin and Hamburg. More riots are expected in Germany this week as immigrant organizations, left-wing Turkish groups, and autonomists are all planning demos in many cities. It is also feared that the police will be heavy-handed at the demos, for although the police were forced to back-off during the initial riots in Solingen because of all the international media attention, the German media and Chancellor Kohl have now begun a smear-campaign against leftist youths (both German and Turkish), saying for example: "Hundreds of Turks, led by Autonomists, rampaged through the city-centre, setting fires and looting stores."

Open borders for all!

Attack the fascists wherever they are!

(information for this article was supplied by autonomist comrades from Wuppertal)

Violent Demonstrations Spread To More German Cities

On Wednesday night, more violent demonstrations were held by Turkish protestors and German autonomists. In Hamburg, 29 police were injured after hours of street-fighting. Attacks on property caused damage of over one million DM, and there were only 32 arrests.

Grief also turned to anger once again after a memorial service for the five murdered Turks in Cologne, when about 150 Turkish youths rioted in the downtown area, smashing windows and chanting anti-fascist slogans. The youths caused 500,000 DM damage; there were 22 arrests.

Disturbances were also reported in Solingen. In fact, there have been riots every night in Germany since Saturday to protest the killing of five Turks who died in a neo-nazi firebomb attack. But the German authorities still refuse to criminalize the German far-right, insisting that the attack was the work of a crazed individual and was not an act of right-wing terror. On the other hand, the German autonomous anti-fascist movement is considered "criminal" by the German authorities.

In other news, the neo-nazi NPD party planned to hold its party conference in Bavaria this weekend, but police cancelled the event, stating that they were far too busy trying to contain Turkish and left-wing rioters to take time to try and protect the NPD conference.

(information supplied by autonomist comrades in Wuppertal)

More Neo-Nazi Attacks In Germany

On Saturday June 5, a family of Turks in the town of Hattingen narrowly escaped death when they jumped out of the windows of their house which had been set on fire by neo-nazis. And in the town of Konstanz, a Turkish restaurant was destroyed by fire in what also appears to have been a right-wing terrorist attack.

Despite these latest attacks, Chancellor Kohl's German government has still failed to fully lay the blame on and criminalize far-right extremist groups. In the Solingen attack, the government was initially claiming that the deed was the work of a crazed individual youth, but the arrest last week of four more neo-nazis in connection with the Solingen murders has made this claim by the German authorities look truly foolish. Of those arrested last week, one man is a 23 year-old soldier and a member of the far-right DVU (German People's Union) party. The second is a 20 year-old man who was dismissed from the army for being a member of the far-right Bergische Front organization; this man also helped found a neo-nazi martial arts club in Solingen, a club which often provides thugs to act as security guards for far-right political events. The other two men arrested were both 16 years-old, one a football hooligan and a member of the neo-nazi karate club, and the other the son of a doctor with no known connections to the local skinhead scene.

In Solingen, more than 15,000 people held an anti-racist demonstration on Saturday to once again denounce the racist murder of the five Turks, and once again, clashes erupted with police which resulted in arrests and injuries to both police and demonstrators. Also at this demo, however, 16 people were injured in clashes between leftists (Turks, Kurds, and German autonomists) and members of the fascist Turkish organization the Gray Wolves. Demonstrations were held in other German cities as well, and in Frankfurt/Darmstadt, several highways were blockaded by left-wing demonstrators.

(information supplied by Wuppertal autonomists)

Anti-Fascists Denounce Kohl - Resistance Continues

In a report issued last week by the German government, there have been a total of 561 attacks on foreigners, 50 on leftists, and 24 anti-semitic attacks carried out by right-wing extremists in Germany so far in 1993. Just in the past few days, at least four more Turkish houses were firebombed by right-wingers, but the German government has still taken no steps to stop this right-wing terror, and Chancellor Kohl has not even had the decency to publicly denounce the right-wing and to express his solidarity with foreigners (presumably because he feels none). On Monday, Kohl stated that he stayed away from memorial services for the five Turkish women killed in Solingen because he "didn't want to be jeered at in front

of TV cameras."

When Kohl visited the newly-renovated Berlin Cathedral on Sunday June 6, more than 1000 anti-fascists held an angry demo outside and tried to pelt the German leader with eggs. Even inside the church, several parishioners were arrested by police; one walked up to Kohl's face and shouted "Hypocrite!", and two others were dragged off after unfurling a banner that read "The Real Arsonists Are in Bonn", a slogan referring to the German government's decision to scrap that country's liberal asylum laws, a racist move that was a direct caving-in to pressure from neo-nazi terror groups.

On Monday, four Turkish youths set fire to the offices of the CSU party (a conservative christian democratic party; part of Kohl's ruling conservative coalition) in the town of Aschaffenburg. Unfortunately, the youths were arrested.

Last weekend, violent demonstrations were held in Berlin, Stuttgart, and Solingen. In the working-class neighborhood of Kreuzberg in Berlin, Turks and autonomists erected barricades and attacked police with stones and molotovs. At least 3 police were injured and 5 people were arrested. In Stuttgart, more than 85 Turks were arrested after a rampage which included an attack on a bar frequented by American soldiers. In Solingen last Saturday, street-fighting broke out after a mass-demonstration of more than 15000 people. The number of injured cops and demonstrators was an even 36. At least 31 people were arrested on charges of weapons possession (including knives and guns), and more than 350 others were detained on riot-related charges as the unrest continued until early morning.

During the Solingen demo, fights broke out between leftists and members of the Turkish fascist organization the Gray Wolves. (It is interesting to note that the American media simply refers to the Gray Wolves as "extremists" and fails to mention that they are right-wingers; the Gray Wolves are fascists. This 'oversight' on the part of the media is obviously designed to equate right- and left-wing violence, which is absurd. There is no similarity whatsoever between right-wing murders of foreigners or leftists and left-wing/anti-fascist attacks against police and capitalist property.) During the Solingen demo, police formed a 'Kessel' around a group of 200 Gray Wolves and detained them on the street for

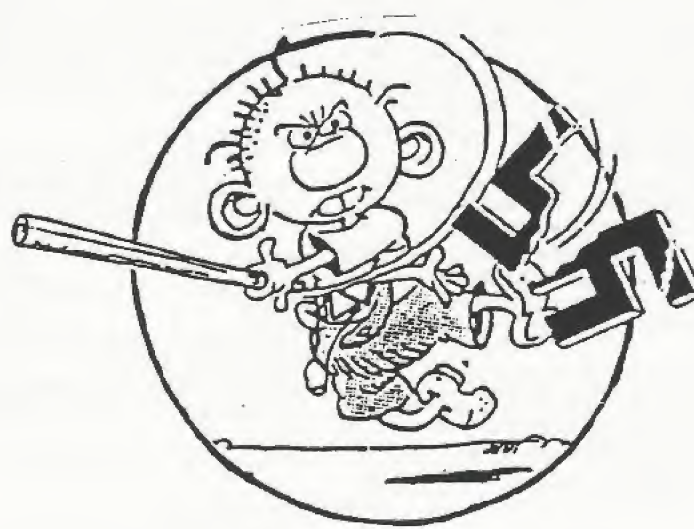
several hours. Then, about 30 (see above) were arrested and will most likely be deported to Turkey. On the one hand, this doesn't seem like a bad thing, since they are fascists, but on the other hand, the motive behind this deportation is racist (they are Turks) and not political (for the police are also right-wing).

Federal prosecutor Alexander von Stahl finally released more information on the Solingen murders. It seems that the two 16 year-olds spread gasoline on carpet and newspapers in the entrance of the Turks home while the two older fascists (also now in custody) stood guard. (This exact same method of breaking into the entrance hall and spreading gasoline and newspapers was used in the recent attack in Hattingen which nearly killed a Turkish family, but police still insist the attacks were not coordinated.) But despite the fact that three of the four murderers were active in far-right political organizations, von Stahl still refuses to admit that there was any organized right-wing intent behind the murders. He insists the youths were just angry and drunk. Again, despite the fact that the German autonomist anti-fascist movement is considered "criminal" by the government and hundreds of anti-fascists and Turks have been arrested during the unrest of the past week, neo-nazis are still walking the streets, still doing political organizing, still attacking foreigners...

In general, the far-right seems to have made a conscious re-adjustment in its policy. Most of the recent right-wing attacks have been aimed at foreigners who are long-time residents in Germany, especially Turks, rather than refugees. This is understandable; for the past 18 months or so, the far-right carried out coordinated attacks on refugees, and the German government responded by changing Germany's asylum laws and closing off Germany's borders. In other words, the nazi terror-campaign was a complete success and the right-wing got what it wanted. Now they have turned their focus to other foreigners living in Germany with the aim of having Germany change its laws regarding foreigners living in Germany. Given Kohl's recent conduct, he may be sympathetic to this aim himself.

(information taken from autonomist and capitalist media sources)

(From Arm The Spirit Info Bulletin #1 - June 1993)



Fundamentals Of The Antifaschistische Aktion/Bundesweit Organisation

The need to organize existing anti-fascist groups grew out of the recognition that the Antifa movement can only become a socially relevant political force when the mistakes of Autonom structure of the past few years are examined and the results of such an examination are integrated into practice.

Learning from our mistakes means:

- letting go of Autonom "ghetto politics" by opening up to the public (using mass media, forming coalitions);
- moving from structures of unaccountability toward responsibility and approachability;
- abandoning disconnected theoretical debates on the one hand and "Aktionismus" ("actionism" - ed.) (carrying out actions without a political base) on the other and adopting, instead, continuous work based on fundamental principles that make multi-regional co-operation possible.

For the AA/BO, this means developing a strong association as a basis for bringing our actions and self-understanding into public discussions.

Including use of the media in our strategy will enable us to become a noteworthy political force.

Bringing already existing groups in connection with each other means continuing to focus on local work. These groups organize themselves regionally and send trustworthy delegates to the coalition meetings.

Recognizing that the groups in the organization have developed under different conditions (some from the Autonom scene, others entirely independently) and define themselves in varying ways, one of the long-term goals of the organization is to develop a common

... On The Meeting continued from previous page

be reachable by post and in an office and should have contacts for the press.

City partnerships provide the opportunity for multi-regional help in building up new groups. The different organizational stages in West and East are of special consideration. The AA/BO can offer help in building structures as well as answering detail questions, whether they be practical, technical, or legal. The focal point should be the spreading of political experience. Possibilities to become a local or regional political force should be sought out and taken advantage of.

It is time to counter the growing right-wing and fascist structures with our own politically relevant structures. This cannot be done by individual Autonom groups alone - even when they are relatively well-organized. It is time to come out of the left-ghettos and to move away from reactive, fire-engine politics and to become a progressive, politically active force that affects society as a whole.

The necessary development away from purely anti-Nazi politics toward and over-reaching political program will strain most Antifa groups beyond their capacity so long as they do not organize in a common group. Continuous and strategic co-operation in an organization presents the possibility to become a socially relevant force.

Only the determined multi-regional organization offers the possibility to escape from the momentary social isolation and to counter the hegemonic political and social mood over a long period of time.

social analysis. For this theoretical work, it is necessary to debate social themes (patriarchy, the state, capital...), find their causes, and work out their social and international significance. Frankness about the different levels of experience of the various groups is a primary prerequisite for this project.

I. Background History

In 1991, the Antifa work group of an infoshop called a nation-wide meeting for anti-fascists. It quickly became evident that many groups had recognized the need for multi-regional organization with the goal of a common political praxis. The first step in this direction was establishing regular meeting of delegates of Antifa groups.

At the first meetings, the form and goals of Autonom organizing were discussed. Thoughts and questions on this theme, including discussion on various critique papers in left newspapers, were aired.

The practical co-operation of the groups taking part in the organizing process was intensified at the same time.

The first concrete result was the development of a model which serves as a general orientation and attempts to put into practice the resolutions of the organization. This model also sketches out a plan to build up the organization.

II. Structure Of The Organization

The Model (Formal Framework Of The Organization)

1. Name And Emblem

The name "Antifaschistische Aktion" is used with the addition of "Bundesweit Organization" (abbreviated: BO). The emblem is related to the 1932 emblem, but they should not be mixed up. In the BO emblem, the red and black flags lean from left to right. A large cursive "A", from which (A)ntifaschistische (A)ktion are written, leans against the flags. Undemeath publications is easily recognized and can be used by local/regional groups.

2. Organized Groups

The organization is comprised of existing groups of various sizes and organizational structure. At this time, the cities/regions participating are (alphabetically):

Berlin (Antifa A&P)
Berlin (f.e.l.s. - fuer eine linke Stromung/for a left stream)
Berlin (R.A.L. - Rote Antifaschistische Initiative/Red Anti-fascist Initiative)
Bielefeld (Unabhaengige Antifa/Independent Antifa)
Bonn-Rhein/Seig (Antifa/Jugendfront: Antifa/Youth Front)
Braunschweig (Antifaschistische Jugend/Anti-fascist Youth)
Buende (Antifa)
Göttingen (Autonome Antifa (M))
Koeln (Antifaschistische Stadteilkoordination/Anti-Fascist District Coordination)
Mainz/Wiesbaden (Antifa)
Passau (Antifaschistische Aktion)
Sued-Thueringen (Schwarzer Ast/Black Branch)

have developed criterion for membership in the organization.

3. Fundamentals And Criterion For Membership

One of the focal points is supporting regionally isolated anti-fascist groups. Therefore, continuous, recognizable work - both theoretical and practical - should be made public. This will enable the BO to become political factor in these regions/states.

Regular and serious participation in debates, contributing effort, initiative and ideas at the nation-wide meetings, and carrying out common decisions on the state, regional and nation-wide levels are expected of the participating groups.

Experience has shown that a fixed group structure i.e. the regular participation in group meetings, is necessary.

Independence from political parties is a requirement for working within the organization.

The political focal point for practical work is anti-fascism.

The fight against fascism is also a fight against the social conditions (competition, patriarchal socialization, isolation...) which lead to the willingness of individuals to accept fascist/chaurvinist models of thought. The fight is aimed at developing an oppositional position to capitalism, free from exploitation and oppression, in an international framework.

In terms of refugee politics, for example, anti-fascists cannot stop with just an explanation of the increasing racist attacks on asylum seekers and "foreigners". The causes of world-wide migration and the repercussions of international economic politics of western industrialized nations on eastern Europe and the countries of the so-called third world must also be exposed. These international connections must be understood as closely relating to the struggle here as well.

This understanding of anti-fascist work is perspective and is carried out as appropriate to the situation and local context.

4. Formation And Structure Of The Organization

The different conditions in the country, city, and various regions are being kept in mind in the formation of the organization. The situation in the East is under particular consideration, as the political situation there is especially tense and the anti-fascist infrastructure still weak.

a. Unorganized Individuals

The starting point for bringing in individuals is to put them in connection with already existing groups.

There are often functioning anti-fascist groups in the cities. However, the few anti-fascists in rural areas are almost entirely unorganized.

The task of the organized groups is to lend support in these cases. There are many ways to do this: sharing information, helping with materials, exchanging presentations, organizing actions together, giving financial aid, working together on a regular basis, etc... City partnerships, above all between East and West, can help establish regional connections and, at the same time, ensure the necessary praxis-oriented exchange between East and West anti-fascists.

b. Organized Groups

The groups work independently from one another. They act accordingly to local circumstances and choose their own focal points. They should, however, keep in

close contact with the organization and take part in regional and nation-wide meetings. The groups should make suggestions for common actions and, at their discretion, participate in actions decided on at the nation-wide meetings. Because the focus of their work is decided locally, groups should decide which political path makes the most sense for their region and sphere of influence.

Possible starting points:

- coalition work
- co-operation with immigrant and refugee, Jewish women's, lesbian, gay, and labour groups...
- youth work

c. Regional Meetings

The groups attempt to participate in regional politics, initiating regional meetings or working in already existing coalitions. They are responsible for informing the represented groups about the AA/BO. If the opportunity and willingness in the regional meetings arises, regional groups should send delegates to the nation-wide meetings.

The regional meetings are an expression of the attempt to find a realistic and practical political connection between groups with differing situations. They provide the intermediate step between different organized groups and the "younger" unorganized groups. A concept for how to set regional politics in motion should be worked out more fully. How initiatives and campaigns of the AA/BO can be carried out, with regard to the stage of development and type of regional group, must also be determined.

d. Nation-Wide Meetings Of The AA/BO

In order to act and discuss effectively long-term, the nation-wide meetings are delegation meetings. Their practical and theoretical capacity is currently very limited. This is due, in part, to many groups being in the beginning stages of organization. At this time, the meetings primarily serve the purpose of intensifying contact between the groups. The focal points for the near future are:

- developing an overall picture of the strengths and weaknesses of the regions;
- building trust through intensified contact and co-operation so that decisions can be made (eventually) on short notice and by just a part of the group;
- exchanging information among ourselves (seminars, internal education, youth work);
- establishing the necessary infrastructure and formation structures;
- working out the next stages in a concept of political strategy;
- carrying out practical initiatives (campaigns).

The Delegation Principle

Delegation was adopted in order for the nation-wide and regional meetings to be effective working meetings. Each group sends as many delegates as is necessary for each region to have one or two people in each work group. When possible, women and men should be delegated in equal numbers. Because most antifa groups are comprised of only 1/3 women, this system means more work for women. The decision about delegating by gender remains up to them. The possibility of changing delegates depends on the group situation. Some exchange, however, should be ensured. The delegates should participate several times in the meetings in order to settle in well, work effectively and help orient new delegates. It is up to the groups to send delegates who have the trust of the group.

5. Information Exchange

Few examples of effective, practical co-operation and no finished program can be expected during the first stages of the organization. The criterion named above can be seen as consensus and the rest is still to be worked out.

Because it is not possible to discuss content ques-

tions in a nation-wide meetings, work groups (internal and with other groups) will be formed. Their results will be discussed in the groups and can be coordinated at the nation-wide meetings. One function of the work groups is to assess and develop positions on current events on which group initiatives can be based.

A political platform will be published in written form in order to assure that it is a binding document. Forming a low-key theory publication (for an exchange on anti-fascist theory and praxis, for example) is also under consideration.

Initiatives from groups - like suggestions for campaigns - can be presented in written form. They should be sent to groups early so that they can be discussed and a position be developed on them. The groups' position, along with any critique, can then be brought to the nation-wide meetings.

The basis for further organizational steps - next to the continuous exchange at the delegates' meetings - is the formation of a tight contact and information network.

Another prospect is for the BO to set up its own press and information organ and, possibly form an "information service" that would collect all information (in full length and without commentary) that is relevant to the groups.

In order to assess and critique the politics of other groups, it is necessary to know them and be informed on the particular conditions of different regions and cities. This is important, for example, when a demonstration should be inter-regionally supported. It must be clear in the preparation stages in what context the actions stand, what can be expected, what goals can be aimed for, and what kind of participation makes sense.

This is possible by putting together regular regional and state reports in which local activity and the assessment thereof is documented. These reports should be presented quarterly from all groups or regions in written form.

These city/regional reports should bring individual groups to an equal level in terms of information and make well-researched and structured, effective work possible.

Knowing about the activities of other groups can stimulate actions in different groups. Presentations on: fascist organizations; colonialism/imperialism; Autonomism anti-fascism, etc., can be exchanged instead of being worked out many times by different groups. General posters and leaflets can also be exchanged. Events that are planned well beforehand can be accompanied by nation-wide posters, financed collectively. Generally, and according to availability, present technology like faxes and electronic mail will be used. The alternative computer network "Spinnenetz" is a good opportunity that should be utilized.

The work group on fascist organizations sorts on incoming information and presents just the essentials to the groups. The job of the nation-wide meeting and the individual groups is to make something out of this raw information.

6. Public Relations

One of the main functions of the organization is public relations. It should be possible for interested individuals to approach or reach all organizations via post or in person, at an office. The primary consideration is to be a political and cultural orientation point for as many people as possible. Intensive regional press work is essential to strengthen the effects of political work. Contact to regional press, school papers and to inter-regional mainstream newspapers should be striven for. The usual public relations methods: leaflets, posters, information tables, and demonstrations, will continue to be used.

- When talking with the press, in interviews for example, it is important that the person asked does not appear as "official spokesperson" for the organization. Although they should refer to their membership in the BO, it should be clear that their responsibility and accountability is to a local or regional group.

- In this way anti-fascist work will be introduced to a wider public. In addition, concerts, exhibits, film showings, radio programs, conferences, seminars, and camps are possibilities for presenting our political position to new people. The initiative "Anti-fascist Calendar" is also associated with the organization and should be continued.

Our standpoint will continue to be published in independent Autonomism and leftist papers. This enables groups that are not associated with the BO to keep in touch and debate the organizational process, actions, campaigns and further development of the organization.

III. Goals/Perspectives

The goals of the organization are determined along the lines of what is considered realistic. They can be divided into short, mid- and long-term goals.

The construction of political praxis and technical and personnel structures as well as co-operation on specific projects - are short-term goals of the individual member groups.

The development of common standpoints on theories of fascism, imperialism, and patriarchy and a general social analysis will be started immediately, but belong to mid- and longer-term goals. They are considered part of the organizational process. Part of this social analysis is working out a practicable strategy. One of the points in this strategy is offering a positive social orientation point.

A compulsory political line cannot be developed from the different focal points of the various organizations. The guiding principles must be newly defined. An essential requirement is the continuous co-operation between the groups in the BO. The basis for other goals should grow from these politics. This includes BO's own position on particular themes as well as answers to societal questions. Much more emphasis will be placed on public relations than has been the case up to now. Our own positions must not just be formed, but also be brought into the public.

It is possible to do more theoretical and practical work, a part of which should be cultural activities. We understand the nation-wide organization as a long-term development that has the formation of a wide, generally practicable movement as a goal. A movement that develops a counter-position to the existing system and one that fights - with its own weapons - the hegemonic social structure!

Anti-fascist Action/Nation-Wide Organization - October 1992

Position of the organized groups in August 1993



Interview With Activists Of The Antifaschistische Aktion/ Bundesweit Organisation



Against The Fascist Organizing Centre!

One of various discussions that have been going on in Germany over the last two years is a discussion about an organizational model. This model is trying to draw on the experiences and learn the lessons from the Autonomen movement and to build a nationwide (federal) structure. The Antifascist Action/Nation-Wide Organisation (AA/BO) is the beginnings of an organization, which has arisen from discussion going on in various autonomen, antifascist groups. The AA/BO is now taking practical steps and has gone public. The individual member groups of the AA/BO from the various towns and regions in Germany form the basis of the structure. The idea is that the regional structures will send delegates to the federal meetings, where the level of organization allows it. However, in this initial phase, almost all delegates are sent by the individual town groups to the federal meetings. The main emphasis is in the decision-making process, building political structures, the basis for organization and practice is decentralized, i.e., in the towns and regions. The national meetings guarantee the contact, the exchange of ideas and experiences gained in the building work and the cooperation between the various groups and projects. The long term goal is to be able to make decisions and campaign on a national level. We conducted this interview with a male and female comrades, whose group is part of the AA/BO. Since it is also a principle of the AA/BO that the groups are responsible for their locality or region, they do not speak as representatives of the AA/BO, but for themselves. A state has not yet been reached, whereby the individual groups are in a position to represent the entire organization. We have given the comrades the names Anna and Arthur.

Why do you personally take part in this project? It is really a long process which you have engaged upon. Why do you think that an organization is necessary?

Arthur: I have been working in political groupings since the mid-eighties. I became politically active in the last years of the Startbahn (Airport Runway) years (1). I have been active in many groups and initiatives since then. I think that my experiences collected in those years are nothing new to many comrades here in Germany: groups that fell apart once the campaigns were over, a lack of commitment, cycle politics, and just with a gut feeling. In view of this kind of structure, it is no wonder that whole movements such as the runway movement could just disappear after a wave of state repression (in 1987 after the shootings). The anti-authoritarian history of the radical left in Germany since 68 has now reached a point, where we have to stand back and take a look at where we are. That does not mean we should now dig out the old authoritarian structures, but neither can we hang around our infoshops, find our old structures great and wait for better times. The last 3 years, in the aftermath of the reunification of Germany have shown that we are not able

to put up anything against the reactionary wave that has flooded over everyone. That is not just a matter of the pigs being so strong. That is why I found the Goettingen paper at the time to be a correct and courageous step forward. At the same time the Heinz Schenk debate was going on in Berlin too. That I found no coincidence, rather it was clear that we have to change our structures. It is also clear that this is a jump into cold water. However, I think it is quite understandable that the people who are now making that jump (all of them from autonomen groupings) do not want to copy the politics of the K-groups or to build a new Socialist Unity Party (former ruling party in the German Democratic Republic), or any of the other crap we've heard. I feel sorry for comrades who only can think of cadre party, when they hear the word organization. It is about creating a framework to be able to bring together the experiences, commitments and political strategies and analyze them, so that we can develop strategies and an ability to take action based on them. A political base that is "only" derived from trust can work perhaps in your group, and I find it correct at that level. However, at any level beyond the group, it is not enough. Almost everybody says today that organization would be important:

this decision alone is not enough, or as a comrade wrote recently from a jail cell: It has to move forward and not just like you feel like!

The decision alone to organize yourself is not enough as you have said. What is still missing in your opinion? What do you want to say by that?

Arthur: What I mean is, a concrete concept how the organization should look, because that is just what has remained stuck in a rut for years. And also, a debate which moves forward, where you can see that something has really changed. The whole thing with organization has always been stuck in the mud, when it came to coordination. Sure, people got together and talked about how things were in their town, and they were really happy when they found, wow, my god, we could really do something together here. Yes, but I think that a workable structure never came of it all. Then, there is also that about an organization which I think has to go beyond an internal matter for the scene, or the people who do something anyway here, but more of a porthole to the outside, well, how do I say it (my question! - the translator)? A sort of homogenous transparency. Whenever we did anything, it does not matter in what area or at what time, for the people it was always a case of the left autonomen group XYZ, a few left-wingers or Autonomen have done this and that. It was never anything you could grasp, just something diffusely left. Another part is also the simple fact that the continual work and responsibility in the group was borne by just a few people, who often enough were broken by that experience and dropped out sooner or later, because they simply couldn't do it anymore. This is a road that I don't want to travel any longer.

Anna: I was in the Youth Antifa and an awful lot of people came to us, but then you stood there with all those people and asked yourself, great, but what now? Then nothing happened and the people were gone again. The idea was missing and you had nothing to offer them. The people came from the surrounding villages and you thought, well what do you want to give them to take back? "Well, if you want to do something, then hitch your way here every day for half an hour and then you can do something..." I did not view the idea of organization and the papers (3) with any suspicion, on the contrary, it made sense. I read about it and could see it working. I just thought that regional structures were necessary because small groups of three or four people were always coming from somewhere looking for help and advice, and then to have clear answers to the questions "who are you, what do you do?" And of course that there is something universal, (an organization) everywhere. All those papers sound somewhat hardline, because they are fairly straight. But for me they never sounded like that, because for now they are not yet filled with any substance. But that is what it is about. First we need a framework, and that can sound as straight as whatever, but in practice it is usually going to be softer and more flexible. And when I imagine a practice, that is to say, the filling, in our town, then I can imagine something really good. If you invest work in town and regional structures, then that can give the town a real impetus, also to do something with other towns, so that you can take action very well within the framework of this organization. Even though I have not been active for very long, I have got to know scene structures that are to some extent lacking commitment. Sometimes I think that everything around us is developing politically much faster, society seems to be running and running and running away in its development and we don't seem to be able to catch up, because there are so many difficulties with talking and with the commitment or so, and that we are not able to get into a position to take action or to build something for ourselves and others, from where we could also then go out. No, we seem to be just chasing after thing, breathless. And for me the organization model is an opportunity for us to build a structure, from where we could start to again really take the initiative, to do our own

things again, yes, and to be our own factor, not just as a reaction and Anti-Nazi-whatever-group, which chases around and throws a few leaflets at the masses. That is why I am part of this organization. That was not a case of deep thought. I read about it and found it just made sense and was needed.

Arthur: What Anna said there I find important too. It was never really a problem to mobilize people, demos, actions, Antifa-cafe... people came, above all a lot of young people. There they all were and that is where the problem really began, what were we to do with those people. In the Antifa-cafe, well, we could give them a cup of coffee. And we could fill their ears with stuff, or if we were really lucky we could even give them a leaflet for our demo next week. And that led to insecurity on our part. That was something we noticed a lot of times. People were there and we did not know what to do next. That is a really unpleasant situation. You know, there were many new people and the others who had been there for some time already, they sat somewhere in a corner and did not want to or did not feel up to going over to them, because they found it embarrassing, "well, great that you are here now"... and that was it, right?

I think too, that is a positive argument for an organization, that a clear structure would facilitate self-initiative, independence and relating to one another. To counterpose that to the negative hierarchical picture of organization.

Anna: Sure, that's right. Providing the organization is regarding as being universal in the sense of being a network and not in the sense of being a hierarchy. However, the main thing is your own town, your own region. And that is something that I find good about the idea. That is quite clear, that your work, or how you agitate politically is always orientated on the situation as it is in your own town. That is clearly the area where you concentrate on. And so I understand this organization model as being an opening out to citizens, school pupils, etc.

Arthur: I think also, that most people who are open to our activities, who find something in our politics or whatever, have already made the decision to become politically active. However, we could only integrate those who were willing to accept a scene-lifestyle and found it good for them. Other people, for example older people who led a different life, could not be accepted or integrated, they dropped out/were dropped. Today I see we lost an awful lot of people that way.

You both were already in Antifa-groups before the AA/BO started up. Could you tell us today, what has changed through the AA/BO in your town.

Arthur: At the moment, it is just a lot of ideas, and they have only partly been put into practice as yet. We are trying now to put our publicity work on a new footing and to give it a different priority. For example, we have got a really good book-stall. Up till now we have only been at concerts or scene meetings with our stall, and only people who already knew all the stuff we had would come by. Now we try to set up a regular book-stall in the pedestrian area of the city centre. Another point is that we want to have a different relationship with the media. That we don't shout at every journalist standing at the edge of demos, "camera man - asshole!" (4), but also have in mind that that could also be something for us. We are trying to make contacts with the press for all kinds of activities, whether it be a public meeting, an agitprop action, whatever, and to use these contacts for us as much as possible.

We know that the organization of the anti-fascist struggle should also have an anti-imperialist direction with a counter-perspective to the capitalist system. We have no idea how you can go on from the organization

idea to a political unity based on content. As we understand it, you are all very different, being anti-imperialist, anti-state, and anti patriarchal is very broad and general to serve as a basis for the AA/BO; all of us can understand something different in such terms. Have you set any limits for yourselves here, or are you working on a sort of program? Do you have concrete concepts as to how you can make a principle, political unification?

Arthur: I think that to come to a common analysis of such terms as state, patriarchy, or imperialism is a lesser problem. It was almost never a problem to analyze the pigs. Our problem was always to relate these analyses with society, with the people who live here and to put them into practice. To put it simply: We always concern ourselves more with the strategies of the pigs than with the people who we want to come together with. We have founded a working group "Social analysis" now in the AA/BO, which will concern itself with how all the shit works on people here, in order to find places where we can start putting our politics into practice. On the other hand we are discussing structures inside the group too. We want to find key areas, which we will divide up amongst us in working groups, which also get their own impetus. Whether that is publicity work, or what I call "normal" antifa work, knowing your way around, researching fascist structures, or networking, making contacts, building regional structures, etc. Another thing which belongs in there is the discussion with other groups, who are working on various issues in our town and to discuss the concept of organization with them. We see that as being necessary for us, because we must get out of the antifa corner. A major part of the manifesto is to move on from the anti-Nazi movement, which is for us the most important part. We have seen that in ourselves too, this delegation of workload, which has sometimes led to quite perverse divisions. I see divisions, for example, in the separation of anti-racism and anti-fascist groups, who work quite independently from each other. On the one hand are the anti-racism groups who take care of the refugees and on the other hand, the anti-fascist groups who take care of the fascists. That I feel is the crassest expression of the perverse structures here. We had a good example of this in our town. About 6 months ago we wrote a leaflet about a part of the town where refugee shelters had been built, and where these shelters faced some opposition from the locals. We saw that this part of town could become something like Mannheim-Schönau (5). And we said that once the racist pogrom starts, you can only go in and crack the racist's heads. Because by then it is really too late, then you can only put yourself in front of the shelters, then you don't need to talk about causes, because then the refugees are your only concern. Full Stop. And as that seemed about to happen, that could happen, that was the moment in which we had to intervene. We then wrote a leaflet addressed to all the people living there and had all the classic arguments in it about the housing shortage, etc. And we found that with the structures we had, it was quite obvious that we could tell the people about it, but the Antifa groups were not able, for example, to start community defence work. We could not start actions against real estate agents or squat houses and that is what was needed at that point. You know, that you also have to show people a way forward. That is just one example for me, why it is necessary to move on from the Anti-Nazi movement. If you really want to get something over to the people, then you also have to show them what you mean, give them something. The way antifa structures have been so far, the one thing you can show a rabid mob is a big stick, nothing else. And the other groups also got there too late, there are no common, thought out, political strategies. There are many examples of this.

Anna: There are groups in every town, who work on such issues as houses, centres, the housing shortage, etc. The only thing is, it is all so chopped up. It is important to build

connections, because this concept of ours, not to remain stuck on the anti-Nazi movement, is not only dependent on us, the other groups are also called upon. They have to get involved in anti-fascist work and not to remain on those thousands of rails, which run alongside each other with none of the junctions that are so necessary. It is important that a broader consciousness is created that would allow for a more central cooperation.

So the message of the AA/BO's manifesto is only to be realized, providing the groups in the town are able to open up to each other?

Anna: Yes, and also has to do with the regional work. The regional work does not mean just setting up Antifa groups everywhere, rather it is also about bringing all the political groupings in the town together, and that is not just a matter for Antifa; this means necessarily that we will have to open up to them, and they to us.

Arthur: Well, that is a pre-requisite for our group. I can imagine that it is seen differently in other towns. An organization if it is to be effective, only makes sense to me, if the political groups who are working on other issues are able to join in.

For ages there have been debates in autonomous Antifa groups about "Revolutionary Antifascism" (6). In the groups themselves and in the regional united front politics, that has always played a role. Do you expect that your organization is going to change the situation? What do you think is going to be different?

Arthur: I think that in most of the Antifa groups, that was always a goal that was hardly ever reached. There were the slogans "Behind fascism is capitalism" and they were meant seriously. However, they never found expression in concrete politics. On one hand I think, that the political message of the actions never really came over. That happened of course too (now and again), but most of the time it did not and that was partly the responsibility of the Antifa people themselves. That is, they limited themselves to anti-Nazi work. On the other hand, the scene was also responsible. The Antifa people were always criticized for being a horde out for a fight, but the scene also made it too easy for itself. You know, I noticed that when this fascist offensive started here, the left movement was gripped by horror. Then the Left screamed for the Antifa. Then it was clear that the fascists were not a side issue anymore, but an existing reality. And after a very short time, we were alone with it again, that was just a flash in the pan. Every day the fascists attacked somewhere and we were left just holding demos in front of burnt out refugee hostels. I think the Antifa was really just left out there alone. It was often a case of not being able to do anything else anymore. We were always on the road. We made an attempt to make the whole thing broader, that is in practice. Faced with the accusation that the Antifa always came along when the fascists were there, like some kind of autonomous special unit and took over, so that no one else had a chance of learning something out of the confrontation, we drew conclusions. We formed groups, who acted out the practical situations (Fascists in the bar, in the railway station...) and tried out what choices for action there were. And how as many people as possible could take part, who did not want to use violence. These groups then became training groups, who had practised specifically how men and women could cope practically with the confrontation and what you could do. In our initiatives we presented something like this for the whole scene, to do it together, to learn together and so on. And there was not interest, verbally sure, but practically it just died sooner or later. Nobody came any more.

You have shown now, that it is quite a problem, that continual committed political work is often dependent on personal structures and, moreover, remained rela-



tively ineffective. We also think that the growth of a new organization represents a solution for this problem. However, we think it is important, that the structure of such an organization must also enable many people to participate and make decisions, and that the organization has room for learning processes and emancipatory developments, so that people are not functionalized for the sake of effective politics. What do you think about this?

Arthur: These people, who were conscious of their responsibility and were prepared to commit themselves, were often as not only a few people. And there are really two ways that these people can deal with it. I think it is up to just these very people to work on dissolving such structures. That is to say, either these people have a position in the group, discover their ambitions to take power and find the way things are quite good and nothing changes. Or really, these people must work on putting themselves out of a job, making themselves superfluous. Do you know what I mean? Being aware of your responsibility means to make open this responsibility and to share it and not sit on it. I am not so utopian to believe that everybody is going to be sitting there on the same terms, with the same responsibility and the same commitments. That has never worked and will never work. And in a certain way, there will always be hierarchies in every structure. I think it depends on how the groups deal with it. Hierarchies are possible, where a trust exists and then hierarchies are o.k., despite everything. There are questions here, where we in the BO will have to think very carefully. The way the structure looks at the moment, it is a collective structure with no cadre and also no people who say which way we go or whatever. Naturally, when the BO is a success sooner or later, let's say that our ideas give us a push forwards, perhaps we will arrive at a point where a nationwide meeting of delegates is no longer effective for our work. Perhaps the BO is required to issue a press statement or react in some other form and it is not possible to wait two months until the next national meeting to make a decision. Perhaps, some time, it is going to be necessary to have structures only involving a few people or perhaps we will have an office, that stands for the entire BO. And who are going to be the people who are in that office?

—And how do the other deal with their situation?

Arthur: Yes, those are the kind of discussions that lie before us. Really, I cannot say too much at this point. I think that these are also decisive points, but only time will tell.

An essential reason for the collapse, the splits and divisions in the Autonomen organizations are also the lacking and refused debates about sexist and patriarchal conditions of violence inside the revolutionary Left. And the inability to cope with the contradictions that erupted when confronted with the radical women and lesbian organization. We see this experience as being one of several central pillars of our revolutionary politics and history. What is their influence on the discussions going on about the development of the AA/BO, and what significance do they have for you?

Arthur: We have to give this answer in pieces. Firstly, in general terms: one point is that the Antifa groups have always been male-dominated. I think though that the structures we have in mind for our Antifa work, are such and it has been said very plainly, that Antifa politics can no longer be a "playground for heroes". What we understand under Antifa politics and how we want to do something, leaves no room for those who only come with feelings of hatred. And that we had often enough, just wanting to hit the fascists in the face. No, that is not all. Another point is that we hope that the excessive imbalance of having too many men, which resulted from this attitude will be corrected.

How do you imagine these structures?

Arthur: Work, that Antifa is more than just beating up fascists. That quite simply there are many points for us to concentrate on. That does not mean that if we do publicity work, etc, for example a stall in the town centre, that at last the women can also take part in Antifa work. That is not what I mean! I know at least from the towns where the BO is most developed, that there are more active women than men. We still have a crass imbalance of too many men. I find in discussion, which I have personally, that there are more and more women who want to take part and who start quite different discussions and see much more. That is not an answer to your question, but maybe a part of it.

Anna: I think one point, why it happened the way it did, was because the entire patriarchy discussion were not taken seriously enough. If they had been taken seriously and their importance recognized, then it would have been quite logical, that it is a quite normal and self-explanatory part of our work. If we can talk to people about anti-racism, then why not about anti-sexism? Then there is the question, "how do you do all this, how do you make it become a normal part of your work?" Perhaps you need a practical part in such discussions, because if it were to say that the result has often been that at the end of a long list of demands on leaflets, against this against that, against the other and then against patriarchy or against

sexism. For me that is however more of a matter for the men to take seriously. That means to take the discussion more seriously and to take themselves more seriously because that is all to often lacking. If you criticize something or other that is going on, "now just look at the way you all are acting again"... or this and that is missing in a leaflet, let's talk about it, for example violence against women, then often you hear things like, "oh no, here we go again". And that is a very difficult question, that we have not found any answers to yet for ourselves; and I think that as yet, it has not been talked about, at least not in so far as having a demand (against sexism). And of course, in individual discussions, there are a lot of different experiences that clash here. Some discussions are really scientific and distanced. At the end of such discussions you have defined the patriarchy like you do for imperialism, but nothing comes of it, it is not integrated into the general analysis of society.

Arthur: I heard a lot of discussions at the end of the 80, when the women publicized a lot on this subject in the left media. Quite often this discussion was fairly theoretical, scientific. However not a lot has stuck, moreover, we have seen a retreat. The discussions were brought into a groups, including the Antifa. There were a lot of papers about patriarchy, really scientific things, and we studied and read them. At the end we could then say, well that is really bad. We could explain what patriarchy is, perhaps even with examples from the scene. But that was all that happened. Here and there we saw "men groups" being formed. There were then often verbal self-whipping sessions - I don't want to tarbrush all men groups - about what a pig you really are, but in reality not much change. Rather, taboos were set up. You know, you can not say this or that, but there were no real conflicts, or at least only rarely did men form a real consciousness.

Yes, that's right. You can see that now, where the pressure from the women is off. What have the men just learned or what have they really made a part of themselves? And when you say there have been some setbacks, then that has something to do with their not making this into something of their own.

Anna: That is just it, exactly what I meant, this is a matter for men. If we are to agitate outside the groups, then don't want to do the men's work for them, I want to do with the women, that is clear. This work has to be done inside the groups too, the men for themselves; how can these politics work outside, how can it become an every day part of us, the practice is still non-existent. To recognize the importance of this for the men themselves and not just to get on with the women - not just because you do not want to be an asshole, there is still a long way to go until we reach this point. This entire escalation, all the racist attacks, also applies to the violence against women which has always been there. This violence has also escalated in an incredible way lately. That must be incorporated into our politics, if we say social analysis, if we want to become a factor either in our town or as a federal organization, then we need to intervene on such issues. If, for example, we approach gangs of youth, and that is happening in many towns, then this way of thinking is often dropped, even though it is on this issue that there are many problems.

Arthur: There is also a question, which often as not leaves me swamped by the size of the problem. If I take a look outside of the scene, that is, outside of the autonomous scene, then I often think "Oh God...". Take, for example, our really crass experiences with the gangs. The fascists were downtown, we Autonomen were too few to attack them. A Turkish gang of youths came by and they found the idea great, they wanted to help. That was really just a technical affair, we will now do something together. There was also a bit of revolutionary romanticism; we and the "foreign kids together" - smirks and grins. This was really straightforward, we would beat them up, this

was until the Turkish kids started talking crap: "There are some women with them (the fascists), you can have them." As war booty, so to say. Then you are really stumped, really you should just smack them in the face for such stuff, or at least some verbiage like "That is not what we want, get lost!" On the other hand there is the possibility of pushing the fascists (males and females) out.

That is the question, who do you do in such a situation???

Arthur: In such a case, we just gulped and decided for the latter. OK, so what you learn from it is you have to talk to these people. But that is one heap of work. The stuff that goes on in our scene is laughable in comparison. That would not be a discussion, such as we know on the topic.

Anna: But exactly there, in this kind of situation, that is where it is important to start such discussions. It does not matter how, but you have to gain experience. OK, that is a totally different scene, that is not like ours, it is not that easy. If you agitate on the outside, then you have to more realistic, find out what can be done first, what the next step is and how to talk. Similar problems existed in refugee work, when groups with women in them who went to hostels. They were stared at too. There too the discussions did not take place immediately. The next time the women sent the men in first, and they said, "the women belong to us, no staring or trying anything" !! That sounds tough, but it was a practical solution first off. We looked at it from the angle of what could be done differently in practice. All the same, it was still bad, because it meant that no discussions could start around this point, as how you could now deal with such stuff, but instead we contented ourselves with this stop-gap solution. But these things are part of everyday life here (the come ons, etc.), and that you have to deal with as a woman, but also as a man in the scene and to develop your work by discussion.

Arthur: That is what it is also all about, when you hear this slogan "break down the walls of our scene-ghetto", which will also determine our success, and even in all the shit that goes on inside the scene - all the way as far as rape - there are still not the same modes of behaviour that are part and parcel of everyday life outside.

Anna: Despite all the shit that goes on there is still more peace and quiet. As a woman you can still move a bit more safely than elsewhere.

But I think only relatively speaking.

Anna: Of course only relatively speaking. That is why I also find it so important that the guys worry about it. My part as a woman is to worry about other women to build their confidence and self-esteem. To talk with women also those who are not outside the scene, right... also to strengthen the women who are not in the scene. To do something, to hammer on the table now and again. But we don't have a cut and dried solution either. That is a problem and it is a deficit.

Arthur: I must admit, that I still have a big question mark before me. What remains valid for me, is that the guys have to start doing it, that it is impossible to wait for the women's movement to make demands on us yet again, for guys to start now. It has to be clear that you can not operate outside the scene with the aims that you have in the scene, well, the same aims sure, but not go the same way to make changes.

Organized antifa groups and the militant attacks against fascists or the open fighting in the streets is not new. At the moment there are debates about the question of violence and at the same time an increased planned criminalization against active anti-fascists.

We think that the inadequacy of the struggle against the patriarchal structures produced by society are also a reason why the militant resistance against the fascists has not been able to win out, in as far as it has not been taken up by the masses. Do you believe that a more precise debate on the question of revolutionary violence and the fight against power relations would strengthen our ranks much more?

Arthur: I think that is very important, we simply must talk about violence. You hear quite often a shout go up "What, not violence, not again...", particularly in our relations to youth, we must de-mystify this question. We must express more clearly that we do not get a kick out of violence, that we don't find violence attractive, on the contrary, we hate it. We often glorify violence too, it must be dealt with more objectively, in a more sober manner, because it really is the opposite to what we are struggling for. That is nothing new, if you look at it this way...

Well, I think that it is really not spoken about too often, this conflict was on one hand always clear, that it was necessary for one reason or another; to drive back the fascists, to hold and defend areas, there are always a thousand rational reasons. In the drive forward however, often you fail to take a look at yourself, or your own attitude towards violence. I have tended to leave that to others often as not, who had it straight in their minds. I was not always so sure, though I found it correct. However that was never an issue, as a group we never clarified such taboos. At the most we talked about it with friends now and again. It was not possible for everyone to talk about it together.

Arthur: I also think that it is not possible to simply push away the reservations that people have. That is what also makes us different from the fascist, that is something positive that is a part of us. We could go outside with this much more, make the power relations here an issue, what violence also means for the pigs. We must make it clear that violence is a means for us and not a value. We are probably going to be the last some time to still have a certain non-violence on our banners, probably the only ones to still say it out loud.

We must make the conditions of violence much more clear, that is about the really crass repression/exploitation, that we are also against, whether it be in physical conflicts with male and female fascists, or in militant politics.

Anna: Yes, our Youth Antifa has also had such discussions. People have held talks on exactly such topics, where the point was made, the relevance of violence and non-violence. We have had such discussions lots of times, especially with young people. We exchanged experiences and people experienced how the pigs acted. Many had never suspected the way it is. For example, at REP meetings (The Republikaner - REP - are the biggest party on the Right in Germany), a lot of school kids go out against these meetings and then they get scared when they see the pigs, they make their experiences.

Arthur: What we have to watch is that we remember to emphasize the success of action where we use violence. That is often missing. It is a simple fact, that the fascists have been driven back in those towns where there are functioning, offensive antifascist structures. It is quieter there for now. Often male and female fascists move out, or at least young kids are not so easily recruited, even if only because they are scared of the automen. Those are successes at a time when the foreigners and left-wingers are in a life and death situation. That is propagated much too rarely. Also, in comparison to all these candle-lit demos, with the politicians from Bonn in the front. Another group from the AA/BO made a good intervention. I'll tell you about it: some of them disguised themselves as foreigners and joined the ranks of such a candle-

lit demo. Others from the groups disguised themselves as fascists and attacked them. A large part of the people in the demo just turned around and walked away. In a real attack, the fascists could have done whatever they wanted. Some foreign kids then intervened and the group explained to them what was going on and why. That really had an effect on the people, they were shocked/moved. We have had some real successes in our offensive fight against the fascists, we just have to make them public knowledge.

The AA/BO's concept places great emphasis on publicity work. Is there a kind of concept for cooperation with the bourgeois media? What about the necessity for your own independent information channels? What do you mean by publicity work?

Arthur: Well, above all, we have to change something regarding the way of thinking, the awareness and so improve the possibilities that we have of using the media. I think we have to be more aware of that. I also think that we have to build up a more consistent approach to the press, that goes beyond a "here's our leaflet for the next demo...". It is quite clear that we must approach this issue tactically. There really are quite big differences between our areas of interest and theirs. We should also be aware however that there are quite a lot of critical journalists, for example those old 68ists, who had aims for a critical journalism, even if their are only a few left who have the guts for it. Nevertheless there is an interest in such articles, and we have an interest that something comes over in the media. There is of course the value and commodity, "information", which we can work with, to exploit the competition amongst the press, when we see fit to. We cannot expect that we can convey our politics, our issues, via the media. The divergence of interests is simply too great for that, but nevertheless we need to look at this closely. How we can get something in there on a regular basis and not only at times where there is greater interest and sensationalism.

Anna: I also think we have to have that in mind when there are demos and stuff, when reporters talk to us. We must be able to tell them something, and not to treat them as assholes just because they did not publish our last leaflet. Another sort of publicity work is to go with an aim in mind to schools and colleges, to hold lectures, offer seminars or simply distribute leaflets on a regular basis. Info-stalls in the town centre are also very important, as a point for people to come to, but also as an action which many people can join in on.

It appears that not all antifa groups and initiatives and individual activists support your organizational model. How do you conceive working together with such groups, what are the consequences in your town?

Anna: There is an "observer" status for interested people in our discussion structures, in order to provoke a decision from such people on where they stand. When we look at individuals or other groups that are active, then we see a willingness to work together. Our view on cooperation is also, however, a long-term one. The criticism that not everybody supports the organizational model of the AA/BO is one that was also expressed at the national meeting. In other words, there is a danger of a split - moreover, there were many groups who only came once. We also had a long debate about whether or not to join. We were more or less unanimous in our decision to try it out. The decision was made in the FO to make the decision public now and to start. That was the result of approximately two years of critical arguments. Now we wanted to finally make a start as decided AA/BOers. A lot will be revealed by the concrete work and be resolved - hopefully.

Just now, there are quite a few debates going on about united front/coalition politics, cooperation with bour-

geols and reformist groups. What is the attitude of the AA/BO and your groups to this issue?

Anna: The question of coalition politics or cooperation with other institutions such as ProAsylum, etc. are weighed differently depending on the conditions in each town, because these vary from town to town. In some towns the anti-fas made good contacts, for example, with the Greens, because the people organized there were ok. In our town for example, the opposite is the case. And as a whole it is a case whereby it is necessary to be open for cooperation at certain points, whether that be in collecting signatures for resolutions or mobilizing support from organizations for demos or whatever. That is clear and goes on in all member-town affiliated with the AA/BO and experiences vary widely. There were discussions about what people and groups should be invited to the first joint meeting of the AA/BO. The result was that generally speaking, we thought about it all together, but that the individual towns had a free hand as far as which groups and institutions they invited from their own town. That is what you can say about the entire AA/BO.

Arthur: There were discussions that were about how we have to propagate our positions more clearly in our regional work. In other words, that we want to take an offensive line and not to make all these compromises so quickly. We have made these experiences of coalitions with the Greens and the Peace initiatives, etc., whereby all sat there on equal terms with one vote. However, it was always quite clearly our thing to mobilize all the people out on the streets. Those mobilized were made up to almost always 80% from people in our structures. That is due to the fact that their politics are designed to take place in the town councils or whatever. Whether you take the DGB as an example or someone else. And that is something that we will stress more strongly in future, that our mobilization force is much greater. In our town we have had a lot of bad experiences, because we were not offensive enough with this. We have also drawn some consequences from this. There were for example SPDers in our coalition who just handed the entire minutes of meetings over to the police and now we say that we want nothing to do with the SPD. That is clearly the enemy, that is no coalition. The most important thing about united front politics is to draw such positions, to see who is relevant in the coalition and who is not.

The state's politics has been to claim to be anti-racist over the past months and that they want to combat neo-fascism. Right, and there you sit with the town council factions and local branches of the corresponding parties represented in the national parliament. Do you confront them with their politics or do you just let them sit in, because it is a case of building a front in the town against the fascists?

Arthur: It becomes an interesting question in view of youth organizations such as the JUSOs. There are often some people there, who are really fit, but are there because they never got to know anything different. Sure, then we tell them right out, what we think about the SPD and JUSOs. It is however important to make our positions and our politics clear to them. We also have made the experience, that as a result people have deserted to join us. I find it important to confront them again and again. There are often people sitting there with illusions, real communists from the Trotskyist wing, who have been dreaming for a hundred years of undermining the SPD and of course, the debate with such people does not go on in the coalition, but also more often.

Have you also seen an orientation to other anti-fascist organizations in other European countries in your discussions, for example AFA in Britain or SCALP in France?

And do you know anything about them?

Arthur: To be honest, ermmm, well, no... Well something about the Anti-Fascist Action in Britain, but I have never heard about the French comrades.

Well, to keep it short: In France there is a national organization of radical anti-fascist groups who call themselves SCALP. In the Netherlands there are anti-fascists working on a national network right now called AFA - Antifascist Aktie. What importance does international organization and coordination have for the AA/BO?

Arthur: I think that it is extremely important. And when the AA/BO is set up properly, then the cooperation with groups in other countries takes on quite a different character. International linking means years of solidarity work here. If we have an organization here, that is organized really well, then other countries will be able to relate to us quite differently. That is something that was often missing here, and that meant that "only" solidarity work was left for us to do.

...with the exception of the West European Front, for example.

Arthur: Ok, ok, right. Sure, the same goes for Antifa structures, as for other structures too, that it would be really stupid to just look at your own country. I also find it important that the character has changed. I know from my own experience with the Kurds, for example, that they always had problems with the Left here, because quite simply we did not have any organization. Nothing occurred to them, except that we could do some solidarity work for them, just because our structures were totally obtuse and chaotic, impossible to relate too. We have heard from other countries, that there is some interest in the AA/BO, from Italy and Spain.

Anna: The Spider's Web, the computer mailbox system is one point. It has made it possible to get material and information. This has led to it now being possible to communicate. We are in the midst of linking up among ourselves and to build an organization. It is still too early for international cooperation.

Arthur: It is however also the case that the international work has become less. That is also quite logical, that our attention is inward right now, in view of the fact that we are seeing a downturn in this country. In the past we have seen many more internationalist mass demos about El Salvador, South Africa, etc. There was a big left-wing movement on these issues out on the streets and many groups were doing international work. The awareness and the power were there to take on the international work. That has now collapsed. Because here in this country the shit has hit the fan and everything has exploded in our faces. It is very difficult to have an effect by working such issues. It must not be allowed to remain like it is, but that is the situation right now. I find a link-up,

especially with European countries because of similar is not consecutive developments, to be important. We must work on a structured cooperation. And it is super-important to link up with groups such as AFA and SCALP, and to start an exchange.

Footnotes:

1. From the end of the 70s until 1987 there were hard struggles at the airport of Frankfurt/Main against the Runway West, which was an imperialist project. There was a big movement of social protest by initiatives of citizens and militant resistance of left radical groups. In 1987 two policemen were shot during an annual demonstration on November 2 (the day in 1981 when a hill village resisting in the forest where the runway was to be built was brutally evicted by the cops). The following oppression weakened the resistance as well as the struggles connection into society. The regional resistance-scene was kept busy with the following trials and the effects of oppression on their own structures.

2. In the late summer of 1991 a discussion paper on the question of autonomous organizing was published by a Antifa group from Göttingen (a city in the north of Germany). It made concrete proposals on structures of organizing, membership and statutes. The necessity of better organizing was briefly explained. There were opposing critiques given on this paper, and the discussion became very lively, especially among autonomous groups.

3. Since the summer of 1991, a very controversial discussion on the forms of autonomous politics took place. It was initiated by a group calling itself "Heinz Schenk" (a famous folk-rv-star of the beer-and-wine wing) and criticized autonomous politics very sharply for, eg. ghetto mentality, campaign-politics, subjectivism and unconsciousness towards history. This was the context in which the Göttingen paper was published.

4. The SED (Socialist Party of Unity) was the ruling party in the GDR (German Democratic Republic)

5. In May/June 1992, a refugee camp was attacked by neighbours for some days. The refugees were directly exposed to an aggressive racist terror. They couldn't walk on the street and could not sleep at night. In this situation, antifascist groups intervened and expelled the people in order to be present during the following day and weeks to protect the camp. This intervention caused hard attacks by the police during demonstrations, but also drew the public attention to the situation.

6. That's an analysis and practice of autonomous group during the 80s. To fight fascism also means to fight the imperialist system. The continuity of fascism in German economic and political structures was always obvious. In the mid-80s there was lots of analysis, discussion and activity around this theme.



Anti-Fascists In Poland

Radykalna Akcja Antyfaszystowska (Radical Anti-Fascist Action) came into being in May 1992 as a response to the development of the nationalist movement in Poland. RAAF acts mainly in Warsaw but we have our supporters in the whole country.

We are an anarchist and people connected with the alternative milieu. Our aim is to fight nazis by any means necessary. We organize

protection for independent demonstrations, collect information about nationalist activists, and break up nazi meetings. We publish posters, leaflets, stickers and our bulletin. We are interested in cooperation with anti-fascist groups from other countries.

The anti-fascist movement in Poland acts under unfavorable conditions. Our enemies in many cases are supported by businessmen and official parties. We don't have any such support. Assistance from our Western comrades would be very useful—for example, we need sprays and walkie-talkies.

If you want to get more information about our activities, write to us: RAAF, P.O.BOX 45, 02-792 Warszawa 78, Poland



Polish anarchists march against fascists in Warsaw, 1992.

Czech Anarchists Fight Nazis

Anarchists are in the lead in the Czech Republic demonstrating against and physically confronting fascists. In Oct. 1993, 200 marched in Prague against growing racist and fascist violence, particularly from nazi-skinheads. Speakers pointed out three recent events: the fatal injury of Filip Venclik (an anarcho-punk from the band Rusko [Russia]) by a man who was seen giving the Nazi salute; the murder of a 38 year old man in Prague who defended Romanies ("Gypsies") against nazi-skinheads; and an attack on a Romani in the South Bohemian town of Pisek.

There have been 14 nazi victims since the Revolution of 1989.



Anti-nazi march in Prague.

ROME 5.17.94 Interior minister issues ban against rallies by skinheads

Italy banned skinhead rallies yesterday as the new conservative government headed by business mogul Silvio Berlusconi tried to calm fears that neo-fascists are gaining influence.

The ban was issued after several hundred young right-wing extremists rallied Saturday in Vicenza, a city in northern Italy. The demonstrators, known in Italy as "Nazi-skins," made the same stiff-armed fascist salute used by backers of dictator Benito Mussolini.

"From now on, these rallies are banned," Interior Minister Roberto Maroni said yesterday. He said the Vicenza police chief authorized the rally without informing the interior ministry.

His ministry later said the police chief had been temporarily replaced by his deputy.

BERLIN 5.17.94 Suspected ringleader of riot against foreigners charged

Facing sharp criticism from politicians and human rights advocates, the police in the eastern German city of Magdeburg brought disturbing the peace charges yesterday against a suspected ringleader of a riot against foreigners there last week.

Magdeburg's chief prosecutor, Rudolf Jaspers, said that the suspect was 19 and was believed to be the leader of a local neo-Nazi group that counts about 80 members.

Following normal procedure in such cases, Jaspers declined to identify the suspect by name.

Last Thursday, a gang of about 150 neo-Nazis, skinheads and others chased asylum-seekers from Sierra Leone and Nigeria through Magdeburg's streets and into a cafe owned by a local Turk.

In the clash that followed, at least four of the assailants were stabbed by Turkish-born cafe employees who sought to defend the asylum-seekers. One of the four, identified only as a 24-year-old man, was reported yesterday to be in a coma.

SIX hurt as Neo-Nazis hunting for foreigners attack Turks 5.13.94

MAGDEBURG, Germany (AP) — Neo-Nazis who police said were "on a hunt for foreigners" stormed Turkish restaurants yesterday in this eastern city, prompting clashes that left at least six people seriously injured.

The rampages were the worst rightist violence this year and were some of the most serious in post-unification Germany. The German government recently has reported a steady decline in neo-Nazi attacks.

About 40 neo-Nazis began the rampage in downtown Magdeburg, an eastern German state capital 70 miles west of Berlin, after chasing some foreign asylum-seekers.

Police said the neo-Nazis, between the ages of 18 and 30, threw benches through the windows of small Turkish restaurants and food stands, then attacked the foreigners inside, who defended themselves with bars and knives. Six people were injured seriously, and 15 people were arrested, police said.

After midnight, about 50 neo-Nazis were arrested after clashing with police in the city center.

Revolutionary Anti-Racist Action Communique

(Editorial Note: The following introduction originally appeared in the 2nd issue of our Info Bulletin (July/August 1993) as an introduction to a shorter press statement that RARA released to the Dutch media before the release of the communique that appears.)

At 2am, the police and fire services received a call that a timed explosive device would detonate on the third floor of the Ministry of Social Affairs building in The Hague. A search of the building by authorities revealed nothing. Then, precisely at 3am, the bomb exploded, causing extensive damage to the building. Just like their last bombing, this blast originated in a toilet, but the damage affected most of the entire floor of the office building. When the automatic sprinkler system came on and sprayed liters of water everywhere, even more damage was caused to equipment in offices not directly touched by the blast itself. At the time of the explosion, no people were in or around the building.

The Dutch media went into full-effect immediately after the action. RARA made the smart move of issuing two statements regarding the bombing: the first, a press release, summarizing the main reasons for the action, which was sent to all major media, and the second, a much longer and more extensive communique, which was sent to left-radical media one day later. The capitalist media began acting like the mouthpiece of the BVD, the Dutch internal security agency, in the days following the action, printing allegations like: "Rene R. is one of the suspects in the bombing...", "The BVD knows exactly who carried out the action. It's a group of four or five people who were also responsible for the attack on Kosto's house..." All of this to make up for the fact that RARA have never been caught and are still - as this action showed - in a position to strike.

Unlike the aftermath of the Kosto action, the liberal-left were generally left speechless by RARA's communique. After the Kosto action, liberals complained that militant actions would only make things worse for refugees. But at this point, how can things get any worse? Illegal migrants cannot work or live in The Netherlands; they face constant threat of police brutality and immediate deportation if they are ever caught. In short, they are not considered people. So how can their situation be made any worse? Therefore, RARA's bomb was very welcome indeed. Not only was the action a blow to the state agencies responsible for the persecution of refugees and asylum-seekers, but it was also a blow against apathy, a wake-up call to the (radical-)left. We anxiously await "the next time". (adapted from the Dutch leftist bi-weekly "NN" #140)

On the night of June 30/July 1, after numerous timely warnings, we detonated explosive devices on the third floor of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment. The target of this action was the office of the DIA (Labour Relations Inspection Service - trans.) which is located on this floor. The DIA plays a key role in the hunt for illegal immigrants. On average twice a day, this service, along with local law enforcement agencies, organizes raids of businesses that are suspected of employing illegal immigrants. In the coming years, this service is to be doubled. This means more raids, more victims, more fear. With our action, we sought to draw the line and to let the man-hunters feel for themselves what it's like to be hunted. To let them know what it's like to be a target, to be stigmatized. Initially, we released a shorter press statement. In this communique, we'd like to take the time to go into matters more deeply.

"Sobering, But Humane"

The illegals-debate has suddenly arisen once more. An optimist might say that this is because of the fierce reactions to the humiliating attempt by Rottenberg and Kosto to draw in the Bolkenstein right-wing last spring. The reactions were indeed fierce, almost encouraging one might say. Public comments from the PvdA (social democratic party - trans.) leadership, namely their apologies that everything slipped out so unfortunately, gives the appearance that they have retreated back to their corner. But sadly, things don't work that way. Policies stand hard and fast, and they are designed by a select club of bureaucrats and the ministers that frequent European conferences. Policy, one that backs out of the rules of the managed democracy. Torch-light processions, rallies, and demonstrations against racism give some hope that people won't just sit back and accept what's going on. But the politicians have charted their own course, and although they notice that the number of demonstrators is high, they realize that these people won't overstep the boundaries which dictate appropriate conduct in The Netherlands. So the politicians can keep doing what they are doing and remain relatively undisturbed. The hate-

campaign against illegals has been going on for some time, and now it has been given form in policy. A policy that dictates that illegals may be subjected to the most draconian and inhumane authority measures. Sobering, but humane; Kosto allowed commissions like the Zeevalking Commission to design a policy of starvation. The purpose is to make life for illegals impossible here. Illegals are a problem, that's the message, in differing but nonetheless harsh tones, which politicians from the right to so-called 'left' are sending out. A wave of accusations and insults are hurled at a group of people that are easy to attack. And not only at them. Everything that reeks of being foreign is suspected of being here for no good reason. It's easy to mobilize people on the fear that their wallets will be stolen. Mayor Peper said that police had discovered 1100 Turks all registered at the same address: "Busloads full of people come here, collect their welfare, and then go back to Turkey." Perhaps he didn't want to be outdone by his colleagues in Amsterdam, who said they needed to expand the police force due to the 15000 illegal immigrants from Ghana that were dealing drugs in the city. It doesn't matter that there are no facts whatsoever to back up these claims. The media spreads these claims, and the message does its work. News is news. A small note on page 17 in the newspaper a few weeks later, noting the errors of the previous story, has little effect. The tone has already been established. Anyone who thought that illegals would be left alone for a while has been deceived. If anything, this is the calm before the storm. Nawijn and Kosto recently added another shovel-full to the mountain of filth they have already spewed forth about illegals. This time it was the story that illegals must be deported before 'genuine' refugees can be allowed in to be housed. Yet another proclamation from those that have the power to make and administer policy. The course has been charted, and the hunt continues. Anyone trying to get a glimpse behind the scenes of the fatherland's political stage is left to ponder a question, like a wasp on a jar of honey: Where are all these idiotic statements coming from, that are so degrading and insulting to so many people?



From 'Guest-Worker' To 'Economic Refugee'

Illegality is actually a political definition, nothing more, nothing less. In the 60s and 70s, businesses used to recruit workers who were wandering out of the country by the Mediterranean Sea. Tens of thousands of these 'spontaneous immigrants', as they were then called, were allowed to find work. And a good thing, too, because the work they got was often hard and dirty labor, and then was a shortage of man-power. Between the mines of Limburg, the oil tankers in Rotterdam's harbour, and toilets all over, there was one thing in common: cheap labor did the work, provided these people were 'guest-workers'. This seemed like a strange way to treat 'guests' as they were described in the flexible political jargon, so something had to be done about the actual situation. This was actually quite simple: these people were only brought here for reasons of economic gain. The importing of 'guest-workers' was necessary to allow for the economic growth at that time. Those industries that had rapidly developed were hampered by a shortage of labor, thus a portion of the nation's productive capacity was not being utilized. This process had nothing to do with 'tolerance' or 'hospitality'. So it's even less of a surprise that this situation didn't last long. Ever since the 70s, a time of economic decline and increasing unemployment this recruitment process has stopped. This policy was given the following credo: "Holland is not an immigration land." With the stroke of a political-judicial pen, 'spontaneous' immigration became 'illegal' immigration, and the state created its 'illegals problem'. This didn't matter that much to the migrants themselves. Their arrival wasn't dictated by the changing judicial categories of this country, but rather by the increasing gap between the rich North and the poor South. Illegals are above all else, human beings. In search of a future, a little bit of happiness. People who have left house and home behind, in Turkey, Morocco, Ghana, people who have decided to flee from hopelessness in the hope of building a better existence here in the wealthy West. They don't succeed, they aren't wanted, and they are stigmatized as 'economic refugees'. Their motives for coming to the wealthy West are not accepted. Hopelessness is not a motive, not a reason to flee. What matters is their economic usefulness, not their economic and social emergency. But for illegals, there is no way back, they prefer the insecurity of an illegal life to the security of a hopeless one. And people profit greatly from this. The racist double-standard in the labor market and in the society

which was created in the 60s, still exists today. In short, this is because 'guest-work' (read: poorly paid, boring, and difficult work) is not a temporary but rather a structural condition. It's a myth to think that economic growth makes labor more agreeable, let alone to think that everyone shares in the well-being. The 'guest-workers' are living proof of this, in spite of the fact that they are literally hidden away in invisible, cage-like, fire-hazard hostels and special neighbourhoods. Most migrants are already forced to the bottom of society, and for illegals this is doubly true. And they are shamelessly exploited. Thanks to their illegal labor, certain sectors of the Dutch economy continue to function. Illegal workers are cheap, because they are illegal. Everyone knows damn well that deporting these illegals would force hundreds of businesses in the food, catering, green-house, and cleaning industries to go bankrupt. Oppression, exploitation, and humiliation form the basis of the silent compact between the state, politicians, and industry regarding illegality. And these peoples, the numbers vary, but it's certainly not more that a sold-out stadium for an Ajax-Feyenoord soccer game, are supposedly the embodiment of the threatened destruction of our country.

"To Keep The Problems Here In Control..."

The problem of illegals is only a problem in the (...) and in the realms of policy where things are threatening to get out of hand. And at a moment when things need to be speedily prepared for the coming European unity. At that point, some explanation needs to be sought for the non-stop horror film that is being played out at the Binnenhof (Dutch parliament - trans.), an explanation of the crazy ideas and the xenophobia that seems to be controlling politics in this country.

The political side of the economic and social restructuring of Europe is not going as well as they would like. The euphoria of the Europe of the Citizen is starting to wane, now that the contours of the Europe of Capital are beginning to take shape. At first, a United Europe seemed like an amazing, over-ripe apple tree which just needed to be lightly shaken to provide enough capitalist fruit for everyone. Now there is more and more fear and dissatisfaction with the political and social changes taking place. A struggle in primarily ideological terms is forming and reaching out into increasingly broad sectors of the population. These are all signs of a crisis of legitimacy wherein politics and the economic system are at fault. Racism is utilized to create a new sense of social consensus, over the backs of the 'others', the 'illegals', the 'foreigners'. Taking a crowbar in hand against the social contradictions. Kosto put it literally: "...remove them to keep the problems here in control...". Racism finds fertile ground in a land where, for as long as people can remember, the Western man has been the measure of all things; a country whose own colonial history has never been questioned.

A Slice Of Bread And Satisfaction

Because the problems which the politicians are dealing with seem so massive, they have broadened their horizons. Not only migrants, but also other sectors of the population can now rejoice in the great importance which the politicians see in their existence.

What is immediately obvious is the connection which is being made between the so-called illegals problem and another huge social problem: unemployment. The problem isn't that there is a shortage of jobs, like the politicians want us to believe, or that their labor policies have been wrong for years. Unemployment seems to be a national disaster which the unemployed themselves have created. And more and more fraudulent reports are fed to the media, that x% of the population is cheating the system, 40% are cheating, 75% are cheating...Now we just have to wait for a report that says that in this or that neighbourhood, 132% of all welfare recipients cheat the system and like it that way. And politicians like Robin

Linschoten come to the original conclusion that welfare payments need to be reduced to people in those neighbourhoods and that the unemployed need guardians placed over them. First it was the WAO (a form of welfare - trans.) recipients that had to be taken to task. During the industrial restructuring one decade ago, entire sectors of the working class got stuck in the WAO reservoir. Ten years later, they are presented as profiteers and fakers so as to stop the expansion of the social services budget. This new work-ethic that is preached, often in connection with 'illegals', and linked to complaints of how our degraded and derailed society, in which welfare fraud seems to be a national sport, is simply a means to approve plans to cut costs. The notion of social security has become a short-lived myth that needs to be cut back. The conditions under which the welfare compromise, the welfare state, and social security were created were directly linked to capitalist expansion. That means, according to the margin of profit. The economic restructuring which is taking place at the moment, and whose goal is to secure profits and conditions to bring about new expansion, is coupled with a firm grip on production and labor relations and intensified competition.



Massive lay-offs and big problems at major corporations like Hoogovens, Fokker, DAF, Phillips, and KLM are the result. Unemployment rises sharply every month. The model of social security, formulated in a period of unlimited prosperity and growth, and which was supposed to serve as a safety net to catch those that nonetheless fell out of the boat, now seems out of place. Austerity measures, cutting benefit payments, and making the model less attainable for people by putting increasing pressure on the unemployed, the introduction of the notion of 'temporary work', forced re-schooling, and other such things are the order of the day. This has nothing to do with a policy that aims at full-employment, something which is impossible under capitalist relations. This also makes the call for 'more jobs' pointless. What kind of jobs? More polluting production? More useless products and services? Instead of fundamental discussions about a human interpretation of the notions of labor and production, a discussion of the social value of labor, a discussion of the fundamentals of an economic and social model, the needle remains lost in the haystack of the interests of the ruling powers. A climate is created in which work, at any price, is deemed acceptable, and thus the model of social security becomes minimal and even less accessible. The new work-ethic gives free-reign to draconian measures under this model. The welfare state has been making the underclasses artificially satisfied for decades now. That time is now gone. In the welfare state of the future, you can choose to rent your own cell, or a waterproof cardboard box. Or you end up in a re-education camp, chewing on a piece of bread with satisfaction, guarded by soldiers trying to imitate Elco Brinkman. There's nothing the politicians won't say to create a climate in which they can push through their measures.

The most direct and cynical manner of exploitation

is that of shame. As if it wasn't bad enough to introduce yourself as an unemployed person at someone's birthday party, now you are made to feel like total shit, a part of the legion of people responsible for all of society's problems. Exclusion, compulsion, and the limiting of rights, these will all become normal means of making this "God forsaken country", to use Lubbers' (Dutch prime minister - trans.) words, healthy again. The society is shaken up with a heavy hand, and a new jacket is fitted to its underside. New social divisions are created. Minimum-wage earners, migrants, so-called inactive people, these are the different sectors of society that are forever excluded from any sort of future, a future where no one has to stand on the sidelines, just as long as you work. "There is no bigger modern illusion, or deception, than the use of that one word 'work', something which is utterly degrading, painful, and socially inferior for some, and wonderful, status-enhancing, and economically rewarding for others." (J.K. Galbraith) This exactly describes the logic of capitalism. A system that generates world-wide wealth, precisely because it also produces poverty and sorrow, and that to an increasing degree.

A Reactionary Neurosis

The great leap forward to a United Europe, which we are witnessing, is being lead by spirited language and crass proclamations. All the big mouths in the Binnenhof are trying to out-do one another in the category of messing up and making idiotic statements. In the search for an ideological glue to legitimize their policy approach, and no one is waiting for this except for the political and economic elite itself. Within the developed relationship between, on the one hand, the realization of European goals, and on the other hand, the construction of concrete changes, lies the explanation of a number of specific mechanisms which set the political climate these days. To draw attention away from the underlying political and economic goals of this policy, the political elite tries to always focus attention on the internal necessity of taking these measures. "Fraud is ruining our society," said an angry Wim Kok (leader of the social democrats - trans.), who usually only gets emotional if someone questions his bookkeeping abilities. This is said to legitimize budget cuts with the goal of bringing the Dutch state in line with surrounding states. You see the same thing in the struggle against the moral decay which Holland seems to be suffering from, something which is called social renewal by the policy makers. This social renewal is the quasi-positive term which is really just a cover to create an ideological climate which will allow for more control. Politicians would like to present social renewal as the struggle against dog droppings in the playground around the corner, but under this same motto, new crime packages are enacted which increase the power of the state at the expense of the accused. Every escape and every act of petty theft is used to justify prison camps, bodily punishments, more cops, and iron-fisted politics. And you see the exact same mechanism in the paranoia around asylum-seekers and migrants. They are defined in terms of being an internal enemy, the fifth column, the death of Dutch culture. And all this to justify the decisions being taken at the European level to close all doors to migrants. The golden rule of advertising has taken hold of politics as well: Repeat something often enough, and you can push even the most nasty of products down someone's throat. Kosto's policy is the Iglo TV-dinner of Dutch politics.

The reactionaries are in control in the Europe of the 90s. In the gap between distress and ideology, an attempt is being made to push back all of the gains made by the left since the 60s. Through the unambiguous words of the growing extreme-right organizations, through the major parties' minority-debate couched in neutral terms, in the renewal of norms and values, and in the harmonization of laws and duties. After years of a combination of social

and economic impoverishment and the pointing-out of scape-goats, neo-liberal politics has dressed its monsters in brown shirts. The major parties then attack these extremists, thus giving themselves a respectable image, while taking another step to the right at the same time. Together they are creating political disorder, they are opening wounds and pertly declaring that they are discarding taboos. It is this drift to the right that is deciding political relations. The fuss over illegals is nothing else but a licence for racist language. The fuss over welfare fraud is nothing else but a licence for control and repression and the linking of all existing databanks. The fuss over rights and duties is nothing else than a licence for eroding the social system and sticking people with flexible, insecure, and poorly-paid jobs. A reactionary neurosis has taken hold of politics. The nuances can only be detected by those with perfect hearing.

The World Of Peter Stuyvesant

A village-mentality is dominant in The Netherlands. Discussions about the causes and consequences of substantive developments hardly ever take place, let alone about the international relations which are involved. A kind of universalist lie is created, which functions as the basis of the defence of the West's privileged position. The economic war being waged against the countries of the southern hemisphere knows no changes from the transition from the Old to the New World Order. If anything, these changes have made it easier for Western countries and corporations to manoeuvre. Capital is moving across the world at an even faster pace, with anonymous institutions like the World Bank and IMF having ever more influence. It hides from all discussions, from all controls, from all choice. Countries and peoples are temporarily taken up into the 'course of humanity', used, and then tossed away like a pair of old socks. The international division of labor has ruined the Third World. The capitalization of agriculture has driven millions of people from the countryside to the slums of the big cities. Excessive cultivation of nature and the forced introduction of mono-cultures has led to an ecological disaster which is impossible to overlook. The hunger in Ethiopia, Somalia, and the lands of the Sahel is a direct result of this. It is cynically stated that the only thing some countries are capable of producing is refugees. And the West has no need for this export product. The Third World's debt now totals 1350 billion dollars. In contrast to 55 billion in annual development money, they are saddled with 154 billion in annual interest payments on previous debts. There are 80 million people world-wide who are fleeing from hunger, sorrow, poverty, hopelessness, persecution, and (sexual) violence. These are cold, abstract numbers which hide the terrible levels of human suffering which exist. As long as that suffering stays in its place, everything's OK. As long as it stays circulating within the Third World, everything's fine. But if that suffering comes too close to Europe, all hell breaks loose. Instead of a discussion of causes and consequences, about the West's responsibility for the desolate conditions in the South, then you get a minority-debate on how to keep these profiteers outside our door. And increasingly, people state openly that it's their own fault anyway. After all, we send them development money and blue helmets, and what do they do? Nothing! Consciousness about the connection between the (neo-) colonial history of the West and the present refugee migration movement is crushed between the truth of right-left discussions. When the terms migration, integration, and refugees are presented, then people seem to suffer from an acute case of historical amnesia. Ideologies based on racism and white supremacy still form a fundamental part of Western culture. A Eurocentric view of the world permeates the thought of both the right and the left. The end of ideologies, of history, post-modernism, post-materialism, post-whateverism, these are all just philosophies, mind-games that are only relevant to a very limited part of the world.

From a situation of overflow, people presume that Stuyvesant is a good example of how people from other countries should act. The few refugees that ever make it to the West are looked upon with suspicion. If they are even admitted, then they are expected to be polite and listen to Bolkenstein. He goes through the entire liberal corpus, searching for elements of strange cultures. Racism is evident in all aspects of the administration's refugee policy, if one can even call it that. Or maybe this politicizes the question too much. Interests and contradictions are then put on the table, while everyone does their best to make the policies seem kind of funny and boring or whatever, but certainly not evil.

No Man's Land

The political and leadership crisis of the system, as we analyze it, does not mean that there are many possibilities for the militant-left to intervene. Of course there are lots of little dents and tears that undermine social consensus. But at the moment, there are not enough signs of a growing cultural and political resistance which is in a position to question the legitimacy of the Ayatollahs of liberal democracy. The political caste operates in a given manner in a no man's land. Just as the dynamics of European unity have started, it's more correct to speak of a management crisis than a happy ending, now that the weight of the Cold War can be thrown overboard. And everyone now finally agrees that the society we live in is the best there can be. They are lost in the wilderness, afraid that they can't fulfil their necessary historical task of completing Project Europe. Or the fact that maybe it won't turn out to be the Europe of their dreams, that doesn't matter so much. What matters is to push through those measures that are necessary for the next phase of competition, plundering, pollution, and destruction. Those sectors of society that are no longer needed in this right-wing paradise need to be kept in check, and, most of all, they must not affect expansion. Those people that already had politics and the society already turn their backs to them are now fed with cheap images of the enemy; everything's fine, just as long as discontent is not directed at the political caste itself. The left is operating in this same no man's land, but it is hardly able to utter anything significant. Many people have the will, but due to the pressure of the right-wing roll-back, no one seems to have the time nor the nerve to precisely analyze what's going on. In these times, when even a consistent humanist is considered a political radical, it is necessary that a radical, permanent, and uncompromising resistance exist. We want to break into that political field of power, with means that no one can negate. This is not merely an expression of radical opposition. Nor is it an unnecessary luxury in a time when the body-snatchers go into action right after a Boeing jet crashed into Bijlmer (a high-rise apartment neighbourhood in Amsterdam where lots of migrants live - trans.), so as to deal with those illegals once and for all. It is also necessary to react to all the lies in this country. Sure, the parliament can adopt an anti-racism law that states: "We maintain that respect for all people is a fundamental part of a democratic society, and everyone living in The Netherlands may share fully in our society; we shall do all we can to combat discrimination and to be a good example ourselves." And then they go on and continue making their policies which contradict these nice words. The same politicians that define racist policies then march at the head of demonstrations against the hatred of foreigners. And dropping people off across the border is called 'courageous'. It is of strategic importance that we place our fingers on the pulse of the fundamental contradictions of the post-Cold War era in the so-called liberal democracies. Breaking into political conditions usually doesn't win any applause or bouquets of flowers. The shock waves that went through The Netherlands in November 1991 were significant. At the risk of journalistic wrath, everyone immediately set out to distance themselves (from RARA's attack - trans.). And

who was not guilty of this? Committees and organizations gave their Pavlovian reaction and individuals distanced themselves, as though Kosto himself had been attacked. What people feared was being excommunicated from the (already marginal) political sphere from which they could exercise political influence. And there was also a great fear that there was no way in which people could give a substantive reaction. Even on the left, everyone was sure what they didn't want: no more bombs, not on people, not in that way, and especially not at this time. Only later, when the asylum policies were sharpened even more and structural violence increased, did the positions change somewhat. It also became more clear the trusted democracy had had its time. How can political influence be exercised, if the boundaries and rules of the national policy game are dictated at the European level? It's no surprise that the cabinet is on a collision course: the course has been set and it will be put through at any cost. Lubbers' call to the employers' associations to hold the line and to allow for strikes, so that WAO cuts could be pushed through, is indicative of how hard-line Holland has become. Street protests are dealt with by letting riot cops have their fun. The question remains whether those youths and students that demonstrated in The Hague on May 8, many of them for the first time, will have had 'politics driven home to them', or whether they are now too intimidated to fight for their rights. It wouldn't be the first time that a movement has been wrecked by the arrogance of power, symbolized by the barking and biting blue line. Our militancy arises from such experiences. For us, it is an option, in conjunction with other methods of struggle, to force a necessary broadening of political possibilities to open up and break through the relations here which have rusted shut. To fight for the necessary space in which a political and cultural counter-movement can further develop itself and grow out into a counter-power.

Breaking into relations is not a question of immediate successes. It's not a matter of forcing Kosto to resign, after the November action, and to atone for his actions by sheltering an illegal immigrant in his cellar. We wouldn't want to subject any illegal immigrant to that. A new wave of radical resistance, like that of the early-80s, is not realistic. You can't just call out and create a resistance, nor can you immediately mobilize people. You can't just cry out that you want a 'counter-movement', no matter how much you want one. Resistance also doesn't come into being 'of its own accord' when the system takes its next step in its long history of humiliation and destruction. What we want to do is make the political self-truths and the borders of political discussion and action, as they are being defined, perfectly clear, in a way that no one can ignore. Nowhere are responsibility and guilt so clear in the debate as they are with respect to Kosto and Bolkenstein. We want to put this element of responsibility back on the political agenda. We want to draw the line and to put a price on policies that are inhumane and degrading. A policy with a name and a seat in parliament, one that can be attacked.

Their Struggle, Our Struggle...

Our politics are certainly internationalist in their orientation. Any form of left-wing politics that is not internationalist has little perspective. Except for the fact that the conditions under which people around the world live are always changing, internationalism is a historical truth. The liberation struggles in Latin America, Vietnam, and South Africa were an inspiration to many people, and they led to a consciousness about the West's organized exploitation and oppression of the countries of the southern hemisphere. But still, the left can no longer rely on the perspectives of struggle that were relevant in the 70s and 80s. The liberation movements and struggles have changed their character. The revolutionary storm of the late-70s and early-80s, under the influence of the

continued on page 21...

Sandinista revolution, which swept through Latin America, faded away with the election defeat of the Sandinistas. The way in which the revolutionary process in Nicaragua was sabotaged, through hunger and war, has led to the idea that imperialism has triumphed and to the long-term question of how to develop new struggles and strategies. Some are trying, after decades of hard and bloody conflict, to consolidate their position at the negotiating table and to effect change from that position. Guerrilla movements have reformed themselves into legal organizations and some have chosen the parliamentary path. And then there are the struggles in the slums, the struggles of base movements, the struggles to change day-to-day life. Some of the popular organizations that came into being in the relative political spaces created by 'democratization' have grown into powerful movements. All of these developments have confused the European left. Just as fast as the hope for quick revolutionary change has faded, so, too, dies the very interest in it. Solidarity movements are falling apart or disbanding themselves because there's no more work to be done. Mandela is free, the ANC and De Klerk are 'on speaking terms', and elections are coming soon...And that has always been the weakness in the way in which the left has taken on internationalist or anti-imperialist struggle.

The left has made itself too dependent on attractive struggles being waged elsewhere and has not shown the effects which imperialism has back here. Despite the consciousness of linking the struggle there to here, the struggle was generally too relative to the conditions there. The collapse of solidarity movements, for example, those concerned with South Africa, El Salvador, and Nicaragua, says a lot. But support is just as needed now as it ever was. It remains true today that the best form of solidarity to fight for changes here. The European left is now more dependent on itself, in a certain sense, and needs to now find its roots in its own society. More attention needs to be paid to our own experiences, history, culture, and tradition. Fighting for fundamental changes in Western societies is not only of importance to the self-determination of countries in the 'Third World'; it's also about living conditions, freedom, and self-determination here. In other words: their struggle, our struggle, international solidarity.

What this is about is a consciousness of connections. Cause and effect need to be placed in the correct order once again. Europe was born from slavery, genocide, and colonialism. Our welfare system is the result of centuries of oppression and exploitation. Our so-called 'multi-cultural' society is a product of a colonialist past and a neo-colonial present. Increasing racist aggression, violence against migrants and asylum-seekers, smear-campaigns against illegals, and the closing of borders to refugees are all examples of this. And just as they are written off so that the few may profit while the many are degraded, great groups of other people are becoming victims to the golden calf of capitalist progress. There is much to be won in the struggle for fundamental change!

Room For Change

We went to the floor where DIA has its offices. This agency plays a key role in the hunt for illegals. The raid on Blokker (a Dutch department store - trans.) gave just a hint of their potential: they utilized dogs, helicopters, and 120 cops to comb through a distribution centre looking for people with suspicious skin colour. If a

person's nationality was dubious, they were made to say the word "kwartje". If their pronunciation was not Dutch enough in the finely-tuned ears of the bureaucrats, they were taken away. A stamp on the hand and they are transported to city hall, where a smiling CDA politician remarks that compulsory ID cards could have prevented all of this. But these cops aren't above carrying out smaller actions as well. Day in and day out, they ride around in their little vans, carrying out raids. The agency was created in 1987 on the assumption that unemployment can never be solved so long as there are still illegal immigrants in the country. Recently, their efforts were rewarded with a doubling of their budget and manpower. That means, more raids, more victims, more degradation, more fear. Their location in the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labor Relations illustrates the link between the erosion of social security, the hunt for illegals, and refugee policies.

We don't want to look on meekly while human lives are ruined. While racism stealthfully becomes part of normality. We let the DIA man-hunters have a taste of what it's like to be hunted. Now they know what it's like to be a target, to be stigmatized. We are struggling against a policy and a political culture where victims fall but where the victimizers are never named. The struggle against asylum- and refugee-policies is a struggle for a humanitarian society. A society that offers everyone a future! Where no one has to fear hearing a knock on the door in the middle of the night, from an agency that ruins lives with cold calculation. To reach this goal, we need to create a space for change, by means of actions, building structures, and exchanging and examining ideas. We wanted our action to be a part of this process.

Until the next time,

Revolutionary
Anti-
Racist
Action

July 1993

Clarification of names from this communique:

Routenberg: head of social democratic PvdA party, racist, often speaks of the "clash of cultures".

Bolkenstein: head of parliamentary fraction of the right-wing VVD party (Party of Freedom and Democracy). Holland's third-largest party, he's very big into spreading anti-Islam hate.

Peper: mayor of Rotterdam, very racist, likes to spread lies ("1110 welfare cheaters at ONE address!") and xenophobic sentiments.

Nawijn: director-general of internal affairs at the justice department, highest bureaucrat in this area, 15 years at this job, maintains the secret so-called 'Nawijn list' of countries which allegedly false refugees come from.

Kosto: minister of internal affairs, responsible for refugee and asylum policies in The Netherlands.

Linschoten: an ambitious, young VVD conservative politician.

~~REVOLUTION HAS COME
OFF THE PIGS
TIME TO PICK UP THE GUNS
OFF THE PIGS~~

Anti-Fascist Action

A STATEMENT OF INTENT

On Sunday Oct 5th a contingent from A.F.A. arrived at the corner of Brick Lane and Bethnal Green at 9.30. A leaflet was distributed announcing an A.F.A. public meeting in the area in response to the high profile adopted by the B.N.P. in the area. At approx 11.30 Fascists who had been dispersed by the arrival of the anti-fascists launched an attack. Four anti-fascists and three members of the B.N.P. including Richard Edmonds and Tony 'cucumber' Leconber were arrested and charged with affray.

At the public meeting former Dockers leader Mickey Finn pointed out that the only way to stop the B.N.P. spreading their influence "was to meet fire with fire". Labour M.P. Mildred Gordon pointed out that the 12.8% of the vote achieved by the B.N.P. in the St Peters ward was deceptive. In fact, as the composition of the area was roughly 50% white and 50% Asian the B.N.P. vote in reality represented one in four of the white working class vote.

The following statement from A.F.A. was read out at the meeting.

"Anti-Fascist Action was founded in 1985. The founding statement was a promise to confront the fascist 'ideologically and physically in the streets'. Despite many problems and a chequered history, we believe that AFA has made a difference and that we have remained true to our promise.

In 1988 in the small market town of Bury St. Edmunds, a National Front march was so publicly humiliated, its organisers so discredited, that it provoked a split in the National Front itself. The Albert Mariner march through the town was abandoned for similar reasons in 1987. During 1988-9 the fascists had been allowed to turn Carnaby Street into a cultural centre for European fascism. Within 6 months of initiating a campaign, AFA had closed their shops and forced them to abandon their blackhatters. The neo-nazi music group Blood and Honour, who had confidently booked Camden town Hall to host an

international ticket only concert, selling over 1,000 in advance, were crushed in a single day on May 27 1988. Similarly, due to a variety of tactics adopted by AFA since 1985, the annual fascist parade to the Cenotaph on Remembrance Day has been reduced to a squalid 250 by 1988 - a fraction of its size in 1985.

The lesson for us at least is clear - the fascists only gain influence and support among white working class youth only where there is no alternative argument being consistently and forcefully projected.

While congratulations are due, we recognise that the fascist marches and rallies represent only a symptom of the problem. What is now required is that AFA address itself to the source of the problem, racism, reflected in the huge increase in race attacks and intimidations which some estimates put in the region of 25,000 in the Metropolitan area of London alone.

The Borough of Tower Hamlets has the highest concentration of race attacks in the country. Even police statistics demonstrate that the level of attacks is rising unabated year by year.

To help stem this tide is now AFA's priority. We also recognise that little progress on this issue in this area will be made by restricting our response to fascist initiatives; we accept that we must act on our own agenda.

This is the first time in well over a decade that such a project - wresting the initiative from the fascists and race-attackers, of challenging them on their own doorstep and in the process cutting off their supply line of recruits at source - has ever been suggested. The purpose of AFA's strategy is to make relevant to and effective involve those sections of the community under attack.

The participation and support of individuals and groups from the Asian and Black community in the Borough is vital, as they must be persuaded over a period of time to see AFA as much theirs as it is now ours.

Over the last decade the issue of race attacks has effectively been ignored by both the

media and the left. As a result the situation has seriously deteriorated with many in the Asian community now living under a state of siege. They are trapped between the 'respectable' racism of the Liberal 'Focus' group, the lurking terrorism of the fascists, and the indifference or hostility of the police.

In the face of increasing aggression from the right and the corresponding apathy of the left, Asian youth have been forced back on the defensive. The only permissible tactic is to circle the wagons, while for isolated families it is a case of doing nothing and waiting for the cavalry that never comes.

To complicate them AFA must be prepared to go in to encourage more of the Asian youth to come out. In a single minded fashion we must undermine the confidence of neo-nazis from within.

challenge their paper sales, put pressure on those that provide them with facilities, harass their leading activists and thoroughly erode the sense of security that allows them to act freely without sanction or restraint.

There is no doubt that Tower Hamlets is a solid working class area. In the next Council elections 11 Tory candidates amassed less than 500 votes between them. The BNP are increasingly seen as

propaganda it must be made perfectly clear that racial terrorism is no longer an acceptable part of the hidden agenda. In future there will be a price to pay. There will be no appeasement of fascist gangs.

History has demonstrated that on the issue of fascism there can be no neutrality. Either you are pro-fascist or anti-fascist. There is no middle ground. And in future none will be accepted.

In the neo-fascist rather than the vigorously anti-fascist corner, the problem appears to be the exact opposite - massive on the surface but above the surface with nothing of substance underneath.

AFA must be the catalyst for

fascist, racist and neo-racist, militant and moderate, the passive and the active. It is our intention to smash the existing status quo, so it is not to conditions that we look but to co-insurgents.

We must attempt to polarise the whole of the working class, Asian, Black and White on central issues of race, class justice and equality. To first identify and then isolate the fascists and their fellow travellers, we must divide and sub-divide again until only two visible political camps are left - one racist/fascist, and the other anti-racist and anti-fascist.

Inevitably AFA will be accused by our political opponents of provoking the fascists etc. In our experience confronting the fascists physically and politically does not provoke an escalation in violence; rather the reverse. While they are dealing with us they will not find time or enthusiasm for harassing anybody else.

In any case, we are not aware that the policy of appeasement, turning the other cheek, keeping your head down etc advocated by the police, some left-wing groups and conservative elements within the Asian community has proved such a spectacular success.

Tower Hamlets has the highest ratio of race attacks in a country where it is estimated an attack occurs every 20 minutes. It is only in this area of London that the BNP/NF are allowed to operate openly. It is not a coincidence.

It is AFA's first task to highlight this hidden epidemic and then with your help coordinate an effective response. While it is certainly true that the BNP/NF members do not initiate all the attacks, racial terrorism is the logical complement to a policy of forced repatriation. They encourage, justify, and will race hatred and race violence. Their function is that of a lightning conductor. They are the channel for aggression. It should be understood that there is no time limit on this campaign no perhaps stamina will prove our greatest asset. It should be understood that there is no limit on our ambition to help deliver a lasting solution.



Secure behind glass, an Asian boy at the window of the bus laid out for ferry children to a temporary school in London's East End without fear of racial abuse. (Spring '89). On April 5, 1970, 'The Observer' claimed that "any Asian careless enough to be walking the streets alone at night is a fool." In '91 Asian youth who walk from Whitechapel to Bow after 9 o'clock still consider it to be an act of defiance.

AFA's first job must be to lift this siege. At the moment, racist and fascist gangs can move assaults confident in the knowledge that once the situation is completed, they need only wobble back to base, the sanctuary of any white working class area, where they feel invulnerable from attack or retribution.

To discourage these hit and run attacks some among the Asian youth have abandoned the defensive mentality of the siege, and instead adopted an aggressive policy of 'hot pursuit'.

the only radical alternative to the Labour and Liberal parties, and in some wards are now the third party. Any advance by the right on this territory represents a danger, not retreat by the left. The working class is the natural constituency of socialism, not fascism. Racism and socialism are incompatible. One only exists at the expense of the other. The 'womans' of the far right is due to the fact that the far left are not seen as a credible option. As AFA are committed to creating the space in which one can develop.

Through our actions and

real change. We must, through our activities, force people to ask which side they are on.

At the moment many areas of Tower Hamlets are divided along racial lines. To transform this situation and isolate the BNP, we must first destroy the conditions and climate in which they prosper by polarising the entire community on political lines.

Therefore our first job is not to unite people but to divide them, not on racial lines between black and white or between the left and the right but between fascist and anti-

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